

The
Westminster And
Foreign Quarterly
Review VOL. - 75.
1861

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THE
WESTMINSTER
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JANUARY 1, 1861.

ART. I.—ANCIENT DANISH BALLADS.

Ancient Danish Ballads, translated from the Originals. By R. C. Alexander Prior, M.D. 2 vols. Williams and Norgate. London and Edinburgh. 1860.

A CENTURY, wanting five years, has now elapsed since the Bishop of Dromore published his celebrated “Reliques of Ancient English Poetry.” One hundred and seventy-four years previously to this first appearance of the “Percy Ballads” (A.D. 1765), an analogous collection of old Danish songs had been issued by Vedel (A.D. 1591). In forming this collection Vedel, we are told, had “no idea of the antiquarian interest attached to the songs of his country.” He appears to have been actuated by no other motive than the desire to contribute to the innocent entertainment of his readers.

If to Vedel be assigned the honour of editorial priority in the recension of these poetic effusions of his ancestral compatriots, a kindred merit must be conceded to Sophia, the wife of Frederick II., King of Denmark, as the direct instrument of their publication. This queen, if we may credit the received tradition, once became the temporary guest of the great astronomer, Tycho Brahe. Designing but a brief visit to the illustrious philosopher, she was detained some days at his residence, at the observatory in Hveen, by the prevailing adverse weather. To fleet away the leaden moments the Pastor Anders Sörensön Vedel, who happened to be present, was requested to read before her Majesty some of the ballads which formed his collection. So delighted was the queen with these spirited productions, that she expressly commanded Vedel to complete and publish his projected

[Vol. LXXV. No. CXLVII.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XIX. No. I. B

work ; constantly renewing and enforcing the commission "both by oral and written messages," till its final execution in 1591, when this first instalment of the ballad literature of Denmark was printed, and we presume published at Ribe by the patriotic pastor.*

This collection, which consisted of one hundred ballads celebrating the feats or fortunes of kings and heroes, seems to have been primarily intended for the diversion of the peasantry. Hence the pervading fault of Vedel's edition ; a preference of the extravagant to the natural, exhibited in the adoption of the most preposterous readings which the ancient copies afford. Injudiciously, however, as Vedel may have executed his duties as editor, he is still entitled to grateful recognition as the preserver of many characteristic ancient ballads, as the discoverer of "a fountain of fine poetry" to Danish writers of succeeding generations,—in a word, as the Bishop Percy of the north of Europe.

A hundred and four years after the publication of Vedel's collection, Peter Syv reprinted the work, enhancing its value by the addition of a hundred hitherto unedited ballads. Since that time (1695) various other collections have been made ; the best of which are incorporated into the "*Danske Viser*" (ancient ballads) of Nyerup, Abrahamson and Rahbek, published in 1812-13 ; "a work," says Mr. Howitt, "of singular value from the prominent fact that the great portion of these ballads are the common property of the whole of Scandinavia," Sweden, Norway, the Faroe, the Shetland Isles, and Iceland, which alike possess a rich inheritance of legendary song, being all included in this geographical circumscription.

Of the total number of ballads thus published by the compilers of the "*Danske Viser*," amounting to two hundred and twenty-two, Dr. Prior, following the Danish originals as edited by them, has rendered into suitable English verse no fewer than one hundred and seventy-three, or about one-third of the entire ballad literature of Scandinavia. Distributing his poetical selection into four groups, namely,—the Heroic, Legendary, Historical, and Romantic, the translator prefixes to these popular lays a prefatory notice, containing significant elucidations, critical, traditionary, or historical. It is these annotations, the general introduction, and the ballads themselves, which supply or suggest the subject matter of this article.

The origin and authorship of these ballads constitute problems

* See *Literature and Romance of Northern Europe*, by William and Mary Howitt.

of difficult solution. Many of them are considered by the present translator to be popular representations of older tales, and he quotes with approval the remark of Sir Walter Scott, that "The farther our researches are extended, the more we shall see ground to believe that the romantic ballads of later times are, for the most part, abridgments of ancient metrical romances, narrated in a smoother stanza and more modern language." Thus the apparent originality of the Danish poems vanishes as our acquaintance with those of other countries increases, and we learn to see in the Northern ballads elements common "to the beautiful romances of the South; those, namely, of Spain and Portugal, the Italian novels, and the lays and fabliaux of the French trouvères, which embody so much of the floating fiction of the Middle Ages."

The ballad literature of mediæval Europe seems to have grown into general and simultaneous recognition during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. At any rate the language in which they are composed affords, in Dr. Prior's opinion, a satisfactory evidence that it was not till the sixteenth and the preceding century that they assumed their present form. Decidedly rejecting the hypothesis of Robert Jamieson and the Swedish historian Geijer, of the derivation of English, Scotch, and Scandinavian ballads from a common historical centre, in "that remote period when we formed one nation together before the immigration of our ancestors to this island," Dr. Prior unhesitatingly subscribes to the theory of Landstad of the international communication of these ancient songs by the northern races of the Baltic and German Ocean, whose kindred character of mind led them all to adopt and localize, in the centuries already indicated, the same ballad, which separately delighted each, as it travelled from the land of its birth to the successive countries of its adoption.

At this period Europe was distinguished by a general community of culture. Its religion, its chivalry, its architecture, and even its hand-writing, were identical. It possessed, in addition to any private or special funds of song, a floating capital of numerous lays and romances, "the common property of all nations." And not only the argument or fable, but "the same forms of expression, the same conventional phrases," the same metre and representation, re-appeared among all. In short, what Herder says in his "*Volkslieder*," of the English and German ballads is, continues Dr. Prior, of universal application. "The whole tone of this poetry is so uniform, that one may often translate word for word, turn for turn, inversion for inversion. In all these countries of Europe the spirit of chivalry has only one vocabulary, and therefore one mode of relating things. Ballads and romances have everywhere the same nouns and ad-

jectives, the same kind of terminations (Fallendungen), the same freedom of metre, even the same favourite tunes, the same romantic plants, beasts, and birds."

Rejecting, then, the hypothesis of any extraordinary antiquity, we incline to acquiesce in the opinion that none of our own, or the Danish ballads, are older than the thirteenth, and few are older than the fifteenth century.

Next to the problem of their date and origin comes the question of their authorship. Of course it is quite impossible even to conjecture who were the individual composers. But Dr. Prior, Oehlenschläger, N. M. Petersen, and other critics, are of opinion that their generic authorship can be determined. We are indebted, they say, for most of them to ladies. To justify this decision they adduce two arguments—1. The manuscripts in which they are preserved, and many of which are three hundred years old, "are almost every one of them in female hand-writing, which alone might lead us to expect that females had composed them." 2. "The wives of these poems invariably give their husbands the best possible advice, and men who are pictured as fine characters follow their advice;" a complimentary implication which, as gallantry was not a characteristic of the Scandinavian, it is supposed precludes the possibility of a more energetic derivation.

This reasoning, however, appears to us inconclusive. For, first, the superfluous leisure enjoyed by the high-born dames and damsels of the middle ages would naturally enough be employed in making transcripts of the popular lays sung by the minstrel to his harp in hall or bower; the productions probably of various romantic poets, whose appreciation of the superior moral grace which it is etiquette to consider the peculiar appanage of the beautiful sex, induced them, in a period of deadly and unreasoning masculine outrage, to attribute to many a fair and gentle lady, who was all their fancy painted her, an instinctive wisdom denied to her wilful and impetuous lord. In the second place, the old Danes, however deficient in the practice of gallantry, may have been at least partial recipients of its theory, glorifying women in the abstract as so many embodied ideals of goodness, while occasionally giving women in the concrete very rough usage; in short, behaving like fetish-adorers in other ages and countries who first worship and then "wallop" their divinities. Such conduct seems by no means incompatible with the veneration which, no doubt, in common with their chivalrous ancestors, they entertained for the sybils, priestesses, and prophetesses of the supernatural foretime. Nor is this domestic inconsistency without a parallel. Their Teutonic relations in Germany habitually ascribed to the women of their country a something holy and prophetic, duly honouring

the advice, and regarding the responses of these interesting oracles; and yet in startling contrast with this submissive and reverential state of mind, visiting with shameful expulsion and flagellation, such of these Sybilline ladies, as in that pre-Shakspearian age had practically justified the nomenclature of the sarcastic Hamlet, when that accomplished misogynist took to calling frailty names!

There is however one consideration that gives some show of probability to the assertion, that many of these ballads were really written by women. For in the ethical evaluations with which they present us, not only wives but younger sons, are at an enormous premium, while elder sons no less than husbands are comparatively at a discount. From such an appreciation, it might be inferred, that these small revolutionary epics were composed by the natural enemies of big brothers, namely, the little ones. But an alternative hypothesis is equally admissible here. The frequent preference of mothers for the latest edition of their own fair image is, we understand, an acknowledged fact. A presumption is thus afforded, that the favourite younger son and the unpopular elder brother of these poems, are really creations of the maternal mind, which magnifies the virtues of one child, because he had the grace to be born last, and exaggerates the vices of the other because he was wicked enough to be born first. But whether the arguments adduced to establish the claims of women to the original copyright of the majority of these poems be accepted as conclusive or not, the pretensions of the sterner sex to the authorship of some of them is perhaps little likely to be disputed.

The following ballad, for instance, intended to celebrate woman's ready invention and persistent power of response under the trying fire of cross-examination, will scarcely be suspected of emanating from the female Muse:—

THE READY REPLY.

“‘But sister dear,’ a brother said,
‘Do you then never mean to wed?’
‘Oh wait! at this, my tender age,
I would not yet my hand engage.’
‘Yet, might I trust the public voice,
You have already made the choice.’
‘So people talk, and talk they may,
Believe not all that gossips say.’
‘And who was then the handsome knight,
Rode from your door with morning’s light?’
‘No knight, no high-born cavalier,
My stable-boy and his horse were here.’

'Then near your bed two pair of shoes !
 Now whose were they ? pray tell me whose !'
 'No man's shoe, brother, think not so,
 'Twas but my slippers lay below.'
 'And then that little cherub head
 Was lately sleeping upon your bed ?'
 'No cherub that, or baby small ;
 What lay there sleeping was my doll.'
 'How heard I then in passing by,
 Within your door an infant cry ?'
 'So cry not infants, 'twas my maid,
 Because of a wardrobe key mislaid.'
 'And pray what might the cradle mean,
 So slyly hid behind the screen ?'
 'No cradle ; be not rash to blame,
 You've seen perhaps my broidery frame ;
 And if you, brother, more will know,
 With answers I shall not be slow.
 When women fail to make reply,
 Then look to see the ocean dry.' "

The frail heroine of this ballad probably fared better than some of her delinquent sisters. For the rough northmen had evidently no sympathy with the sentimental licentiousness of the southern Courts of Love. These ferocious moralists made short work with interesting lovers. They burned their offending wives at the faggot, and hanged their paramours. In the case of unmarried persons, but possibly only when betrothal, regarded as the equivalent of marriage, rendered the offence tantamount to a violation of matrimonial fidelity, the parties were subjected to the same punishment as conjugal transgressors. Thus in one of the ballads in this collection, Sedselille informs Medelwold of her mother's determination to send her to the faggot, and him to the gallows. So in the ballad of Sir Buris and Christine, King Waldmar calls for five heavy scourges, with which he lashes his sister to death. Death, in fact, seems to have been the recognised punishment of women who loved deeply, but not well, in other parts of Europe besides Denmark. In a Swedish ballad, called "Pehr Wattenman," a son puts his own mother on the fire ; in a Scotch one, entitled "Lady Maisry," a brother his own sister, and in a Spanish romance a mother threatens her daughter with the stake if "maid she is no more."

The penal code in those good old days was extremely savage. The rack and wheel were in constant requisition. Criminals were sometimes buried alive. Admitting that the lawlessness of the times required a severe and even appalling treatment, it can scarcely be doubted that the ferocity of the punishments tended to augment the brutality they were designed to diminish. But

turning from this frightful feature of the age, let us try to constitute ourselves the interested "spectators of a moving panorama," to call up a picture, however rude and unfinished, of that Scandinavian past with which our own is not unremotely allied, for the blood of the old Norse sea kings beats with a prouder pulse in their English descendants. It will be pleasant to get a glimpse, through what in some sort are contemporary documents, of that rude barbaric life of the Northernmen; to watch them in their homes, to "look into the dry schedule of their household effects," and take an inventory of their furniture, jewellery, wardrobe, and other valuables; to notice how they were lodged, clothed, and fed; how they lived, suffered and rejoiced; to observe, in short, the moral and material heaven under which they sunned themselves.

We will begin with a description of the Borg or Manorhouse of the Danish country gentleman. In the widest extension of the term the Borg consisted of various detached buildings, ranged in the Borgegaard, or court-yard, access to which was obtained through the Borgeled, or entrance gate. The Borg, in the restrictive sense of the word, stood in front; the apartments for the ladies and retainers at the side; the stables, kitchen, and Stenstue, or lying-in-room, in other parts of the yard. This yard was the play-ground of the pages, and the place of exercise of the troopers. Many a scuffle came off here; and many a scolding was given and taken. From it, the visitor, drawing up his scarlet cloak as he crossed, approached the door of the mansion. Here he was received sometimes by the master, cup in hand; sometimes by one of the ladies of the house; with the courteous preliminary offer of mead or wine. Usually the guest ascends the stairs (Höielofts bro') to the ladies' chamber (Höieloft) on the first floor. Below, it would seem, sat the master with his troopers, at the broad table in the banquet room. The sleeping arrangements of the family are not easily understood. Perhaps they varied with the rank or number of its members. Sometimes they all seem to have slept in one room; sometimes the chambers are described as separate. The bride's apartment, called the Bridal House, was undoubtedly a detached room. Some of the usages of the dormitory were very primitive. The servant lads slept in the same bedroom with the ladies of the family. Thus in the ballad called "The Wake" we find a page "in his red arrayed" quietly conversing with the queen as she lies in bed! Nor was this all: but with a simplicity worthy of the earliest days of paradise, highborn lady and simple swain reposed in unadorned beauty, yet with apparent innocence, in that seemingly dangerous proximity. This fashion, imported from Eden, appears at one time to have prevailed in all the most civilized parts of the West. Thus

Dr. Prior quotes a Spanish ballad which tells us how Rosaflorida was heard weeping by "a swain that in her chamber slept:" and introduces us, in a French Romance, to a most amusing old woman, whose undisguised astonishment passes into transcendent admiration, when she sees some fair maiden, on retiring to her couch, retain, in defiance of all precedent, that delicate garment which, borrowing the pretty euphemism of Leigh Hunt, we will designate "The Gentle Armour."

From the mansion itself we pass to its external environments. Running round the house, and having a covering over it, might be seen a terrace rising a foot and a half from the ground. This was called the "Svale," and formed the general rendezvous of the family. In these ballads we read often of the Rosenlund, the scene of so many adventures. The Rosenlund is supposed by Professor Vedel Simonsen to be a small park . . . between the entrance gate and the house, and to have had its name from the rosebuds, the young ladies, who frequented it! This explanation, however, is scornfully rejected by Dr. Prior, who substitutes for the "little cockney park" of the learned professor, the greenwood of our own ballads,—a coppice of small trees and bushes, through which a horseman could ride, as distinguished from a dense forest of timber trees. Such a wood of rose he thinks a very likely place to meet an Elfin maiden in! Personal distinctions of rank seemed not to have been very definitely marked among the ancient Danes. The ballads indeed relate principally to the fortunes and adventures of persons of illustrious birth; but the systematic chivalry of the south was perhaps but imperfectly recognised by the honest, rough, unsentimental men of the north. Accordingly, Dr. Prior considers the knights, of whom we read in these old lays, to have been "many of them men of great wealth and local power, in whose courts youths of gentle lineage were probably educated and brought up; destined to enter afterwards their patrons' service as valets or pages." The duty of the page was to attend on the ladies night and day; to run errands, and collect news for them. The svend, or swain, appears to have been the personal attendant of a knight, holding, unlike the squire of the south, a lower rank in life than that of his master. The ung or young is supposed to indicate a youth of family, perfectly independent, but neither old nor rich enough to be a knight. The Herr probably denotes the possessor of a house and property. Its English representative in this translation of ancient ballads is merely "sir."

Coming now to the heroes and heroines of these old songs, we find the king dwelling in a castle, presiding over fort and tower, feasting amid his knights and swains, or leading his gallant champions armed, and sword in hand. On his head he wears a

gleaming crown of ruddy gold ; on his arm he carries a shield with a lion blazoned on it. The queen is housed in a palace of wood, seated on a cushioned bench, veiled in a purple cloak, arrayed in red attire, or clothed in silk. She has a crown on her head ; she wears a jewelled band ; she uses a golden comb. Princesses and noble maidens also wear crowns of gold or of silver, or wreath their tresses with chaplets of pearl, or are attired in ermine and martin. Among their ornaments are enumerated shoes latched with silver ; rings and buckles of gold. Mantles of blue and scarlet, and embroidered silk, and silver-hilted knives, are among the gifts promised to little Kirstin. Fair Hyldestil sits in her bower stitching caps, and, while her thoughts go woolgathering, sewing with silken thread what properly should be sewed with gold. Noble maidens spin, weave, and braid ; the brodered stag and brodered doe run in the green woodland of their silken picture. Such was woman's mission in those primitive days, when even kings' daughters were expected to make their husbands' clothes. The costume of the men is very gorgeous. Sir Bosmer wears a shirt (of silk for certain) ; a jacket of blue velvet and buckskin boots, with gilded spurs. Sir Asbiorn Snare spends a fortune in buying garments of silk and sindal (cypress or sarcenet). The knights shine resplendent in burnished coats of mail ; they carry emblazoned shields ; they wear lace, velvet jackets, silken shirts, purple mantles, as occasion serves. A scarlet robe seems to have been the court dress or vest of honour, and was worn as a rule on all grand occasions. Persons of lower degree wore wadmal, a kind of serge or homespun woollen cloth.* Thus in the ballad of Ebbé Galt, the farmer is attired in a coat of gray ; and Kragelille, the peasant-shamming heroine of another old romance, wraps herself in a cloak of coarse gray wool, and a goat's skin.

It is not difficult to conjecture what were the pastimes and occupations of these far-off days. Song and tale were held in high esteem ; the harp was played both by man and woman ; dice rattled on the board ; and fast young ladies, seemingly up to everything from literal pitch and toss to metaphorical manslaughter, lost their hearts and other valuables, during fascinating games of chess, in which these reckless gamblers played for none but the highest stakes—their own peerless beauty and priceless love. Of course they always played the losing game ! Below, the castle-yard rang with the knightly exercise, and the greensward was merry with the dance. A characteristic incident

* Worn in England in the time of Edward I. See "*Liber Albus*," p. 198. Translated by H. T. Riley, M.A. Skarlakan or scarlet, opposed to Wadmal, was the generic name of a fine cloth, whose varieties were red, green, and blue.

in these ballads is the perpetual ascension up the high bower stairs, and as in some of them the scrape of the violin is heard, we are almost inevitably reminded of the once popular ditty,

“Such a getting up stairs and a playing of the fiddle.”

Of the viands consumed in those old days, we can say but little. We hear of roast and boiled in general, of fish, beef, flitches of bacon, porridge, loaves of bread. The goblet of wine is for ever circulating; the “luscious mead” is at the stranger’s service; and the sparkling ale is to be had for the asking.

Rapidly glancing at a few of the most characteristic usages of this somewhat indeterminate and mythical period (for due allowance must be made for the poetic exaggeration as well as for the fluctuating chronology of this ballad poetry), we come first to the peculiar institution of all ages and all countries, the matrimonial. Dr. Prior, scarcely able to decide what did constitute a marriage in those days, is inclined to think that the priest’s blessing, uttered at the bedside, was the most essential part of the ceremony. We find more than one instance of a change of bridegroom at the last hour. Young ladies were often awarded to their future husbands without the slightest reference to their own feelings or wishes. The ring was not the token of marriage but betrothal. Roses and lilies were the accredited emblems of an engagement which appears to have been most obligingly regarded as equivalent to a civil marriage. The young Danish girl delighted to wear her long flowing yellow locks flung loosely over her shoulders. She forebore to cover her head till she had forfeited her right to wear the golden crown or maiden coronet, the virgin crant of Shakspeare’s Ophelia, answering to the silken snood once, perhaps still, worn in the north of Scotland, and recalling the corresponding ornament of the fallen Margaret in the characteristic scene in *Faust*, where the spiteful gossiping Bessie declares—“The boys will tear her garland for her, and we will cut straw before her door.”

The maiden coronet was of course laid aside on marriage. After the betrothal, a very serious ceremony, the bridegroom elect was called *Fæstemand*, and the maiden *Fæstemo* (from the word *fæsten* to fasten, or secure), the correspondents of the French fiancé, or fiancée, and the English true-love, properly troth-promised, from the Danish ‘*trolovet*.’ At the betrothal, presents called “*Fæstegave*,” originally the money value of the bride and paid to her parents, were given to the lady elect. The *Fæstegave* treasured by the wife, as a sort of marriage certificate, seems in the course of time to have become the wife’s dowry. The “*Morgengave*,” or Morning-gift (recognised in England in Anglo-Saxon times), was a “present which the bride was entitled to demand,” and which could not be refused by the husband, the day after her wedding. It

often consisted of a landed estate, and was tantamount to a marriage settlement. Notwithstanding the ferocious love of virtue among the old Danes, there was nothing discreditable in living with a mistress. "It was in fact," says Dr. Prior, "a morganatic marriage, a compromise with the law that forbad the union of those who were not of equal rank." Second marriages, in Denmark, as well as in other countries, were not viewed very favourably; step-mothers, at least, were in universally ill repute. In the Danish ballads young girls are represented as inconsolable for the loss of their mothers; a representation which our translator, who thinks it inconceivable that they should have felt much affection for mothers who were ready to give them to any husband without consulting their feelings, or to burn them for very venial transgressions, pronounces a stereotyped commonplace. It is certainly "beyond everything as God Almighty should ha' made women so;" but we are not sure that he hasn't. Doubtless, however, with all their rigid notions of parental justice and prerogative, the practice of our Scandinavian ancestresses was not unfrequently better than their theory. We can adduce, at least, one most pathetic instance of the strength and reality of the maternal instinct even in the Spartan dames of Denmark. In the touching ballad of the "Buried Mother," Swain Dyring marries a lovely maiden. Seven years she shares his home with him, and every year presents him with one of the sweetest children eyes ever saw. At the end of the seven years she dies, and the faithless Swain (as faithless swains will do), wins another maiden's hand. The new bride steps, grim and harsh, from her gilded wain. She repels the weeping children; locks up the bread and beer; takes away their light and fire; gives them straw to lie upon; and behaves in fact as an "*injusta noverca*" *ought* to behave. Cold and starving, the motherless children lament over their sad fortunes.*

"They cried one evening till the sound
 Their mother heard beneath the ground.
 She heard as in her grave she lay,
 'But go I must their pain to stay.'
 At God's high throne she bent her knee,
 'O! let me, Lord, my children see.'
 And such her prayer and tale of woe,
 That God in mercy let her go.

* * * *

As through the streets she glided by,
 Loud all the hounds howled to the sky.
 She reached her husband's court-yard gate,
 And there her eldest daughter sate.

* For euphony's sake we occasionally omit a redundant word in Dr. Prior's able translations.

‘O! daughter mine! why so in tears?
 How fare my other little dears?’
 ‘No mother at all art thou of mine,
 Thou’rt not like her, though fair and fine.
 My mother’s cheeks were white and red,
 But thine are pale and like the dead.’
 ‘And how should I be pale and fair,
 When death has bleached the cheeks I bear,
 Or how should I be white and red,
 So long, my child, as I’ve been dead?’
 She found her children’s sleeping place,
 And wet with tears each little face.
 She nursed them all with mother’s care,
 She combed and dressed their silky hair.”

Lastly she takes the babe in her lap and feeds it. These gentle duties fulfilled, she sends the eldest daughter to summon to her presence the ungracious husband and unnatural father. Swain obeys the summons. She chides, upbraids, and warns him; and now as the red, the black, and the white cock announce, with treble clarion, the dawn of day, the pale lady returns to her cold churchyard home, not without some consoling prescience, we would hope, of the good effects which followed this revisiting of the glimpses of the moon. For—

“Whenever hound was heard to whine,
 They gave the children bread and wine.
 Whenever hound was heard to bark,
 They thought the dead walked in the dark.
 Whenever hound was heard to howl,
 They thought they saw a corpse’s cowl.”

The social characteristics of Danish life recognised in these ballads are many and various. Of the more prominent phenomena, we may instance the compurgation⁸⁴ of guilt by twelve friends of the accused, general on the Continent in the mediæval period, and possibly the origin of our jury, as instituted about the time of Henry III.; vindictive retribution, grounded on the principle of blood for blood, but mitigated by the acceptance of pecuniary compensation; the horrible custom of burying women alive, and throwing criminals, especially pirates, into a snake fen or enclosure filled with thorns and venomous reptiles; the throwing of mould over a lady who took the veil, in token of her being dead to the world; the wearing of white as the colour of mourning; the practice of leechcraft by fair hands; the partial observance of knightly usage; the compulsory attendance of the clergy in the battle field; and the constant migration to the court of Byzantium of the Scandinavian exiles or adventurers, who enter-

ing the Imperial service preserved in common with their English brothers in arms, till the last age of the empire, that inheritance of spotless loyalty, by which, under the name of Varangians, our great historian tells us they were so nobly distinguished.* "With their broad and double-edged battle-axes on their shoulders, they attended the Greek emperor to the temple, the senate, and the hippodrome; he slept and feasted under their trusty guard; and the keys of the palace, the treasury, and the capital were held by the firm and faithful hands of the Varangians."

From this imperfect sketch of Danish life and manners, which in some of its details carries us back to the old heroic or anti-mediæval period, we pass at once to a closer survey of the poems which have furnished our shadowy outline.

For the natives of the North the Heroic Ballads, which paint the manners and celebrate the martial deeds of their valiant ancestors, "whose fleets terrified all the coasts of Europe, whose grave-hills are still pointed out to the traveller, whose very weapons are preserved in their museums," have a peculiar interest. Their characteristics are frankness and straightforwardness of expression, a rough, healthy barbaric morality, with a perfect freedom from all rose-pink sentiment. There is a rustic heartiness, with touches of a practical-joke-kind-of-humour about them. A bracing Norland breeze seems to breathe through them, blowing away all southern sensibilities and exotic fine feelings. Their poetic atmosphere has a good salt smell of the sea in it, or, at furthest, is redolent of blossoms that take the winds of *March* with beauty. Turning from the stern majesty of "Siwarl and Brynhild," the *Æschylean* grandeur of the "Sword of Vengeance," the picturesque power of "Grimild's Revenge," and the romance that celebrates the droll heroism of the son of Velant the lame, the Vulcan of the North, the prototype of Walter Scott's redoubtable craftsman, Wayland Smith,—we select, for its spirited "go" and "Brobdignian" humour, the only ballad in which an Edda poem has been traditionally preserved, "Thor of Asgard." The Thusser king, it should be premised, is supposed by Dr. Prior to be a Turkish potentate, not a very satisfactory supposition, we think. The hammer of gold, Miölner, crusher of giants, which Thor of Asgard, home of the Asir, has lost during the winter, and which Loki, flame or heat, recovers at the return of spring from the northern genii of cold and darkness, is the not inappropriate symbol of the thunderbolt. A Trolld is any supernatural or extraordinary being, from a giant to a magician, or a dwarf to a deist.

“There rode the mighty of Asgard, Thor,
His journey across the plain,
And there his hammer of gold he lost,
And sought so long in vain.

’Twas then the mighty of Asgard, Thor,
His brother his bidding told,
‘Up thou and off to the Northland Fell,
And seek my hammer of gold.’

He spake, and Loki the serving man,
His feathers upon him drew,
And launching over the salty sea,
Away to the Northland flew.

He stopped, as he crossed the castle yard,
To cloak him in scarlet pall,
And greeted the hideous Thusser king,
And entered his lofty hall.

‘Welcome, Loki, thou serving-man !
Right heartily welcome here !
Now tell me how matters at Asgard stand,
And how in the country near.’

‘In castle at Asgard all is well,
And eke in the country near,
But Thor has his golden hammer miss’d
And therefore am I come here.’

‘Hark thou my words ! No more shall Thor
His hammer again behold,
For fifteen fathoms and forty deep
It’s buried beneath the mold.

His hammer no more gets Thor again,
From under the solid earth,
Till mine is the maiden Fredensborg,
And all that ye all are worth.’ ”

The handsome, malicious, crafty Loki, ever plotting against the Asir, but ever compelled to serve them (as subtle destructive force must ever serve bright intelligence), flies back to Thor with the answer. The haughty Fredensborg indignantly rejects the proposition, declaring that even a Christian man would be a preferable bridegroom to that lothely Troid. Whereon Loki, as we understand, interposes

“ ‘Then let us our aged father take (Thor),
And comb him and dress him well,
And bear him in guise of a maiden fair,
Away to the Northland Fell.

They brought her to court, the blooming bride,
And into the banquet hall,
And largess there with an open hand
Was dealt to the minstrels all.

They took her, the young and bashful bride,
To sit on her bridal chair,
And forward stepped the Thusser king,
Himself to serve the fair.

A whole ox-carcase the maid ate up,
And thirty sides of swine,
And took to her meat seven hundred loaves,
Before she would taste of wine.

A whole ox-carcase the maid ate up,
Her loaves and her bacon first,
And then twelve barrels of ale she drank
Before she could quench her thirst.

The Thusser king as he paced the floor,
His hands on his bosom beat;
'Who then, and whence, is the youthful bride,
So monstrous a meal can eat?'

And smiling beneath his scarlet cloak,
Thus Loki, the page, replied,
'Seven days it is since she tasted food,
For longing to be thy bride.'

Then brought eight champions stout and strong
The hammer upon a tree,
And heaved it up for the youthful bride,
And laid it across her knee.

Up rose from her seat that tender bride,
Her hammer she took in hand,
And only the sober truth to tell,
She brandished it like a wand.

The first she slew was the Thusser king,
So lothely and fierce and tall:
She came indeed to the wedding feast,
She slaughtered them great and small.

'And now,' said Loki, the wily page,
'Tis time that we all retire,
And home to our country bend our steps,
And comfort our widow sire.' "

A similar achievement is celebrated in the ballad of Sir Genselin, where the lady Brynild—delicate young virgin!—after a light repast on two oxen, five tuns of ale and seven of porridge, con-

cludes the amusements of the evening by flourishing her stay-lace end with such good effect that she leaves no fewer than fifteen champions dead "out on the grassy lea."

The feather dress worn by Loki recalls the winged sandals of Mercury. This light and airy costume is very fashionable with the ladies and gentlemen of these ballads. In one of them, the young prince Gladenswein tricks himself out in his mother's old flying finery, the queen carelessly remarking, that when midsummer comes again, she will make herself another and better pair of wings. We have not been able to discover the secret of this mysterious tailoring; but it appears to have been known to more than one happy lover, in Denmark, in the days that are no more. Of these the most noteworthy was evidently Master Hildebrand, who, to win the love of a fair lady, who had vowed to give her hand to none but a flying knight, "learned to dress him in guise of bird," and, in plumes of silver and wings of gold, came fluttering round her bower, nearer and nearer, till finally accepting her dainty invitation (for something seemed to draw her to him), he flitted in, to the lady's musical warble—

"O! bird! pretty bird! wert thou but tame,
I'd seat thee here on my broidery frame.
Oh! bird! pretty bird! wert thou but mine,
I'd set for thy perch my gilded shrine."

The dew falls. The maiden retires. The dark hours pass slowly. As the morning bell rings to matins, the gentle bird twitters. The lady wakes, in fear and wonder, and asks who is in the bower?
" 'Tis only your pretty bird," replies the maid.

"And down from his pole he flew below,
And strutted him boldly to and fro:
He flew and perched on the lady's bed,
And hopped and chirrup'd about her head:
He played with her hair, her pearls and band,
And gently he pecked the lady's hand.
'Dear bird, wert thou from feathers free
None other I'd take to wed but thee.'
'You've plighted your word, and now be true,
Give hither your hand, my claw take you.'
The lady she gave the bird her hand,
And free from feathers she saw him stand.
He shook his limbs from the plumage free,
And straight a gallant young knight was he.
'By day in thy cage thou still shalt keep,
By night shalt here in my bosom sleep.'
So long did the knight her chamber share,
Till Ingelille two little babies bare,
For summer amusement the lady won
A bonny fair maid and a comely son.

Her father came in the babes to see,
 And thus to his daughter dear, said he,
 'O say, my daughter, whom thou dost call
 The father to these pretty babes so small?
 'Dear father, to you the truth I'll tell,
 I found them both in a woody dell.
 I raised them from off the cold damp ground,
 And here have a foster mother found.'
 'Well, well, my daughter, so let that be,
 The babies perhaps belong to thee.'"

These babes in the wood are not obsolete yet! No one ever knows how they come, but there they are, indubitable "infant phenomena!" The present mysterious arrivals, however, happily bring no trouble to their casual discoverer. The father promises Sir Hildebrand fifteen estates if he will wed the fair philanthropist; but Sir Hildebrand, with a supreme contempt for all such sublunary things, magnificently bids him keep his estates, and give him his daughter, and nothing more. In the end, our "lily flower" lays her grief aside, regardless henceforth of joke and banter, for "the knight she has wedded can wing the air." A somewhat dangerous accomplishment, as Ingellile may one day learn to her cost, when her gay aeronaut "takes a flight to heaven to-night, and leaves dull earth behind him!"

In this ballad it would appear that Sir Hildebrand in assuming the dress, acquires the proportions, and even the form of a bird. Instances of a still more miraculous transformation occur in these poems: metamorphoses as wonderful as those in Ovid, comparable even to the singular variations of form in the "Arabian Nights' Entertainment." Now we have a maiden bewitched into a werwolf, or into a snake, or into a linden tree; now we have a knight who, in the shape of a lindworm, entices a lady into his cave, and is restored to human shape by the sweetest and most welcome of kisses; or else a lothely elf, availing himself of the same exquisite panacea, is disenchanted into the most beautiful King Charming that ever lived. Sometimes these changes of form are effected with bewildering facility and in astonishingly rapid succession, as in the poem of the Nightingale:—

"I well know where a castle stands,
 And richly it is dight,
 With silver and with ruddy gold,
 And marble polished bright.

Within its yard a linden stands,
 With tender leaflets hung,
 And dwells therein a Nightingale
 That sweetly tunes her tongue.

A gentle knight at midnight hour
 Came riding there along,
 And stood awhile in wonder lost
 To hear the warbler's song.

'Now hark, thou little Nightingale,
 A lay I prithee sing:
 And then thy neck I'll hang with pearl,
 With beaten gold thy wing.'

'I value not the plumes of gold
 That you would have me wear.
 I roam the world a wild-wood bird,
 Whom man shall never snare.'"

* * * *

This winged Arab of the woods is reminded by the knight of the cold and hunger that await her when the trees are bare. To which the wanderer replies that it is not hunger, wind or snow that trouble her. She has a secret sorrow! The brawling mountain stream, she moralizes, may disappear in the valley; but "memory of one we love can never be so lost." 'Tis the old story with the old *dramatis persone*: a fair lady in distress, a brave and gallant knight, and a wicked stepmother (stepmothers always are wicked). Transformed into a wolf by the runic spell of this domestic inter-loper, the knight had happily broken the spell and recovered his shape, but, continues our princess in disguise (for the Nightingale does duty for this second victim of a detestable social tyranny),

"I am still a little bird
 That flies on heath so wide,
 And pass in pain the weary hours,
 But most at winter-tide.

* * * *

'While others slept, I've on my bough
 Sung through the midnight hour,
 Nor ever found a better home
 Than in my greenwood bower.'

'Now hark thee, little Nightingale,
 With this my wish comply:
 The winter in my chamber sing,
 And off in summer fly.'

'Thanks to your offer, gentle knight,
 Your room I cannot share,
 For that my mother's spell forbids
 While feathered wings I wear.'"

The knight, however, watches his opportunity, and captures the unsuspecting Nightingale, as she sits musing, by the foot, carries her home, shuts door and window, and then sees her go through a whole menagerie of metamorphoses.

“To lion and to bear she turned,
And many monsters more,
Or as an ugly lindworm laughed,
And seemed athirst for gore.”

The knight at last interposes, and by one of those operations so effective in the therapeutic practice of Fairyland, he terminates the series with one crowning transformation, by which his patient recovers (and a most wonderful recovery it is) her bright original shape:—

“He cut her with his little knife,
And drew a stream of blood.
And there at once before his eyes
A blooming maiden stood.”

The runic spell of the wicked stepmother broken, the lady dries her tears, announces herself as daughter of the king and queen of Egypt, and is claimed as sister by the gallant wolf, who now in a far more presentable shape identifies in the pretty lady the companion and playfellow of childhood's happiest days.

“And was then Egypt's king thy sire,
And was thy mother queen?
Then thou art e'en my sister dear,
Who long a bird has been.

And loud was over house and land
The voice of joy and song,
That he that little bird had caught,
In linden lived so long.”

We are referred by the translator of these poems, in a note, to a graceful Flemish poem, possibly the original of this Danish lay, which cannot be traced further back than the beginning of the last century. He also presents us with a parallel to the transformations here recorded, in those described in a Scottish ballad. In this singular composition, a youth who has been carried off by the fairies, tells his sweetheart, Janet, that these “good people” will turn him into an adder and a snake; and counsels her, as she would be his wife, whatever happens, to hold him fast. Janet, continues the narrator, held him fast as she had been directed to do, till, after many transformations, “they shaped him in her arms at last a mother-naked man”—the most frightful surely, suggests Dr. Prior, of all the shocking forms he assumed: and it certainly does sound very horrible! Janet, however, nothing daunted, very wisely “wrapped him in her green mantle, and saw her true love won;” which is pleasant to learn.

In the poem from which we have just quoted, mention is made of runic spells.

“One of the most remarkable characteristics of the ancient Scandi-

navian mythology (say the authors of the *Literature and Romance of the North*), was the mighty power which was attributed to runes, or the old Norse letters. By them, Odin, who was the great master of runes, was represented as capable of doing the most miraculous things. By runes he compelled the Vala to awake from the dead in the realms of Hela, and answer his inquiries regarding the fate of Balder. By runes he could vanquish armies, destroy the edge of weapons, raise or lay tempests on land or sea, put out fires, fill the hearts of men with terror, or tranquillize the heart in deepest sorrow. But not Odin only, but all gods, and many of the giants and giantesses, or enchantresses, kings, queens, prophetesses, Valkyrior, and poets possessed the secret and power of the runes. These runes were the ancient, primitive, rudely shaped letters of the Gothic race. They were cut on staves of wood, called *Runstafvar*, or *Rimstafvar*, or on rocks and stones."

It is a singular fact that this Scandinavian alphabet was never rendered available for literary purposes. At most it was employed only to write an occasional letter; while the conservation of tales, poems, and historic narratives, was entrusted to the practised and disciplined, but fallacious and unchecked memories of Scalds and Sagamen. Reserved almost exclusively to form inscriptions on staves and memorial stones, the Norse letters were, in the popular belief, accredited with a mysterious power or magical efficacy, which was supposed to be immanent in them. It is not difficult to explain the genesis of this superstition.

"The people saw that through these runes ideas were communicated, and their imaginations were easily excited to credit any wonders that were attributed to them. They were precisely in the case of the South-Sea Islanders, who set up and worshipped a chip on which Williams, the missionary, had written a message to his wife. They were persuaded that there was a spirit in the chip; and the ancient Scandinavians, in their superstitious simplicity, were persuaded that there was a mighty spirit in the runes."*

This magical alphabet, these letters that lived and talked, attained extraordinary popularity with all persons and classes in Denmark. Heroes and heroines, princes and princesses, the lovely maiden and the enamoured knight, the dwarf's daughter and the wicked stepmother—all effect their several purposes, ensuring conquest, inspiring love, securing power, gratifying malice. Of Runes there are many kinds. It is sufficient to enumerate Runes of Victory; Drink-runes; Runes of Freedom; Storm-runes; Herb-runes, for healing wounds; Mind-runes, for the acquisition of intellectual superiority; and Speech-runes, to prevent personal injury. Many instances of the efficacy of runes might be cited from these volumes. A curious instance occurs in the ballad of

* *Literature and Romance of Northern Europe*, vol. i., p. 71.

"Sir Tideman and Blidelill," where the knight lures the maiden on board his ship by a pair of potent runes, "two little scribbled chips," which he tosses on the sea, and which she finds on the shore, brings home and places under her pillow, to the sorrow and destruction of both. For, vexed at the discourteous taunt of her lover, poor Blidelill leaps into the "billows blue," and is drowned; and Sir Tideman, in his sore anguish, tossing aside his cloak and plunging into the sea, is buried in that wandering purple grave.

A happier fate attends the lovers in the "Retorted Rune." Here the love-sick Prince carves and throws the magical letters with such skill, that they leap up beneath the cloak and under the scarlet gown of the lady of his thoughts. Following the prescribed ceremony, Fair Margaret sits motionless out on the rocky fell for nine nights and nine long days, and so retorts the runic spell on the Prince, who then for the first time tells his love; lamenting that, in the silent prosecution of his suit, he had wasted no less than five years; a waste which, as the young lady coquetishly but sensibly remarked, he had no one to thank for but himself:

"Full five years earlier, noble Prince,
My hand you might have won;
If only what you've done to-day
You from the first had done."

i.e., ridden across the land like a man, and made a formal and intelligible declaration!

One of the most graceful and fascinating of the Ballads of Romance, the fourth group in this collection, admirably illustrates the Runic mesmerism, so popular in those old days. We give it here, noting first, that the King of Iceland whom it celebrates is a myth. There never was any King of Iceland. Iceland, like England the Italy of Denmark, stands for any distant country. The piping Jute in plaid dress is too considerable a figure to be passed over. Did Scotland, indeed, derive her national music and costume from the countrymen of this redoubtable Jutish knight?

SIR TONNÉ.

"Sir Tonné forth from Alsey rode,
His sword slung at his side,
Alike on tented field and sea,
A hero stout and tried.

"Sir Tonné to the green-wood rode,
To chase the hind and hare;
And there the Dwarf-King's daughter met,
With other maidens fair.

- “She sat with golden harp in hand,
Beneath a linden tree;
‘See hither the knight Sir Tonné rides,
I’ll make him come to me.’
- “‘Sit down, sit down, my maidens all,
And thou, my page, be still;
I’ll play a rune that shall with flowers
The field and meadows fill.’
- “She played a rune on golden harp,
And when she touch’d the string,
The wild bird sitting on the bough
His song forgot to sing.
- “The wild bird sitting on the bough
His song forgot to sing;
The hart that in the greed-wood skipp’d
With joy forgot to spring.
- “Charm’d with her runes the meadow bloom’d,
And greener grew the wood;
In vain Sir Tonné spurred his steed,
Move he no longer could.
- “Sir Tonné sprang from off his horse,
No further wished to ride,
And to the Dwarf’s fair daughter went,
And sat him at her side.
- “‘All hail, Dwarf’s daughter, lovely maid!
Of flowers the peerless rose!
No mortal man thy beauty sees,
But straight with passion glows.
- “‘Hear me, Dwarf’s daughter, beauteous maid
Plight thou thy love to me,
And all the days I have to live,
I’ll faithful be to thee.’
- “‘Oh stay, Sir Tonné, gallant knight,
Nor me thy homage bring;
My hand another lover claims,
Our own Dwarf-people’s king.
- “‘My father dwells in mountain cave,
His courtiers round him stand;
My mother dwells there, too, and plays
With gold in lily hand.
- “‘Myself have stolen from out the cave
My golden harp to play;
But in a month my bridegroom comes
To fetch me hence away.’

- “Out from the cave her mother came,
With fierce and angry mien;
‘But how, then, Ulfhild, daughter mine,
Here in the wood so green?’
- “‘Twere better in thy mountain cave
To work thy bride-attire,
Than here to sit beneath a tree,
And strike the golden lyre.
- “‘The King of Dwarfs didst thou betroth,
To him thine honour plight;
Nor ought’st thus with runic strain
To’ve bound yon gallant knight.’
- “The Dwarf-wife went with all her train
Within the cavern door;
And with her went Sir Tonné too,
But saw and heard no more.
- “For o’er a chair she spread for him
A costly silken cloak,
And on it sat the knight in trance,
At cockerow first awoke.
- “The Dwarf’s wife call’d her little page,
And bade him bring the book,
And therewithal from off the knight
Her daughter’s spell she took.
- “‘Awake! I’ve thee for honour’s sake
Unbound from runic spell;
And full securely mayst thou now
My daughter’s art repel.
- “‘And further still, Sir knight, to prove
What love for thee I bear,
I’ll woo a gentle bride for thee,
A rose of beauty rare.’”

This “rose of beauty rare” is none other than the Princess Ermelinc, daughter of the Queen of Iceland, stolen, sought in vain, and now a captive maid in Upsal. Young Allevod, the nephew of the king, anticipating his own happy accession to the throne, intends some day to claim his beautiful prisoner for his bride. This project Thorelille, the dwarf’s wife (who, notwithstanding her present heathenish connexion, was a good Christian born, being, in fact, sister of the lady Adeline, the mother of the fair captive), determines to defeat. Accordingly, giving all her interest to Sir Tonné, she invites him to become the rival of Allevod, and to this end furnishes the knight with the usual natural and supernatural appliances, a steed, a saddle, a broad red shield inlaid with jewels, golden spurs, a golden-braided dress, and a golden band with such potent runes inclosed in it, that when he speaks, “every

word as from a book shall sound." To these indispensable gifts from the mother, Ulfhild, the daughter (such love she bore the knight), adds a sword, a lance, the art of never losing his way, invulnerability, and victory. Thus equipped, and having drunk of the sparkling cup, though presented by the suspiciously ex-Christian hands of Thorelille, Sir Tonné rides with gleaming spear through the green-wood. On his way he is greeted by the dwarf, who, learning his errand, bids Sir Tonné, noble knight, ride on in peace, promising him, however, that he will find a champion in Upsal who will try his strength. Hearing this, Sir Tonné, like a valiant gentleman, rides bravely forward, enters Swedish land, and seeing, beneath a spreading tree, nine stalwart knights, ready armed, gives them fair and courteous challenge thus:—

“ ‘ There stand ye nine stout Swedish knights,
Will ye your valour prove?
For ruddy gold, or glory fight,
Or for your lady love?’ ”

“ ‘ Upspake the first, Prince Allevod,
So proud was he and bold:
‘ Enough have we, and crave no more
Of glory or of gold.’ ”

“ ‘ A noble maid at Upsal sits,
And Ermeline her name;
For her sake let us break a spear,
See which her hand shall claim.’ ”

“ ‘ Their first charge rode with all their force,
Those gallant heroes twain;
And spears fell shiver’d on the grass,
And shields were rent in twain.’ ”

At the second charge, Allevod is unhorsed! He falls, never again to look a noble foe in the face. In vain the Swedish knights try to avenge him. Fortune is unfriendly to them, and Sir Tonné beats them all.

“ ‘ Fain o’er their shoulders did the knights
Their purple mantles fling,
And mounted up to the lofty hall,
And stood before the king.’ ”

“ ‘ A Jutish knight is come to land
With raiment pied and striped,
Eight knights he has wounded on the field,
So ill for them he piped.’ ”

“ ‘ Eight knights he has wounded on the field,
And left them halt and lame;
And Allevod, thy nephew, kill’d,
Curse on his Jutish name!’ ”

“Then answered them the aged king,
All with his long gray hair,
‘Avenge me on the plaided Jute,
And sable ye shall wear.’

“Out rode those Swedish warriors all,
And thought a prize to gain,
But soon their laughter turn’d to woe,
And all their joy to pain.”

There is no help for it. This Jutish man is invincible. Henceforth they must give up all thought of sable robe, lay aside their purple mantles, and wrap their limbs in cloth of wadmal gray. So fares it this day with these mournful, discomfited knights; but—

“Sir Tonné he to Upsal rode
With glory clad and grace;
The Swedish warriors dared no more
That doughty knight to face.

“He kill’d the bear that watch’d the door,
He broke the bar in twain:
And he released the lovely maid
So long in thrall had lain.

“The Swedish courtiers all were still,
No word escaped their tongue;
A grudging grim consent the Jute
From all of them had wrung.

“He worsted all those Swedish knights,
The lion and eke the bear,
And enter’d into the lofty bower,
To see that peerless fair.

“‘Welcome, Sir Tonné, gallant knight!
Right welcome thou to me!
For if I should the truth avow,
I’ve sorely long’d for thee.

“‘Twas told me while a little child
A foreign knight should come,
And Allevod, my gaoler, slay,
And take me with him home.

“‘And now, Sir Tonné, gallant knight,
Be true and good to me;
For in the world is other none
I rather wed than thee.’”

Sir Tonné hears, and like a gallant knight, clasps the willing fair, and bearing her off with all her treasure, brings her to his Jutland home, amid the joyous gratulations of the Alsey people. And now the news travels to Iceland, and Queen Adeline hears that her long-lost daughter is found. Sir Tonné is

summoned to the Iceland court. Launching his gallant ship, with sail spread on gilded mast, he reaches, after a two months' voyage, the wished-for land. The aged king and queen are waiting on the strand with glad welcome for the knight and his bride. No sooner do they step on shore, than the venerable monarch, in an ecstacy of generous delight, abdicates the crown, making a present of his island-kingdom to his popular and prosperous son-in-law.

“Now is Sir Tonné, gallant knight,
A happy man, I ween;
He rules in Iceland far and wide,
And sleeps with Ermeline.
“He’s now become a mighty king,
Whom towns and forts obey,
And never wish the Swedish knights,
To see him come their way.”

In selecting the passages cited from these ballads, we have made no attempt to preserve the distinction of groups into which the translator has thrown them, but naturally commencing with the first or heroic division, and following the thread of reflective or fanciful association, have extracted those portions which seemed best suited to our purpose. Of the numerous remaining ballads in the present collection, some are too long to admit of satisfactory exposition here: as, for instance, the pathetic and popular tale of Axel and Walborg. Yet if compelled to abstain from detailed description and continuous quotation, we may at least indicate the subject matter and general characteristics of these singular productions.

Briefly, then, we find among their number some that move us with their deep pathos and passionate imagination; some that charm us with their wild but delicate beauty, and some that are rigid as with Dantesque sternness. Others again are joyous, laughing, gamesome, sparkling with sportive grace or quaint fancy; while a third class are resonant with a schoolboy mirth that borders on horse-play. Their topics are very various, ranging from love and elopement to battle and murder; from sublime heroism and angelic goodness to deadly crime and tragic repentance. Extravagant, improbable, and outrageously impossible are the incidents and adventures which they commonly record. Now, a dreadful giant is trapped and destroyed; now, a good king rescues a lion from a horrible dragon; now, a valiant monk defends his cloister against twelve stalwart champions, and afterwards becomes its abbot; and now, flying from famine, which is far more credible, every third man in Denmark goes to seek his fortune in smiling Lombardy. Next we read of the destruction of a cannibal Trolld, or the safe convoy of a lady's

love-letter by a romantic raven. Presently, changing secular chronicle for ecclesiastical legend, we learn how Mary Magdalene does penance for her sins; how a martyred wife ascends to heaven in the shape of a white dove; or, how two cavaliers go hunting on the Sabbath-day, quarrel, and come to a bad end. There is nothing too astonishing for these ballads. Mermen and mermaids, hill-kings and dwarf-kings, water sprites, and knights in Elfland, are the ordinary inhabitants of their poetic world. Nature is charmingly capricious here, and has evidently no notion of regulating her actions by fixed laws and invariable uniformities. Accordingly, when a jealous king makes mince-meat of a noble Algrave, and serves him up for the queen's dinner, and her discriminating majesty, detecting the trick, takes the dear remains and dips them in Maribo well, we are not in the least surprised to find these come together again, and form an entire Christian man. In the same way, when a roasted cock crows on the table of king Herod, to announce the birth of Jesus, we take it all as a matter of course. "God forbid that I should doubt it," said the model beggar woman, who sang it at Pantoppidan's door, at the beginning of the last century.

These ballads, it has been remarked, have a sort of family resemblance to those of England, Scotland, and Germany. Many of the north country ballads were perhaps transmitted through Scotland from the Scandinavian Islands. Among the resembling poems are "Fair Metelille," which may be compared with the "Twa Knights" in "Buchan;" "Sir Sallemand," the last stanzas in which are similar to the concluding verses in "Prince Robert," in Scott's *Minstrelsy*, as also to those of the well-known ditty of "Lord Lovel;" "Rosner," from the Scottish edition of which is derived the quotation of Edgar, in *King Lear*:—"Childe Roland to the dark tower came, &c.;" "The Victory of Patience," the counter-part of "the Patient Countess" in Percy's *Ballads*, and the Danish version of the touching tale of *Griselidis*, borrowed from "the Lay of the Ash;" and finally, "Sir Ogey and Lady Elsey," which finds a representative in "Sweet William's Ghost." Of these international ballads we select the last, remarkable for pathetic beauty and imaginative truth.

" ' Now hear me, dear Sir Ogey,
The truth I pray thee tell,
How under ground thou farest
Down in thy cell.'

" ' 'Tis so down in that earth-house,
Where I must tarry now,
'Tis as the joys of heaven,
If happy thou.'

“ ‘Then hear me, knight Sir Ogey,
And grant the boon I crave,
To go with thee, my dearest,
And share thy grave.’

“ ‘Tis so down in that earth-house,
My narrow, lonely cell ;
'Tis like to hellish torture,
O cross thyself well !

“ ‘So oft as thou art weeping,
And grieveest thee so sore,
Is brimming full my coffin
With blood and gore.

“ ‘Above my head is growing
The grass so sweet ;
But lothely snakes are twining
About my feet.

“ ‘Yet when I hear thee singing,
And thou art glad,
Then is my grave's small chamber
With roses clad.

“ ‘The white cock now is crowing,
And I must down below ;
To earth wend all my fellows,
And with them I must go.

· ‘The red cock now is crowing,
And I must down below ;
To earth must wend all dead men,
And I too must go.

“ ‘And now the black cock's crowing,
Home I must below ;
Unlock'd are all the portals,
And I too must go.’ ”

And now as Lady Elsey, sorrowful of mood, walks beside her bridegroom, mark the preternatural change that comes over Sir Ogey, and compare it with the withering of the Elysian beauty, the throwing of the Stygian hue over the roseate lips of Protesilaus, in Wordsworth's majestic poem, “Laodamia.”

“ But when she reach'd the churchyard,
She saw his golden hair,
How pale it grew and paler,
That once had been so fair.

“ And when she had cross’d the churchyard,
Up to the church’s door,
Grew pale Sir Ogey’s cheek too,
As roses red before.

“ At hand and foot Sir Ogey
Was fading away ;
Fading his cheerful rosy cheeks
To clods of clay.

“ ‘ Now hear me, Lady Elsey,
Hear me, my bride so dear,
No longer mourn thy husband,
Nor drop for him a tear ;

“ ‘ But wend thee home, dear Elsey,
In peace to sleep ;
No longer mourn thy bridegroom,
No longer weep.

“ ‘ See yon small stars above thee,
How wanes their light ;
And see how fast is fleeting
The hour of night.’ ”

As the lady turns her towards the heavens and observes the waning stars, her dead lover glides into that dark underworld, and disappears. Sore grieving, this Bride of Hades re-seeks her home, “ and ere that month is ended, is on her bier and dead.”

The beautiful feeling and delicate fancy of this poem are not easily matched ; but we may compare with the poetic reality of its representations, a sublime conception in the fine ballad of “*Mar Stig*,” a conception which as W. Grimm observes, has quite a Shakspearian character. In this ballad the phantasm in the wood is the ideal impersonation of an evil conscience ; the haunting sense of guilt in a man of luxurious emotion creating Furies with “beautiful regards,” and the external loveliness evoked by his voluptuous imagination, suggesting as by a principle of antagonism, the damning ugliness of the crime which prohibits the hope of sympathy and precludes the power of enjoyment.

“ The king into the thicket peer’d,
As closed the darkling night,
And soon was ware of a small house,
Where burnt a fire and light.

“ He stepp’d within the woodland hut,
And sad at heart was he,
But found a lovely maiden there
As eye could wish to see.

"Her he clasp'd fondly round her waist,
And straight began to woo :

'Hear me, fair maid, nor say me nay,
To-night I sleep with you.'

"Answer me first,' the maid replied,
In laughing merry tone ;

'Answer me first, King Erick, you,
What deed you last have done ?'

"Sweet lovely maid, if that you know,
More tidings you can give ;
So tell me, lovely maid, but this—
How long I've yet to live ?'

"With hearty glee laugh'd the fair maid,
And this her dubious word :

'That question ask the little hook
Whereon is hung your sword.'

"King Erick fain had held the maid,
But this he tried in vain ;
She slipp'd away between his hands,
He saw her not again.

"So long as with the king she stood,
Blazed there a cheerful fire ;
But soon as she had fled away,
Was nought but tangled briar."

With the workings of remorseful passion as here portrayed with profound psychological truth, we may compare the repentance of a guilt-stricken man under the compulsion of an inevitable doom, in the fine Lallad called "Sir John Rimord's Son's Shrift." In addition to its great poetic merit, this powerful and picturesque composition, with its panoramic glimpse into a lawless and superstitious age, forms no inappropriate close to this ballad representation of the extinct social existence of the North, calling up as it does before the mind's eye the rough sea life of old Denmark, and leaving us thoughtful listeners to the plunging waves, with the sharp smell of the brine and the cold blower from the north as fresh and strong as ever, while the deserted boat, emblem of that wild Scandinavian world, which having fulfilled its purpose has died out, lies dry and useless, in its last dreary resting-place.

"The grass is green beneath the ship,
She is rotting on the shore :
A captain brave as was Sir John,
Shall never steer her more.

"In Ribé sits the Danish king,
And writes a stern decree,
To summon out his liege men all,
And bid them put to sea.

“ ‘Now,’ said Sir John, as o’er his neck
His linkéd mail he threw,
‘Who sails not out with us to-day
Nor loyal is, nor true.

“ ‘Aye,’ said Sir John, said Rimord’s son,
And girded on his sword,
‘Who sails not out with us to-day,
Is traitor to his lord.

“ ‘To-night we’ll drink a full carouse,
Can we but get the ale ;
To-morrow, if the breeze is fair,
We’ll put to sea and sail.’

* * * *

“ Scarcely out from land they saw the waves
With fury rage and roar ;
The old skipper Hogen through the mist
Could see the lea no more.

“ In fearful sport on the wild sea
They saw the billows rise,
And mute and sad the old skipper sat,
The tear-drops in his eyes.

“ ‘Fore wind and wave drove on the ship,
Amid the tempest din,
And still and gloomy sat Sir John,
His hand beneath his chin.

“ While every squall across the deck
The salty billows drove,
Still, as though ladies cut his hair,
Was he not seen to move.

“ ‘But where are now the troopers bold,
Yest’reen such speeches made ?
Let them now take the helm in hand,
The anchor’s fairly weigh’d.

“ ‘Aye, where are all the braggarts now,
Who lately made such boast ?
Let them go stand beside the helm,
The sail is fairly loos’d.’

“ ‘Twas so that ancient skipper spake,
His face with terror pale ;
‘There’s here some murderous wretch on board,
Hinders the ship to sail.

“ ‘Up men, we’ll cast the lots about,
On whom it falls we’ll see ;
And if there sails a villain here,
Go overboard shall he.”

'They cast lots ; the lot falls on Sir John. No holy priest is near, but in his peril he makes his shrift to the "great good Christ," "before the mast out on the roaring sea," not, however, without a pious fiction, pardonable, we will hope, for his filial love's sake.

" ' But if, when you shall be on land,
My mother ask for me ;
Tell her I serve the king at court,
And live in health and glee.'

" ' Three money-pouches took Sir John,
And firmly about him bound :
' A boon for him who lays my corse
Beneath some holy ground.'

" Loud rose their cry, as crosswise spread
He sank to rise no more,
And took a wild untravell'd path
Down to the Ocean's floor.

" Of all the seven and seventy men,
That forth from court had gone,
There came no more than five to land,
Sir John's small page was one.

" Now let us to the churchyard go,
For Rimord's son to pray ;
For never again will Danish king
His equal have in *any* day.

" There's lying dry at Borringholm,
The riven and useless boat ;
And tossing on the ruthless stream,
Their wretched corpses float."

With this striking quotation we close the volumes, rejoicing to have met with such fine specimens of ancient Danish literature in so pleasant an English dress ; and to have realized more vividly our intimate relationship with a brave northern people. For with the Danes, perhaps even more closely than with the Germans, is the great English nation allied. Our devotion to freedom, our genius for empire and colonization, our spirit of maritime adventure and exploration, seem to refer us, for their immediate source, to the old Scandinavian heroes, the discoverers of Iceland, the settlers in Greenland, the predecessors of Columbus in America, the loyal life-guardsmen of Constantinople, the co-inheritors of English soil, the besiegers of Paris, and improprators of Normandy under Rolf, the 'Sea-horse,' renowned forefather of that terrible 'Splendour of God,' the second Duke William, who, in due time, conquered from the ill-starred Saxons our beautiful England, the mythical 'paradise' of his ancestors ; and who, by

that final act of conquest rendered it henceforth for ever unconquerable !

Associating with these memories of rude energy and wild adventure, the gentler triumphs of our own happier day, we offer our farewell homage to the brave people of the North, the children of Odin who worshipped valour in the morning of time, the land of ancient ballad and prophecy, of modern art and science, the birthplace of Sæmund and Oehenschläger, Andersen and Bremer, Thorwaldsen, and Dancker, Tycho Brahe, Berzelius, and Oersted.



ART. II.—ALCOHOL : WHAT BECOMES OF IT IN THE LIVING BODY ?*

Du Rôle de l'Alcool et des Anesthésiques dans l'Organisme, Recherches Expérimentales. Par Ludger Lallemand et Maurice Perrin, Médecins-Majors, Professeurs Agrégés à l'Ecole Impériale de Médecine et de Pharmacie Militaires ; et J. L. P. Duroy, Membre de la Société de Pharmacie de Paris. Avec 10 figures intercalées dans le texte. Paris, 1860.

NOTWITHSTANDING that so much has been said and written upon the *modus operandi* of alcohol and alcoholic drinks on the living organism, the experimental inquiries which have been undertaken with the view of determining what becomes of this agent, when it has been received into the stomach or injected into the blood-current, have been few and by no means satisfactory. By far the most complete were those of Dr. Percy, executed more than twenty years ago, of which an account was given in his Prize Thesis;† but so little have Dr. Percy's researches become known beyond a very limited circle, that we have

* Our readers who recollect the views expressed in an article entitled "The Physiological Errors of Teetotalism," which we published in July, 1855, will observe that they differ widely from those put forward in the present article. Since the date of our former article, scientific research has brought to light important facts which necessarily modify the opinions we then expressed concerning the rôle of alcohol in the animal body. Faithful to the revelations of science, rather than mindful of consistency, we hasten to lay before our readers the last results of a long and laborious series of experiments bearing on the subject in question.—*Editor.*

† "An Experimental Inquiry concerning the presence of Alcohol in the Ventricles of the Brain, after poisoning by that liquid ; together with Experiments illustrative of the Physiological Action of Alcohol. London and Edinburgh. 1839."

never seen them referred to, save at second-hand, by any Continental writers; and his clear and definite results seem to have been almost entirely ignored by subsequent experimenters, none of whom, previously to the inquiry of which the details are recorded in the volume before us, had even approached the success which he obtained.

Dr. Percy's investigations, which were made partly upon the human subject, but chiefly upon dogs, were directed, in the first instance, to test the statement of Dr. Ogston, of Aberdeen, that in cases of death from alcoholic poisoning, the fluid effused into the ventricles of the brain occasionally contains alcohol. He very properly refused to rely upon the mere odour or inflammability of the effused fluid as an evidence of its alcoholic character; and rested his conclusion as to the presence of alcohol on his ability to procure by distillation a sufficient quantity of liquid which should give, when treated with sub-carbonate of potass, a stratum whose alcoholic character was indicated, not only by its inflammability, but by its power of dissolving camphor. Having introduced alcohol into the stomachs of several dogs, sometimes in quantity sufficient to produce immediate death, in other cases in such dilution as only to produce the ordinary phenomena of alcoholic intoxication, he found no difficulty in extracting alcohol, not merely from their blood, but also from the substance of the brain, although he was unable to detect it in the fluid effused into its ventricles; and he distinctly states that the proportion obtainable from the brain is larger than that yielded by an equivalent amount of blood, so that (as he remarks) "it would almost seem that a kind of affinity existed between alcohol and the cerebral matters." He further obtained alcohol from the substance of the liver and from bile, from which (he says) "it may be separated with great facility;" and he also detected it unmistakeably in the urine, both of the dog and of man, although two of the highest contemporary authorities, Berzelius and Müller, had most explicitly denied the fact of its passage into that excretion. Dr. Percy further showed that when alcohol is introduced into the current of the circulation, it occasions death, *not*, as stated by Orfila, by coagulating the blood, but in virtue of its specific effect upon the nervous centres. And his experiments afford strong ground for the conclusion, that except in those cases in which the introduction of a sufficient quantity of concentrated alcohol into the stomach acts through its nerves, like a blow upon the epigastrium, so as to produce a *shock* to the nervous centres, the effect is due to the absorption of the alcohol, and to its conveyance in substance to the organ on which its peculiar influence is exerted. Familiar as we have since become with this idea, it is one which was at that time very commonly regarded as hypothetical; and

we regard Dr. Percy's demonstration as having contributed not a little to the general acceptance it has since met with.

If these results had been more extensively known, and had been more fully appreciated, we doubt if the Liebigian doctrine of the *alimentary* value of alcohol would have been so generally admitted as it has been both by the supporters and by the opponents of the habitual use of alcoholic beverages. On the one hand it has been urged that alcohol, though not entitled to be regarded as a tissue-forming material, is nevertheless a very efficient calorifying agent; whilst on the other it has been maintained that whatever may be its value as a calorifying agent, it should be excluded from ordinary use in favour of other substances which do not (like it) exert a decidedly prejudicial influence on the system when taken in even small excess. Yet no proof of any kind was adduced by Liebig that alcohol is eliminated from the blood, when it has been received into the current of the circulation, by a combustive process; the fact of such elimination having been taken for granted as a deduction from the eminently combustive nature of this substance, which would render it (as it was supposed) pre-eminently disposed to change itself into water and carbonic acid, when brought into relation with alcohol in the capillaries of the lungs. It might have been urged on the other side, that the fact of alcohol being eliminated without change by the biliary and urinary excretions, to say nothing of its less certain but still probable passage in substance into the pulmonary and cutaneous exhalation (as indicated by the alcoholic odour continually observable in the breath and sometimes in the perspiration of those who have imbibed any considerable amount of alcoholic fluids), furnishes a strong argument against the assumption that it undergoes a combustive process like articles of food and their derivatives; since we know of no proper alimentary substance which is cast out unchanged from the system by the excretory processes, except when (as in diabetes and albuminuria) there is some derangement in the organic functions. We are not aware, however, that this argument was ever explicitly advanced; and the general opinion seems to have been, that alcohol would only thus find its way into the tissues and excretions, when received into the circulating current more rapidly than it could be eliminated through the lungs by the combustive process.

Modern science, however, takes nothing for granted, but requires the precise determination, step by step, of every point as to which a question can possibly be raised; and its more exact method of reasoning has caused it to become apparent, that so long as no proof can be afforded that alcohol is got rid of by a combustive process, so long the probability is decidedly the other way. It is obvious that no certain indications can be drawn from

the study of the respiratory products ; since, of the water which is exhaled in the breath we have no direct means of determining how much has been formed by the combustive process, and how much is mere transudation ; and of the carbonic acid it is impossible to say whether it is the product of the combustion of alcohol, or of that of the hydrocarbons (sugar and fat) ordinarily present in the blood. Several experimenters have noticed a diminution in the amount of carbonic acid exhaled after the ingestion of alcoholic beverages ; and this has been generally accounted for on the supposition, that as hydrogen bears to carbon a much larger proportion in alcohol than it does in the ordinary hydrocarbons of the blood, a larger proportion of the inspired oxygen will be converted by the combustive process into water, and a smaller proportion into carbonic acid,—an explanation which might be accepted if it were proved that alcohol actually undergoes the combustive process, but which obviously can afford no support to the assumption which is really its basis. And the more recent researches of Dr. Edward Smith have shown that the several kinds of alcoholic liquids exert very different effects upon the exhalation of carbonic acid ; its quantity being increased in various degrees by the ingestion of alcohol, rum, sherry wine, and good malt liquors ; whilst it is diminished by brandy and gin ; different samples of whisky affording diverse results.

Another method of research, however, has been devised for the determination of this question ; that, namely, of endeavouring to ascertain if any of those *derivatives* of alcohol can be detected in the blood, the presence of which would indicate that it undergoes gradational oxidation. The first of the derivatives formed by the agency of oxidizing substances on alcohol, is known as *aldehyde* ; this is alcohol *minus* two equivalents of hydrogen, which have united with oxygen to form water. The second of these derivatives, which results from a further process of oxidation, is *acetic acid* ; in which substance the two equivalents of hydrogen thus removed to form water, are replaced by two additional equivalents of oxygen. Now, MM. Bouchardat and Sandras,* whilst maintaining that alcohol is ordinarily “ burned off ” by respiration, so as at once to form water and carbonic acid, thought that they had occasionally discovered the presence, in the vapour expired from the lungs, of small quantities of alcohol, and of acetic acid as a derivative from it. They attributed the death of animals poisoned by alcohol to its greed of oxygen, which (according to them) so completely abstracts it from the other constituents of the blood, that the effect is the same as if the animals were asphyxiated by

* De la Digestion des Boissons Alcooliques, et de leur rôle dans la Nutrition,” in *Annales de Chimie et de Physique*. 1847. Tom. XXI.

being plunged in an atmosphere containing no oxygen. More recently M. Duchek* has essayed to prove that alcohol introduced into the circulation is first changed into aldehyde, then into acetic acid, and then gives rise to the formation of oxalic acid, before being finally disposed of in the form of carbonic acid and water. If this were unmistakably proved, it would doubtless afford a very strong argument in favour of the combustive theory; but M. Duchek seems to have been so strongly possessed with the Liebigian doctrine that alcohol is food, as to have limited himself to one side of the inquiry, and to have accepted as conclusive evidence in his favour, indications whose validity needed to be carefully examined by a greater variety of tests. His conclusions were soon called in question by Buckheim, a higher authority on a matter of this kind;† who pointed out that Duchek really adduced no sufficient proof of the presence of aldehyde in the blood of animals poisoned by alcohol, and that the probability is very strong against the assumption. He determined with certainty the presence of alcohol in the condensed respiratory products and in the urine, both in the case of dogs and in that of two men; on the other hand, he failed to detect either the acetic or the oxalic acid, whose presence either in the blood or in the excretions would indicate a further metamorphosis of alcohol within the system.

Such was the condition of the question when it was taken up by the authors of the remarkable work before us; who state that they have been led to the inquiry into the effects of alcohol on the living body, by the study (in which they have been for several years engaged) of the *modus operandi* of anæsthetic agents. Having invented a method of detecting the presence of chloroform in the blood and in the tissues of the body, they had succeeded in proving that when this agent is inhaled it is received in substance into the blood, and is conveyed to the brain, from which it may be extracted after death; whilst, on the other hand, if the inhalation of the vapour be suspended, the chloroform is rapidly eliminated from the system, not by a combustive process, but by passing in substance into the pulmonary exhalation. Encouraged by these results, they desired to extend the same method of inquiry not merely to other anæsthetic agents, but also to various substances which had more or less of affinity to them; and they naturally turned their attention in the first instance to alcohol, the relation of which to the ordinary anæsthetics is the closest both in its chemical composition and in its physiological action.

In their earlier researches they employed, like Dr. Percy, the

* "Über das Verhalten des Alkohols in thierischen Organismus," in Vierteljahrs-Schrift für die praktische Heilkunde. Prag. 1833.

† Lehrbuch der Arzneimittellehre, p. 103.

method of distillation and condensation as a means of detecting the presence of alcohol ; and apparently in ignorance of what he had long before demonstrated, they proved, as he had done, that alcohol received into the stomach is absorbed into the blood, and is withdrawn from it into the substance of the nervous centres. They then applied the same method to the search for alcohol in the exhalation from the lungs ; causing two men, of whom each had taken brandy, to expire through an apparatus fitted to condense the vapour of the breath ; and then distilling the liquor so obtained. The results were entirely negative, not a trace of alcohol being detected in the product of distillation. It fortunately happened, however, that they had placed at the extremity of the apparatus a tube containing a solution of bichromate of potass in sulphuric acid,—a red liquor which is turned to an emerald green by the presence of certain organic compounds, the chromic acid being decomposed and reduced to the condition of green oxide of chromium ;—and they observed that the expired air, after the separation of its watery vapour, rapidly effected this conversion as it passed through the tube. Profiting by this suggestion, they applied themselves to the determination of the value of their new test ; and having ascertained in the first place, that persons who had taken no alcohol for some hours previously might expire for any length of time through the solution without producing the least discoloration of it, they were justified in concluding that such discoloration indicated the presence either of alcohol or of some of its derivatives in the expired air. A careful series of experiments was next made for the purpose of ascertaining whether aldehyde is present in the blood of animals that have received alcohol into their stomachs ; and although no difficulty was experienced in detecting aldehyde in the blood when it had itself been administered, not the least trace of it could be found after the administration of alcohol. Evidence was obtained, that when alcohol remains sufficiently long in the stomach, a trifling amount of it is converted into acetic acid under the influence of the ferment contained in the gastric juice ; and traces of acetic acid were occasionally found in the blood ; but as such traces may be detected also when no alcohol has been taken, provided that the food contains starchy or saccharine components, there is an entire absence of evidence that alcohol goes through a conversion into acetic acid in the course of its circulation with the blood-current. Further, when the blood or the cerebral substance of animals poisoned by alcohol, was subjected to the chromic test, the indications which it afforded were in precise accordance with the proof obtained, by the distillation of actual alcohol, of its presence in those parts of their bodies. The value of this test, as employed under proper precautions, having thus been

conclusively established, and its delicacy having been shown to be far greater than that of the separation of alcohol by distillation, our authors availed themselves of this new process to carry out a fresh inquiry into the mode in which alcohol is disposed of when introduced into the stomach of a living animal.

Modern chemistry makes great use, in quantitative analysis, of what is termed the "method of volumes." Formerly, when a reagent was employed to throw down from its solution some substance whose amount had been determined, it was the precipitate that was carefully collected and weighed, no account being taken of the quantity of the reagent that was required for its production. But it is now found to be far more easy, and (with due precaution) not less accurate, to employ a test-liquid of a certain known strength, and to estimate the amount of the substance which it is employed to detect, by the quantity of it that may be required for the complete precipitation of that substance. This method, with a difference arising out of the nature of the case, was found applicable in the use of the chromic test for alcohol. A solution of bichromate of potass in sulphuric acid was prepared of a certain known strength, and a definite measure of it was put into a glass tube of fixed diameter. When air containing alcoholic vapour was passed through this, conversion of its red hue to emerald-green afforded a definite standard of comparison; and one tube being substituted after another, as the conversion became complete in each, until no further change could be perceived, the proportional amount of alcohol-vapour given off in different experiments was readily determinable by the total quantity of the solution thus changed; whilst the time required for the conversion, the quantity of air passed through the tube being the same, gave the measure of the proportion of alcohol vapour existing in the air—a measure which was exceedingly ready and useful in the application of this process to the detection of alcohol in the products of respiration. Thus, in one of the experiments, a man having taken at breakfast a *litre* of red wine containing 10 per cent. of alcohol, and his meal having terminated at 10½ A.M., his breath was found at noon and at 1 P.M. to convert a centimètre of the test-liquid in *two* minutes; at 2 P.M., in *four* minutes; at 4 P.M., in *ten* minutes; and at 5 P.M., in *fifteen* minutes; whilst at 6 P.M., after fifteen minutes the colour was but partially changed, and at 7 P.M. no conversion whatever took place; the gradual diminution, and the period of the entire cessation, of the elimination of alcohol by pulmonary exhalation being thus very definitely indicated. So, again, the urine of the same subject being submitted to the chromic-test at similar intervals, it was found that whilst 60 grammes of that excretion passed at mid-day gave off alcoholic vapour enough to change the colour of *sixteen* cubic centimètres

of the test-liquor; the same quantity passed at 2 P.M. produced the like effect on *fifteen* cubic centimètres; at 4 P.M., on *twelve*; at 6 P.M., on *ten*; at 8 P.M., on *four*; at 10 P.M., on *one*; whilst that passed at midnight gave but a very faint trace of the characteristic reaction.

It is not only, however, by the lungs and by the kidneys that the progressive elimination of alcohol is thus shown to be effected; for the application of the same method of research has enabled our authors to detect the presence of alcohol in the vapour exhaled from the skin of a dog in a state of alcoholic intoxication. And they have further been able to trace the passage of alcohol circulating in the blood-current into all the tissues of the body,—the liver and the brain, however, being the parts in which it most tends to accumulate. It is not a little curious that the proportions obtainable from these two organs should differ notably, according as the alcohol has been taken into the stomach and absorbed through the portal system (which will bring it into direct relation with the substance of the liver) into the general circulation, or as it has been at once introduced into the general circulation by direct injection. In the former case, the proportion of alcohol obtainable from a given weight of blood being represented by 1·00, the proportions yielded by the same weights of brain and liver were 1·34 and 1·48 respectively. But in the latter, the proportion obtainable from a given weight of blood being still represented by 1·00, the proportions yielded by the same weights of brain and liver were 3·00 and 1·75 respectively. In either case, the proportion obtainable from muscular flesh was much less than that yielded by the blood.

Experiments of this kind, repeated and varied in divers modes, seem to leave no doubt whatever, that not only is alcohol separated from the blood by the tissues of the body, especially the substance of the brain and of the liver, but that the excretory organs are continually engaged in its elimination, even when the quantity introduced into the system has been but small; and that the larger the quantity of alcohol introduced into the system, the longer is the period required for its entire removal from the circulating current. From these experiments our authors think themselves justified in drawing the conclusion, that alcohol undergoes no combustive action in the living body, but that the whole of what is ingested is excreted unchanged; so that this substance has no claim whatever to rank among articles of food, but must be placed in the category of those medicinal or toxic agents, whose presence in the living body exerts an important influence on its functions, though they do not themselves enter into combination with any of its components. They readily admit that they have not succeeded in reproducing in any instance from the excre-

tory products the whole amount of the alcohol introduced into the system ; but they very justly urge that such a demonstration cannot fairly be exacted, all circumstances considered ; and that all the evidence which the nature of the case admits, points in one direction. For there is on the one hand, an entire absence of positive evidence that alcohol is eliminated from the system by a combusive process ; whilst the assumption that it is so eliminated is opposed to the fact that none of the derivatives of alcohol are detectable in the blood, although the presence of either of them would be recognised without difficulty if it were really there ; and is rendered still more improbable by the length of time during which alcohol can be shown to remain in the body, even when ingested in small quantities. On the other hand we have the positive evidence afforded by the detection of alcohol in the pulmonary and cutaneous exhalations and in the urinary excretion, in quantities at first considerable, but gradually diminishing with the increase of the interval, until (as parallel analyses of the blood and of the tissues indicate) there is reason to believe that this substance has been entirely removed from the system. Our authors justly lay stress on the fact that it is not the mere excess of alcohol, which the system cannot profitably use up, that finds its way into the excretions ; for they detected alcohol in the urine of a man within half an hour after he had taken no more than 30 grammes (163 grains) of brandy ; and in the case already cited, the ingestion of only a litre (or ordinary bottle) of weak wine gave rise to a continued elimination of alcohol by the lungs during eight hours, and by the kidneys during fourteen hours. A very striking proof of the length of time during which alcohol remains unmodified in the system, after being ingested in any considerable amount, is afforded by the fact that it was found in abundance in the brain, liver, and blood of a vigorous man, who died of the remote results of alcoholic poisoning *thirty-two hours* after drinking a litre of brandy, notwithstanding the early use of emetics and other remedial means.

If, then, we refrain from adopting our authors' conclusion as a demonstrated fact, we feel justified in admitting its claim (until any opposing data shall have been furnished by fresh inquiries) to as firm a basis of probability as that on which has been erected the greater part of the existing fabric of physiological doctrine. Doubtless the advocates of the "food" hypothesis will be both able and ready to show the insufficiency of the proofs on the strength of which that hypothesis is now pronounced to be fallacious : the candid inquirer, however, will not test the validity of the new doctrine by its accordance with one to which he has been long accustomed to give an unquestioning assent, but will rather turn his thoughts to the claims which the latter has upon his

acceptance, and will examine if these are really such as to demand his negation of the strong probabilities that can be urged on the other side. A very good rule in all such cases is to make the old and the new doctrine change places, admitting the new one, *pro tempore*, to the place which the old one has long held, and then considering whether, if the old one were now advanced for the first time, it would be able to establish any claim to reception. To us it appears perfectly clear that if the minds of physiologists had been in the first instance thoroughly imbued with the important facts adduced by the authors of the work before us, as to the progressive elimination of alcohol in substance from the living body by each of the three principal emunctories provided for the purification of the blood, they would have at once rejected as a baseless assumption the notion that alcohol undergoes a process of combustion in the body and is entitled to take rank as an alimentary material. If this be really so, this is surely the attitude which, on a fair balance of the evidence now before them, they are bound to assume in regard to this important question.

It is not requisite for us to follow our authors through their detailed inquiry into the pathology of alcoholic poisoning, since they do not add anything of importance to what was previously known on the subject, and their general result is in accordance with what has been commonly taught by physiologists and toxicologists in this country—namely, that alcohol in large doses exerts a specific influence, analogous to that of other narcotic poisons, upon the nervous centres; and that death results from the suspension of the respiratory movements, the heart continuing to beat for some time after these have ceased. The most important new fact which they have substantiated, is that of the presence of globules of fat distinguishable by the naked eye as brilliant points, floating on the surface of the blood drawn from animals in a state of alcoholic intoxication. That such a change should be produced by the ingestion of a single dose of alcohol is not a little remarkable, and fully confirms the statements of those pathologists who assert that the habitual excessive use of alcoholic drinks produces such a notable increase in the fatty matter of the blood, as altogether to pervert the constitution of the nutritive fluid. We may here mention that the same effect is produced on the blood by the anæsthetic agents, chloroform, sulphuric ether, and amylene; and it disappears, as do the other phenomena of intoxication, when (as is shown by chemical tests) the blood has been freed by the excretory processes from the presence of the toxic agent.

The second part of this valuable treatise is devoted to a similar inquiry into the *modus operandi* of anæsthetic agents; chloroform, sulphuric ether, and amylene being specially investigated. As in the

case of alcohol, the first object was to devise an exact method of recognising the presence and estimating the amount of these substances in the vapours raised from the blood, the tissues, or the excretions of animals which had been subjected to their influence.

In the case of chloroform (which is a compound of chlorine, hydrogen and carbon) advantage was taken of the change which its vapour undergoes when passed through a red-hot porcelain tube in contact with common air; the products of its decomposition being hydrochloric acid (the quantity of which is readily estimated by causing its vapour to pass through a solution of nitrate of silver, the amount of the precipitate of chloride of silver thus produced affording the measure of the amount of chloroform which had been subjected to the process), chloride of carbon which is deposited in crystals, and carbonic acid and chlorine which are set free. It was ascertained that no effect was produced upon the testing apparatus, when vaporized air was transmitted through it from the blood and tissues of animals to which chloroform had not been given, whilst the addition of a minute quantity of chloroform to these substances immediately gave the anticipated results; and when the blood and tissues of animals killed by the inhalation of chloroform were subjected to the same process, very decided evidence was obtained that it had been received into the circulation, and diffused through the body. Its special affinity for the substance of the brain was found to be even more remarkable than that of alcohol; the proportional amounts yielded by equivalent quantities of blood and of cerebral tissue being 1.00 and 3.92 parts respectively, whilst the liver yielded 2.08 parts, and the muscular substance generally 0.16 parts. The brain and liver, moreover, seemed to hold it more tenaciously than the blood; as it could be detected in those organs after it had disappeared from the blood. In the case of animals rendered temporarily insensible by the inhalation of chloroform, it was ascertained by the comparative examination of blood drawn during the state of insensibility, and of blood drawn when consciousness and motor power had returned, that the recovery from that state is coincident with the complete removal of chloroform from the blood. This removal is chiefly effected by the exhalation of its vapour from the lungs; the presence of chloroform being distinctly discoverable by the means already indicated in the breath of animals that are under its influence, but ceasing to be thus traceable at a much earlier period than the vapour of alcohol, as might be anticipated from the much more speedy supervention of recovery after the inhalation of chloroform than after alcoholic intoxication. Traces of chloroform are to be found also in the products of the cutaneous exhalation; but this substance has not been detected in the urine.

The mode of detecting sulphuric ether, is the same as that employed for the detection of alcohol; and as the result is not different in the two cases, this test does not serve to distinguish one of these substances from the other. But as there is no reason whatever to suppose that alcohol can be changed into ether, or ether into alcohol, in the living body, the reduction of the green oxide of chromium may be safely attributed to the presence of alcoholic vapour when alcohol has been administered, and to that of ether-vapour when ether has been administered. Tested in this manner, the blood and the tissues of the body generally were found to be impregnated with ether, in animals killed by its inhalation, the proportions yielded by the substance of the brain and of the liver being respectively 3.25 and 2.25 to 1.00 proportional yielded by an equivalent quantity of blood, whilst the tissue of the muscles yielded only 0.25. The elimination of ether from the system is effected, like that of chloroform, chiefly by the lungs, and in a slight degree by the skin; but it is also shared by the kidneys, ether having been detected in small quantity in the urine.

Amylene is another substance allied to the preceding in chemical composition (though consisting of carbon and hydrogen only) and having very similar physiological effects; but as it is with difficulty obtained pure (although the fusel oil from which it is procured is abundant in the refuse of distilleries), and is much less manageable than either ether or chloroform, it cannot be used with advantage as an anæsthetic agent. Our authors, however, included it in their inquiry; and they were able to substantiate by chemical tests the same general facts in regard to its passage into the blood and its diffusion through the body, as they had previously demonstrated in regard to ether and chloroform. The proportion yielded by the blood and by the substance of the liver was here the same; but the substance of the brain gave twice as much, whilst only a trace could be detected in the muscles. The recovery from the state of insensibility, when the inhalation of amylene has not been carried too far, takes place with peculiar rapidity; and this seems due to its very rapid elimination by the lungs, the breath being strongly impregnated with its peculiar garlicky odour.

Thus we see that there is a perfect accordancy between alcohol and the anæsthetic agents in what chemists would term their "behaviour" in the living system. When alcohol is taken into the stomach, it is absorbed into the general current of the circulation and is carried by it to every tissue and organ in the body. In the tissues generally only feeble traces of its presence can be detected; but it fastens on the substance of the brain and of the liver by a peculiar "elective affinity," so as to be yielded by these in far

larger proportion than by an equivalent amount of blood. Precisely the same is the case with chloroform, ether, and amylene, when they are introduced into the current of the circulation by inhalation through the lungs; the elective affinity of the first two of these for the brain and liver being somewhat stronger than that of alcohol, whilst that of the third is weaker. From the time when alcohol and the anæsthetics have been introduced into the circulation, the system commences to free itself from them, by setting in action the three great eliminating apparatuses, the lungs, the skin, and the kidneys. The most volatile of these substances are got rid of most rapidly (as might have been anticipated) by exhalation from the lungs, the skin also slightly assisting; and coincidently with their removal from the blood, their physiological effects pass off likewise. Partly, it would seem, from their insolubility in water, but chiefly perhaps owing to the short duration of their sojourn in the body, these highly volatile substances do not find their way in any quantity into the urine. A much greater length of time is required, however, for the removal of alcohol from the body, partly through its inferior volatility, but chiefly (as it seems to us) because the ingestion of a much larger quantity is required to produce any decided perversion of the nervous functions; and the duration of that perversion is accordingly prolonged. Further, alcohol being readily miscible with water, and its sojourn in the body without change being protracted for many hours, it passes into the urinary excretion, which becomes, in fact, one of the principal channels of its elimination, an important part however being still performed by the lungs, and the skin being by no means inactive.

The striking accordance which has thus been shown to exist in every fundamental particular between alcohol and the anæsthetics,—the differences in their behaviour being only of a secondary character, and being obviously referrible to their chemical and physical properties,—must surely be regarded as most strikingly confirmatory of the position taken up by the authors of this treatise in antagonism to the Liebigian doctrine that alcohol is food. For there is not a single point of difference in their actions, which can justify their being placed in different categories. Their physiological effects in large doses are essentially the same. Their special affinity for the substance of the brain and of the liver is a most striking point of conformity. Whether alcohol be taken into the stomach, or the vapour of chloroform or ether be inhaled through the lungs, no sooner has it been received into the circulating current, than it is treated as a substance altogether foreign to the body, which is to be removed by the excretory organs as rapidly as possible. Those organs continue to eliminate it, until the blood has been entirely freed from it; and then,

but not till then, its perverting influence upon the nervous functions ceases to be manifested. There is no more evidence of alcohol being in any way utilized in the body, than there is in regard to ether or chloroform. If alcohol is to be still designated as *food*, we must extend the meaning of that term so as to make it comprehend not only ether and chloroform, but all medicines and poisons,—in fact everything which can be swallowed and absorbed, however foreign it may be to the normal constitution of the body, and however injurious to its functions. On the other hand, from no definition that can be framed of a *poison*, which should include those more powerful anæsthetic agents whose poisonous character has been unfortunately too clearly manifested in a great number of instances, can alcohol be fairly shut out.

If this view be adopted, and the “food” hypothesis be put aside, the question naturally arises as to the nature of the influence exerted by alcohol on the living system when taken habitually as an article of diet, and especially as to the power which it seems to possess of *replacing* food when the supply of the latter is deficient,—a power which has been freely conceded to it by some of those who have argued most strongly for “total abstinence” as the teaching of an enlightened physiology in regard to such as are placed (or can place themselves) in the conditions most favourable to health. Here, again, the more exact methods of modern scientific research have given us a clue, which, without leading us to the complete elucidation of the mystery, seems to afford definite guidance towards its discovery. When food is deficient, the body loses substance and power, day by day, from the progressive “wasting” of the tissues; and if means can be found to retard that process, a quantity of food otherwise insufficient may serve to sustain the powers of the system. Now there is evidence that such is the mode in which small and repeated doses of alcohol exert an influence, which for the time at any rate is beneficial, under such privations. The subject has of late attracted much attention in Germany, where various series of researches have been prosecuted with the view of ascertaining the comparative influence of alcohol, tea, coffee, and tobacco, when the body is normally supplied with food, and when food is partially withheld; of which researches a useful summary is given by Dr. T. King Chambers, in the *British and Foreign Medico-Chirurgical Review* for October, 1854, and in the chapter on “Arresters of Metamorphosis,” in his work on *Digestion and its Derangements*. More recently an inquiry of the same kind has been carried out by a young American physician, Dr. Hammond;* and as, from our

* *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*, October, 1856.

personal knowledge of him, we are inclined to feel great confidence in his results, we are glad to take this opportunity of making them more generally known.

Dr. Hammond's inquiries were directed to the three following objects:—

1. To observe the effects of alcohol upon a system in which the weight of the body was maintained at a *nearly uniform standard* by a sufficiency of food.
2. To ascertain its influence upon an organism in which a *loss of weight* was taking place from deficiency of food.
3. To determine its action upon an organism which was *gaining weight* by excess of nutriment.

Now to determine the first point, Dr. Hammond, having ascertained that his system was in the required condition of balance, and having determined on the one hand the weight of food required to maintain it, on the other that of the various products of excretion, continued precisely the same diet and mode of life for five days, with the addition of four drachms of alcohol diluted with an equal quantity of water at each meal. At the end of this time Dr. Hammond found that he had increased in weight something less than half-a-pound, owing to a diminution in the amount of the excretory products; this diminution being especially marked in the carbonic acid expired from the lungs, and in the solid matters of the urine. The general health was somewhat disturbed, there being headache and increased heat of skin; the mental faculties were not so clear as when no alcohol was taken; and there was an indisposition to any kind of exertion, with less constancy of the appetite.

The administration of alcohol was then repeated with such a diminution in the amount of food as had previously been ascertained to cause a diminution of weight at the rate of more than a quarter of a pound per day; and the very remarkable result was obtained, that during the five days through which this experiment was continued, there was not merely a cessation of that diminution, but a positive slight increase of weight, which was chiefly owing, as before, to the diminution of the carbonic acid exhaled from the lungs, and of the solid matters excreted in the urine. And it is worthy of note that the amount thus added to the weight of the body by the doses of alcohol taken, considerably exceeded the aggregate amount of those doses; the gain being altogether above a pound and a half, whilst the whole weight of the alcohol taken was not a third of that amount. It must obviously, therefore, have done something more than simply replace food. The general condition of his system is stated by Dr. Hammond to have been never better than during this experiment.

He then tried the effects of the same doses of alcohol when the system was gaining weight from excess of food ; and he found, as before, that the products of excretion were diminished, so that a further increase in weight took place. During the five days through which this experiment was continued, the general health was much disordered ; there being constant headache, disturbed sleep, and hot skin, with quick, full, and bounding pulse.

As the general result of his experiments, Dr. Hammond concludes that when the food is *sufficient* for the requirements of the system, alcohol is injurious, by exciting the circulation, and tending to induce a plethoric habit of body,---its influence in this respect being the same as that of an excessive amount of food ; and still more injurious effects are of course produced when the food is *in excess*. When the supply of food, however, is *insufficient* to maintain the vigour of the system, the beneficial effect of alcohol in limiting the waste of the body is considered by Dr. Hammond to stand in marked contrast to its pernicious influence in the preceding cases.

“The use of alcohol, even in moderation,” (he remarks) “cannot therefore be either exclusively approved or exclusively condemned. The labouring man, who can hardly procure bread and meat enough to preserve the balance between the formation and decay of his tissues, finds here an agent which, within the limits of health, enables him to dispense with a certain amount of food, and yet keeps up the strength and weight of his body. On the other hand, he who uses alcohol when his food is more than sufficient to supply the waste of tissue, and at the same time does not increase the amount of his physical exercise, or drink an additional quantity of water (by which the decay of tissue would be accelerated), retards the metamorphosis, while an increased amount of nutriment is being assimilated, and thus adds to the plethoric condition of the system, which excessive food so generally induces.”

With regard, however, to inferences founded on the results of the foregoing and similar experiments continued for a short time only, we think it necessary to interpose a caution, based on the recent inquiries of Dr. Edward Smith as to the influence of various dietetic and other conditions on the excretion of urea. For (as we have learned from himself) although a marked alteration is generally produced by almost any change in diet, *for a few days*, this alteration progressively disappears, and the previous average is soon restored. Still we are disposed to believe, with the authors of the work which has given occasion to our renewed discussion of this subject, that the retardation of the metamorphosis of tissue indicated by the experiments just cited, is the true *rationale* of the results of a large experience, in regard, on the

one hand, to the power which even small doses of alcohol seem to have of replacing food when this is deficient (as in the well-known case of Captain Bligh and his companions), and on the other, to the special influence which they seem to exert in restraining the waste of the nervous system, under the wear and tear of continued anxiety or prolonged intellectual tension. But it is quite another question whether alcohol can be habitually employed with advantage for either of these purposes, without in the end doing more harm than good. If it be true, as modern dynamical science decidedly indicates, that the amount of force capable of being put forth by the system is proportionate to the amount of tissue that undergoes metamorphosis, we should expect that although the immediate effect of alcoholic stimulation may be to excite the nervo-muscular system to extraordinary effort, yet that a continuance of such effort would be far less efficiently sustained with inadequate aliment *plus* alcohol, than it is with adequate food combined with abstinence from alcoholic drinks; and this seems to accord with the verdict of a large experience as to the matter of fact. In particular, it is well known to those who have made inquiries amongst men engaged in very laborious employments at high temperatures, that whatever the men may drink in the intervals of their work, they cannot take alcoholic drinks whilst actually engaged in it, without such a decided loss of power as quite unfits them for its performance. As Dr. T. King Chambers well remarks, "metamorphosis of tissue is *life* or an inseparable part of life;" and while it may be decidedly advantageous to prevent the body from living too fast, and thus being worn out by its own energy, it is absurd to suppose that if by the use of any of the "arresters of metamorphosis" we could materially retard that process, we could get as much good work out of the system, as if, with an adequate supply of nutriment, there were free play given to the excretory operations by which the effete products of the metamorphosis are carried off. If we cut off the ingress of air to a stove, we diminish the combustion of its fuel,—but at the same time, and in the same proportion, we lessen the heat it gives forth.

It appears from the experimental inquiries of Dr. Böcker and others, that the copious internal use of water has exactly the antagonistic effect to that of alcohol, increasing the amount of the excretions and accelerating the metamorphosis of tissue; and those who have watched the results of the hydropathic treatment judiciously applied in appropriate cases, cannot fail to be struck with its renovating and invigorating effects. These again correspond closely with the results of the system of 'training' for any great feat of nervo-muscular power; this being unconsciously

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directed in every particular to promote the metamorphosis of tissue. What Horace told us long ago is equally true now:—

Qui studet optatam cursu contingere metam
Multa tulit fecitque puer; sudavit et alsit,
Abstinuit Venere et vino.

We are glad to find our own views on this point confirmed by those of so high an authority as Dr. Parkes, the former Professor of Clinical Medicine in University College, now Professor of Hygiene in the Army Medical School, recently established by the government, at Chatham.

“It seems to me,” says Dr. Parkes, in his recently published treatise “The Composition of the Urine in Health and Disease,” (p. 79,) “that the obvious deduction from our present physiological knowledge is, that the more rapid the healthy metamorphosis of the body, within certain limits, the more urea and pigment are formed, the more perfect is nutrition, *as long as nutriment* is supplied in sufficient amount, and as long as the formative powers can use it. In the immense excretion of children, and in the retarded metamorphosis of old age, we see the two ends of the scale, and have the proof that growth and progress are corollaries of rapid metamorphosis and elimination. Have we then a right to conclude that anything which impedes healthy metamorphosis is hurtful, and that in checking disintegration it will equally check formation? Perhaps, without going at present quite to this length, we may believe that the most perfect condition of health is rapid building and rapid unbuilding; and all the most strengthening hygienic means, as exercise, sea air, saline baths, and abundant nutritious food, act by forwarding both these processes. Appetite increases, but at the same time the action of the eliminating organs is also increased; the body gains weight, although there must be increased rapidity of the molecular currents and chemical changes.”

“The training for the ring may be taken as an illustration of my meaning. The prize-fighter eats largely of animal food: he thus, if Bischoff’s and Voit’s experiments be received, increases both the formation and the disintegration of tissue; and it is to be presumed that the excretion of urea during training must be increased. The prize-fighter brings into play another factor of elimination, for he gradually increases his muscular movements to an enormous extent, and by so doing he must absorb much more oxygen than usual, and give out more carbonic acid. All the three great factors of metamorphosis, viz., nitrogenous food, oxygen, and movements, are thus increased, and the amount of metamorphosis must also go on augmenting up to a certain point, as the bulk of the tissues increases. So far the prize-fighter may be said to follow the dictates of common sense; but now how does he act with regard to alcohol and wine, and the substances usually supposed to give strength, and to limit the necessity for food? Why, he almost discards their use: he takes no spirits, no wine, only a little weak beer (which he might with advantage leave off), but drinks to any amount of pure water, or fluids equivalent to it; and

thus, taught by experience, he employs another most potent agent in elimination. Under this *régime* his health improves wonderfully; he can bear any fatigue; morbid causes are comparatively inoperative; injuries are recovered from, and, for the time, he is the very type of health and vigour. That the class is not a healthy one, is owing to reckless living between the periods of raining."

These remarks were written, Dr. Parkes tells us, long before the attention of the public and of the medical profession was strongly directed by the recent prize-fight to the subject of "training;" and he anticipates that this celebrated contest will not be without its good effect in making it more generally understood that the true source of strength of body is to be found in nutritious food and active exertion, rather than in the use of alcoholic drinks.

But whilst, for the maintenance of the full vigour of health under conditions strictly normal, it is undesirable to place any check upon the metamorphic processes, there are conditions which in this busy life of ours can scarcely be considered as abnormal, in which the use of some of the "Arresters of Metamorphosis" is clearly indicated. As Dr. Chambers has truly remarked:—

"The proverbs of all tongues show how work purely mental exhausts the body; how, for instance, not only the painful emotions, care, sorrow, anxiety, but the nobler enthusiasms, the afflatus of the poet, the ambition of the patriot, the fixed attention of the scholar, the abstraction of the lover, fret to dust their tenement of clay."

There is a tendency that is common to most persons of more than average mental activity, though much greater in some temperaments than in others, to an irritable condition of the nervous system, in which every impression produces an exaggerated effect, the smallest and most commonplace matter becomes a worry and a care, and genuine repose and tranquillity are banished by the intrusion of trains of thought and the access of perturbations of feeling which it is almost beyond the capacity of the individual to restrain. Now it is in their power of relieving this condition, and of keeping in check the tendency to it, that we consider the great value of the "arresters of metamorphosis" to lie. Universal experience shows that alcohol (in small doses), tea, and tobacco, alike have the power of exerting a most potent *calmative* influence on these irritable states; an influence which seems precisely in harmony with the teachings of science in regard to their physiological action. The choice among these may be guided by the experience of each individual as to what he finds most suitable to himself, provided that he has self-command enough to keep within the limits which sound judgment pre-

scribes, and does not begin with either alcohol or tobacco as a *medicine*, to continue its use as a habit of sensual indulgence. We need scarcely point out the special risk that attends the frequent employment of any articles possessing the extraordinary seductive powers which each of these can exert to the detriment of such as yield to their fascinations; the moral enslavement which results from the weakening or dethronement of the governing power of the will, being, in our apprehension, the most pernicious of its consequences. The dreamy listlessness in which the habitual smoker passes a large portion of his time, is only in degree less pernicious than the sottish stupidity of the drunkard; the want of the healthful vigour of the well-stored and well-disciplined mind being as obvious in the one case as in the other. The moderate use of tea is not equally liable to objection; and the daily experience of millions testifies to its virtues. "The cup that cheers but not inebriates," has, no less than alcohol, the power of allaying that peculiar weariness of brain which is the first stage of the irritative condition just now alluded to. Whether or not it does this by acting as an "arrester of metamorphosis" seems questionable; the statements of Böcker and others upon this point being opposed by Dr. Edward Smith, who maintains that the use of tea rather promotes than retards the metamorphoses of tissue. It would certainly appear, however, from that general and long-continued experience, which, when carefully scrutinized, affords a better basis for deduction than brief and limited experiments, that tea shares with alcohol in the power of making a limited quantity of food go further. It is marvellous upon how small an allowance of solid food the poor basket-woman can manage to keep body and soul together without grievously feeling her privation, so long as she can comfort herself with her cup of tea; which, so far from being an expensive luxury, is probably to her, in regard to what it saves, the cheapest portion of her dietary. And there is abundant evidence that when privation has reached its extreme point (as in the case of the first Arctic expedition of Franklin and Richardson), where there has been a choice between tea and alcohol, the former has been preferred on account of its more constant and more lasting benefit. Doubtless tea has seductions of its own, especially to the man of studious habits, who avails himself of the stimulating action which it possesses when taken in excess, to get more work out of his brain than it can be rightly called on to perform; but however long the evil results of such habitual overtasking may be postponed, they are sure to manifest themselves at last in that general break-down which is the necessary sequence of a long-continued excess of expenditure over income.

There is one evil which it is probable that the habitual use of

any of the "arresters of metamorphosis" has a tendency to produce, but which seems especially liable to result from the regular use of alcoholic beverages:—namely, the progressive degeneration of the blood and of the tissues by the substitution of fatty matter for their normal constituents. This degeneration, as is now well known to pathologists, lies at the foundation of a large proportion of the diseases of advanced life; and though precise evidence that it is produced or even favoured by the moderate use of alcoholic liquors is yet wanting, yet there is so much that points in this direction in the results of observation and experiments, that a remote source of danger in such "moderation" is not vaguely but distinctly indicated. That the tissues and blood of drunkards, as well as of such as (like brewer's draymen) are always drinking yet never drunk, are ordinarily in a state of fatty degeneration, has now been fully established; and the explanation of this fact is made pretty obvious by the power which the presence of alcohol in the blood has been shown to possess of retarding the elimination of effete matters from the body,—fat being one of the forms through which the hydrocarbonaceous portions of those matters pass in the course of their removal. Now the recent French experimenters, as we have already mentioned, were struck by the fact, that this excess of fat made itself apparent in the blood after even a single large dose of alcohol; and their researches also give evidence of the unexpectedly long time during which alcohol, even when taken in very moderate quantity, remains in the current of the circulation. The blood of a man, therefore, who takes his pint of brandied wine, or his three or four pints of strong malt liquor per day, can scarcely ever be free from alcohol; and its continued presence must exert a prejudicial effect upon his general nutrition, which must far outweigh any benefit which the ingestion of that amount of alcohol can possibly confer upon a man in ordinary health, the real utility of alcohol (save in extraordinary cases) being limited to what may properly be termed its medicinal power, and this being exerted in small doses.

Now that the course of events has forced the condition of our Indian Empire upon the attention of the British public, and every question relating to its administration is felt to be one in which the nation and not a mere faction of it is involved, it is to be hoped that the teachings of science and experience on the subject of the use of alcoholic, and especially of spirituous liquors, by the European soldiery in India will no longer be ignored, as they have too generally been. Owing to a prevalent idea that alcohol could impart a power of resistance to the depressing and morbid influences of a tropical climate, it was long the regular practice in our Indian Army to issue a spirit ration before breakfast; and

the soldier who thus commenced with a morning dram, finding himself tormented by thirst all day, was driven by it to the canteen, where, in the cheapness of the common spirit of the country, he found too great encouragement to the gratification of his craving for stimulants. The consequence has naturally followed that drunkenness, as all our Indian commanders and medical officers know too well, has been a most prolific source both of crime and of disease; frequently bringing a large proportion of our troops into a state of reckless insubordination (as in the well-remembered case of the capture of Delhi), and frightfully increasing the ratio of sickness and mortality. A most important step was taken many years ago by the authorities of the Madras Presidency, in the abolition of the spirit ration and the substitution of malt liquor; and its advantages have become so apparent that, in spite of considerable difficulties, the example has been followed, wherever it has been deemed practicable to do so, in the other Presidencies. Still, however, the canteen system is continued; and though intemperance, with its concomitant insubordination and disease, has notably diminished, yet much still remains to be done; and it is of great importance that the force of enlightened public opinion should be brought to bear on this matter.

We have as yet no positive data for asserting that the eliminating process by which alcohol is got rid of from the system is carried on more slowly in hot climates than in cold; but it may be taken as a certainty, that either from this or from some other cause, a given dose of alcohol will produce more violent effects in the former case than in the latter. The amount of spirit which many a Swede or a Highlander swallows daily without showing the least excitement, would bring one of our soldiers in India into a state of furious drunkenness; and a continuance of the like dose for two or three weeks will almost certainly induce an attack of *delirium tremens*. The use of every possible means to discourage the abuse of alcoholic beverages is therefore specially called for in the Indian service. We are told on the authority of an experienced Indian medical officer, that

“Medical men are unanimous on this point, and have urged the authorities again and again, through their hospital reports, to abolish this pernicious custom, and the canteen system altogether, and to substitute in its place wholesome beverages adapted to the climate, and an improved kind of refreshment room;” and that “such truths have been so repeatedly brought forward by medical men and the advocates of the temperance cause, that one would think there could be no necessity for reiterating them, did not experience convince us of the necessity of doing so, and of endeavouring by every means to convince those who differ on this point, of the advantages to be expected by

adopting the plan proposed for the European soldier in India, viz., that of total abstinence from wine or spirit."

Mr. Baddeley, from the appendix to whose interesting work on Whirlwinds and Dust-storms in India (noticed in a later part of our present number), we extract the foregoing observations, further tells us as the result of his personal experience :—

"Before commencing hospital work in the early morning, during times of prevailing sickness, I have made it a practice to take hot tea or coffee, by which means the system has been invigorated and rendered capable of resisting atmospheric influences, which otherwise, there is reason to believe, would have produced injurious effects. I have thus repeatedly escaped sickness."

And he cites, in support of his views, the following important testimony, from officers high in the service.

Colonel Dawes, of the Bengal Artillery, writes thus :—

"My experience is, that nearly all the crime affecting our European troops in India has originated in the use of spirituous liquors. I consider abstinence from spirits a turning point in the life of many a soldier. The man becomes quite an altered character when he drops the pernicious stimulant; more cleanly in person, respectful to his superiors, and respectable in character, and from the increased dependence that may generally be placed upon him, he becomes altogether a more valuable man, both in the field and in quarters. I have seen many a bad character converted by abstinence from spirits into a steady, able-bodied, hard-working, courageous soldier. On the other hand, I have remarked that the best men have at times become next to useless from indulgence in liquor. My conviction is, that the less liquor the European gets the better: but I am not prepared to say that the allowance of a quart of beer or porter is injurious, though many, I am sure, do better without it. As you are aware, the soldier can do without liquor, as has been proved on many occasions. At Jellalhabad this fact was well illustrated. The 13th Light Infantry, beleaguered there, was not supplied with spirits during the siege, which lasted *five months*. The men were nevertheless *remarkably healthy* during the whole period, notwithstanding incessant hard work, which was carried on with great alacrity and cheerfulness, the men being always well-behaved and good-tempered. After the garrison was relieved, liquor was again issued, and the difference in the conduct and appearance of the men was very marked. At Caubul too, in a fine climate, this regiment was not nearly so healthy as before, from the same cause, and lost many men during the winter months.

"A great advantage will be gained when once spirituous liquor is abolished entirely. The soldier's life in India will then be both a happier and a longer one. The free introduction of malt liquor would enable the change to be effected without difficulty. Care should be taken, however, to have good coffee and tea provided regularly in each

troop and company ; and the first thing in the morning, each man should have some offered to him before going out to duty ; and also in the evening, as he may desire it. The men soon learn the value of this, and when properly managed, it is alike beneficial to health and morals. I have been assured by one of the ablest of our surgeons in India, that he attributed the remarkable healthiness of a portion of the troops in a large station, at a time of great sickness prevailing among the rest of the troops, to nothing else but the early morning cup of coffee. A man should be selected from each company to superintend the proper supply of good coffee, and be allowed a small profit for his trouble. I believe the men will, in almost every case, willingly join these coffee-clubs."

On this, Mr. Baddeley remarks :—

"My own experience corresponds entirely with what Colonel Dawes says. The arrangement he recommends is essential to success : when the tea or coffee is bad, or its preparation is left to native servants or cook-boys, the beverage is not drinkable, and the men would reject it with disgust, and again have recourse to spirits or intoxicating liquors."

And he adds the following strong expression of well-considered conviction from Major-General Wylie, C.B., of the Bombay Army.

"I quite concur in the opinion expressed by Colonel Dawes, that it is very desirable to abolish the spirit-ration in the Indian army ; because it appears to me to foster a habit of dram-drinking that leads to much evil. Some years ago, when serving in Seinde and Affghanistan, I remarked that little or no crime was committed by our European soldiers while quartered in those countries, chiefly owing to their inability to procure spirits with the same facility as in India. On our return to India, many of the non-commissioned officers of one of the same well-conducted regiments, were reduced to the ranks in consequence of indulgence in spirituous liquors at a station where, as usual, it was easily procurable. My own observation and experience incline me to assert that indulgence in spirituous liquor in a climate like India shortens life to an alarming extent. A certain quantity of beer or porter, without spirits, seems to me quite sufficient stimulant for a healthy man ; good coffee and tea, properly prepared, should also be freely supplied morning and evening."

General Wylie judiciously adds :—

"Want of employment is doubtless a source of great evil in India. In addition to the usual privilege of being permitted to work at their respective trades when off duty, on the western side of India, the men have ground allotted to them at the different European stations for the purposes of gardening ; which plan, as far as it goes, has been found to answer remarkably well."

ART. III.—CANADA.

1. *Travels in Canada, and through the States of New York and Pennsylvania.* By J. G. KOHL. Translated by Mrs. PERCY SINNETT. Revised by the Author. 2 vols. London. 1861.
2. *The Victoria Bridge, at Montreal, Canada.* Elaborately Illustrated with Views, Plans, Elevations, and Details of the Bridge. Together with the Illustrations of the Machinery and Contrivances used in the Construction of this stupendously important and valuable Engineering Work. The whole produced in the finest style of Art, pictorially and geometrically drawn, and the views highly coloured, and a Descriptive Text. Dedicated to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, and presented to H.R.H. on the opening of the Bridge, August 25, 1860. By JAMES HODGES, Engineer to the Contractors. London. 1860.

“EVERY day, every hour of this long tour has only convinced me more and more how little the English people know of their brothers in Canada.” So runs the conclusion of the *Times* chronicler of the tour of the Prince of Wales. And he was not far wrong. The mass of our educated people, even, have a dim, vague idea of Canada as a dreary region, covered with dense icicle-hung woods, that are scantily peopled with fur-clad backwoodsmen, who have to keep bears and wolves off while they wield the axe; in fact, as a country the very thought of which makes one shiver and shudder: and, as if the horrors of such a picture could be heightened, they imagine frequent raids from grim, inexorable Indians, who silently, but surely, carry off a full tale of scalps from the aforesaid unfortunates. All other American varieties are calmly lumped together as almighty-dollar-worshipping, dinner-bolting, tobacco-chewing, spitting, liquoring, snivelling Yankees.

Canada has been singularly unknown among us Europeans from her discovery down to our own times. Her industrial progress may be said to have first dawned on us at the Great Exhibition of 1851; and it was at the Exposition Universelle of Paris, in 1855, Count Jaubert observed, that his countrymen could now estimate the value of those few acres of snow ceded to England in 1763.

The recent Transatlantic tour of the Prince of Wales will

probably, however, have done more than anything hitherto towards acquainting our people with their kinsmen who have left the mother-country. We hope it may also have a beneficial effect on the counsels of British statesmen, when called upon to handle one of the oft-occurring "difficulties" in the delicate relations between the old country and the new—between the ancient kingdom and her nominal province.

Coincidentally with the return to the home country of the heir-apparent to both kingdom and outlying half-independent province, we welcome the appearance of an English translation of the book in which M. Kohl exhibits, on a new field, his well-known power of vividly portraying a country. His reminiscences are well put together. He is particularly happy in avoiding wearisome minuteness and needless triviality. He has been fortunate in having his pleasant, shrewd, and scholarly book worthily set before the British public, with whom it would naturally be in greatest demand.

M. Kohl enters Canada from New York, by the Hudson river and Lake Champlain route; the most impressive approach to it, save that of its vast estuary, and "the most direct route from the great central organ of vitality in the Union to the valley of the lower St. Lawrence."

Montreal, about 400 miles from New York in the south, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence in the north-east, is the actual point of confluence, in which what may be termed the Champlain-Hudsonian and the Laurentian arteries meet. In Montreal, too, the latter is joined by the mighty Ottawa from the north-west. From Montreal, again, the two gigantic floods roll on in one channel to the northern Atlantic. As the meeting-point of these four great arteries, Montreal may be considered the heart of Canada. And it is such, not only in a geographical, but also in a financial, a commercial, and an ethnological point of view. It is to Canada what New York is to the United States.

Let us now trace up to this heart of Canada, what must be viewed as the main artery of that country, the lower St. Lawrence, her natural channel of communication with the northern Atlantic. The most interesting mode of doing this is in company with the European voyagers who explored it. On Midsunmer-day, in the year 1497, nearly four months before Columbus sighted the mainland, John Cabot, the Venetian merchant of "Bristowe," bearing letters patent from our Henry VII., discovered a coast south of Greenland, which he significantly named *Prima-Vista*, but which afterwards changed its name to Labrador, on supplying the Portuguese slave-merchants with excellent labourers. Parted from it by the narrow Strait of Belle

Isle, Cabot found the large island now called Newfoundland.* He named it St. John, as having been discovered on the festival of the Baptist. The sailors and the chroniclers, however, termed it Baccalaos, the native name of the codfish with which its waters abounded. It forms the main partition between the great Atlantic and a basin some two hundred miles wide, throwing out horns to the north-east and to the west, to the Strait of Belle Isle and the *embouchure* of the great Canadian river. Gomez, the Spaniard, is supposed to have entered this basin in 1525, but the first well-authenticated visits to it are those of Jacques Cartier, who coasted much of it in 1534 and 1535. In the latter year he gave the name of St. Lawrence to a bay of its north shore, which he entered on the 10th of August, the festival of that saint. This insignificant bay has long lost that name, which, however, has been honoured by translation, not, indeed, to a group of stars in the heavens, like the heroes and heroines of Greek legend, but to a goodly part of our globe's surface, to a little world of "waters under the firmament." Like Hellas, Italia, and Asia, the name of St. Lawrence has in process of time extended to the whole basin, and even up the huge long flood, which enters it from the west;† nay, it is now assigned to the whole of the enormous system of rivers and inland seas which unite in that flood, and it is thus carried more than two thousand miles inland. Below the original Gulf of St. Lawrence, Cartier found the large island now called Anticosti.‡ The ascent of the St. Lawrence River is usually considered to begin here, and its southern shore with Gaspé, the scene of Longfellow's *Evangeline*. If, however, a river be a stream of fresh water, the domain of the St. Lawrence River can scarcely be considered to begin, or that of the Atlantic Ocean to end, until we are at least three hundred and sixty miles above the cliffs of Gaspé.§ It is about three hundred miles above that the

* It has been conjectured to have been that now called Prince Edward's Island, but the position of the latter does not tally with Cabot's log.

† Cartier speaks of the river as that of Hochelaga, or of Canada. Till but lately, the part between Montreal and Lake Ontario has been called Cataraqui, or Iroquois.

‡ It was long unexplored, though in 1825 transferred from Labrador to Canada, and made a *Seigneurie*. The geological survey under Sir. W. Logan has removed the erroneous belief in its worthlessness, and shown it to be well wooded, and to contain much arable land. Its situation at the mouth of the estuary is a noteworthy one.

§ We were told that the water is quite salt at the rocks called "The Pillars," sixty miles below Quebec. Bonchette (Topographical and Statistical Description of Canada, vol. i.) says, at Kamouraska, ninety miles below, but that the water has a saline taste twenty-one miles below Quebec.

greatest subsidiary volume of water is contributed by the Saguenay, a river navigable for the largest vessels seventy miles up, and what with its stupendous depth,* its sombre colour,† and the grandeur of the cliffs through which it there rolls, one of the most wonderful in our globe. Beyond this part of its course are rapids and cataracts, and a hundred and twenty miles up it issues from a round lake, some thirty miles in diameter, and called Lake St. John, above which, again, it can be traced to a source at least two hundred and fifty miles to the north-west. It was on the 1st of September, 1535, that Cartier entered this king of rivers, whose grandeur impressed him with that of the land he had discovered. We ourselves ascended it towards the close of August two years since, and would rank it, scenically, as second only to that which may be called the Niagara branch of the St. Lawrence. It is, at all events, the Niger or Joliba, the "dark-rolling" flood of the New World. Cartier surveyed its entrance, and passed on up the St. Lawrence to the island which he named from the filberts it then abounded in. It is noteworthy, as inhabited by the most primitive Franco-Canadians and their purest breed of horses.‡ Closing a string of islands above, Cartier found a larger one, then a tangled maze of tree-climbing, luxuriant wild vines, no other than those of "the good vine-land" of voyager Leif and antiquary Rafn. Cartier appropriately named it L'Ile de Bacchus. It is now, as L'Isle d'Orleans, famous for its plums. Next day the great Frenchman anchored in the fine basin between this island and Quebec. Beneath the site of the present fortress there lay the wigwams of a chief, with whom he had much friendly intercourse, and whom he terms "il signor de Canada." On the northern shore of the St. Lawrence, the graceful cascade of the Montmorency, falling into it, is here visible, while between it and the mountains in the

* Bayfield's trustworthy Survey, published by the Admiralty, makes it usually 100 fathoms deep at the sides, and 150 in the centre, in one recess, one and a quarter mile, and in another one and a half, and states that, were the St. Lawrence pumped dry, there would still be 100 fathoms of water in the Saguenay.

† The colour of the Saguenay is, perhaps, caused by the pitch-pines on its banks, deepened by its prodigious depth, and the shade of its lofty margin. It is to those trees, more than to bogs, that Professor Agassiz attributes the brown hue of the streams that fall into Lake Superior, one of which we ascended. The same hue one observes in the Ottawa. M. Kohl attributes it there to plants; Sir R. Bonycastle to its chemical components. That of the Saguenay can scarcely be accounted for by anything short of a mineral cause.

‡ M. Kohl gives an interesting account of them. He "was often reminded of the almost indestructible horses of Poland and Russia." (Kohl, vol. i. p. 232.)

background, which shoot up many a peak parallel with the lower river, is a fine bit of cataract-scenery, termed the Natural Steps. The Indian group of wigwams, called Stadicona, gave place, in 1608, to the renowned city of Quebec,* then founded by Champlain. Passing the mouth of the large tributary, now called St. Maurice, whose sources, some 250 miles northward, mingle with those of the Saguenay, Cartier reached Hochelaga, a larger native settlement than Stadicona. On its site now stands the city of Montreal.†

Accompanying again the route of discovery, we soon reach La Chine, a village so called from La Salle's enthusiastic hope of achieving by the route of the St. Lawrence a communication with China; an idea that may yet be worked out, when the oft-talked-of railroad is carried across the continent, and steamers in connexion with it start from Vancouver's Island. It is worthy of note—and a curious coincidence—that La Chine is now the residence of the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, a body whose power is felt from Atlantic to Pacific. The ascent of the upper St. Lawrence was attempted by Cartier in 1541, but stopped by the rapids, now surmounted by canals. Nor did Champlain reach Lake Ontario by this route, or grope his way through the beautiful labyrinth of the Thousand Islands. After his second expedition up the Ottawa, he crossed the forest to that large and deep oval body of fresh water,‡ which is chiefly remarkable for the distinctness of those terraces on its north-eastern shores, in which Sir C. Lyell saw evidence of its area having been formerly greater. At its outlet is the town that has successively borne the names of Cataracoui, Frontenac, and Kingston, still second only to Quebec as a British stronghold in North America, but destined to yield

* Charlevoix says that the name Quebec is Indian, signifying *retrécissement* in the Algonquin tongue, while in a kindred dialect, Quelibee means *ce qui est fermé*. La Potherie says it originated from Cartier's Normans exclaiming *Quebec!* when they saw it. (!) It is more probably French, the name, as that of a locality, appearing on a seal of 1420, bearing the legend, "Sigillum Willielmi de la Pole, Comitis Suffolckie, Domini de Hamburg et de Quebec."

† Montreal is a corruption of Mont Royal, the name he gave to "The Mountain,"

—qui proximus urbi
Imminet,

a commanding and far-visible hill, such as Homer and Pindar would have called *εὐδείελος*.

It was not, however, till 1641 that a palisaded town called Ville Marie was built on the Island of Montreal, destined like York (Toronto), and Bytown (Ottawa), to change her name, but become the parent of a great city.

‡ Lake Ontario is at least as large as the tract covered by the south-western peninsula of England—the counties of Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and Dorset, and much larger than Yorkshire.

that place, at least, to Ottawa City. Its importance was at its climax in the days of the great man from whom it got its second name ; but it was scarcely less in the American war of 1812. On the union of the Canadas in 1841, it was made the seat of Government for a short time ; but, since its loss of that distinction, it has been outstripped by Toronto in the western part of the northern shore of the lake, while Hamilton in the extreme west is fast approaching it in importance. The Canadian shore has, commercially, even "gone a-head of" the "Yankee." It is lined with growing and thriving communities, reminding one of the Greek colonies on the coast of Sicily. The history of Toronto is a more than usually interesting one. It owes its creation to Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe, who selected its site for the seat of Government in preference to that at the mouth of the Niagara River, or to Kingston, the governor-general's favourite. Kingston he seems to have rejected as too far east, Newark (the present Niagara) as too near the United States—a moat of no great width intervening. Though Toronto is not within range of an American Fort, its exposure to American gun-boats, in event of a war, was recently considered a fatal objection to it as a candidate for the seat of Government. Its site, when surveyed in 1793, was a luxuriant swamp, containing the wigwams of two Indian families, and wild fowl in abundance for the diversion of the British officers. The town of York was commenced next year in this unhealthy spot, better fitted, it has been said, "for a frog-pond or a beaver-meadow than for the residence of human beings." The irreclaimable swampiness of its eastern part still keeps up a perpetual low fever ; it is only at some little distance up the gentle slope from the lake that it is fairly eligible for habitation, with, of course, great attention to drainage. Its recommendation was its harbour, formed by one of those sandy spits (such as is called in the Baltic a *nehrung*) that are found in the great lakes ; but this foreland, which was, indeed, attached to the shore by only a swamp, has now, like Long Point in Lake Erie, become literally "The Island," to the ruin of Toronto as a harbour of refuge—a disaster that might have been averted by timely precaution. The Parliament of Upper Canada met there from 1796 to 1841, when the two Canadas were united after a separation of fifty years, and again in 1850 and '51, on the burning of the Parliament-buildings of Montreal. Since that year it has met for alternate periods of four years at Quebec and Toronto, but, after its present session at the former, it is understood that the new buildings at Ottawa, of which the foundation-stone was recently laid by the heir-apparent, will receive it permanently—if any arrangement in Canada can yet hope for anything like permanence. In 1813 the young settlement was twice burnt by the American invaders.

In 1834, having attained a population of above 9000, it was thought that its dignity and that of its inhabitants would be enhanced by a more dignified name. To distinguish it from York in the mother country, and New York in the States, it had been nicknamed Little York, or, from the muddiness of its streets, Dirty Little York. The Indians had called either the spot or the bay Toronto.* This sonorous name was substituted, M. Kohl heard, by a special Act of the Provincial Parliament. He thinks the authority of the Postmaster-General should have sufficed. It was, we understood, an act effected by a few strokes of the pen of the Anglican Bishop.† With regard to population, it was very scanty even thirty years after Parliament had met here, but in the next thirty it swelled to 50,000, the return of the census of 1856. On the east side of the city, a river sluggishly winds into the lake out of a pretty wooded valley. Beyond its swampy *embouchure* rise the only cliffs of Ontario. The land back of Toronto ascends, in the terraces we have mentioned, to a height of 750 feet, midway between it and an elevated basin 70 miles in circumference, which bears the name of the energetic founder of Little York. One of his first acts was the Appian work of a road to it, called Yonge-street, a term reminding us of our Watling-street. This charming forestmere, now connected with Toronto by a railroad, contributes its surplus water to Lake Huron—or rather its lake-like Georgian Bay—through a smaller lake, called Lake Couchiching or Kut-chiching, and a river full of cataracts. Springs about 10 miles from Lake Ontario send down into this loftier reservoir streams that,

* Some say that Toronto meant “the place of meeting;” others, “trees in the water.” The former interpretation fitted well the *comitium* of Canada. The latter, M. Kohl gives, as referring to the uprooted trunks of trees drifting in the water, and we can testify to the crowd of logs that rocked among the rushes of the Don swamp, in front of the old town, which has spread westward. It has been also referred to the appearance from the lake of either the trees growing on the low shore, or those on the sandy spit.

† Imagine Bishop Blomfield having quietly, in a public document, substituted some old sonorous name, say Augusta, for our London! This is a trifle, indeed, and a mere joke, but “straws show which way the wind blows,” and the fact is that Bishop Strachan down, at least, to the date of the Mackenzie rebellion in 1837, say rather to the passing of the Clergy Reserves Bill in 1854 (correcting the grievance which caused that serious outbreak, and jeopardized the connexion with Great Britain), exercised for some time such a sway in secular matters as our old country even has not seen since the anachronisms of Laud.

And the of our colonies, New Zealand, has recently been the scene of a mediæval-like appearance on the secular domain of a Bishop and an Archdeacon of the Church of England; not, indeed, on the exclusive side in opposition to the claims of the excluded, but in defence—to the extent, it would seem, of approving armed resistance—of the claims of the Aborigines against our Government. Whatever be the justice of those claims, ecclesiastics should confine themselves, or be confined, to the spiritual domain.

after a course of at least 800 miles, pass by the place of their birth, finding their way into Ontario, by meandering on a truly American scale through a string of inland seas, and over the greatest of cascades.* From Toronto, in the summer months, a steamer of some forty miles brings one to the mouth of the Niagara River, from which one can proceed to the Falls either by railroad along the Canadian side, or by steamer and railroad on the American. Outside, the lake shore is a wooded, gentle slope. The steamer takes one as far as a lofty ridge, seven miles up the river, which, half a mile wide, and forty fathoms deep, flows down, thenceforward quietly, through walls from forty to fifty feet high, of soft red rock relieved by a few trees. M. Kohl thinks that the straightness and depth of this channel through a low flat can only be explained by volcanic agency. It is well known that Sir C. Lyell places the original Niagara Fall at a ridge now half way between it and Lake Ontario, and 330 feet above the present level of that basin, conjecturing that this ridge was, at a remote epoch, the margin of the ocean, and afterwards that of the great lake, which is now six miles from it. M. Kohl urges that the river, while it fell into the lake, could not have operated on the rock beneath, and, therefore, at the contraction of that body of water must have formed a delta. He appears to have overlooked the softness of the rock here, and the force of the concentrated fall of 10,000 † tons of water from a height of 300 feet. The depth of the hole below the greater branch of the present fall is supposed to be very great.‡ From that spot to the ridge, at which the cascade is supposed to have formerly stood, with the additional grandeur of double height, and nearly double volume, the river rolls rapidly through a wall of cliffs some 300 feet high. The Americans, with characteristic daring, have actually hewn a path for their railroad along the ever-splintering cliff. The river rolls beneath one's feet; loose stones overhang one, and often drop in the spring.§ The railroad is only compelled to leave

* The watershed of Yonge-street is 230 feet above Lake Simcoe, and that lake is 126 above Lake Huron, 134 above Lake St. Clair, 140 above Lake Erie, and 170 above Lake Ontario. It is 100 above even Lake Superior. There is, however, a small lake, contributing to Lake Huron, 700 feet higher than Lake Simcoe. It is on the watershed between it and the Ottawa, about 100 miles from the former, and 50 from the latter.

† It may have been at one time far more. A very slight upheaval of the surface of North America, west of the great lakes, would send over the Falls of Niagara much of the water that now flows into the Arctic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico. The watersheds are very low that divide Lake Superior from Lake Winnipeg, and the Red River, and the Mississippi, Lake Michigan from the latter river and its tributaries, or Lake Erie from the Ohio system.

‡ Even outside the deepest part, it is 60 fathoms deep.

§ In the spring of 1859, shortly before one of our trips along this line, a train

the gorge by the great side-chasm, termed the Devil's Hole, the scene of the Indian ambuscade of 1763. Beyond is the beautiful part of the river-scenery, containing the whirlpool, where the width of the stream is about twice its average of 1600 feet, and it is eleven feet higher on the western side than on the eastern. About a mile above the whirlpool the width is, for a short space, but 700 feet, and here it is crossed by the magnificent suspension-bridge,* which comprises two stories, the upper for railway-trains, the lower for carriages and foot-passengers. The work was commenced by the transmission of paper-kites bearing thin wires, as the swiftness of the current at this part prevented even a small boat from crossing with a rope. It is now proposed even to supersede this grand structure, which requires caution, by a tubular bridge,† between the suspension-bridge and the Falls, at or near the spot where we saw Blondin cross on a slack rope in the noon-tide glare of the 14th of July, 1859. It would be hard for even Professor Kingsley to say anything new in a 'word-painting' of the Falls. M. Kohl gives us some graphic descriptions, especially of the scene behind the Horse-shoe Fall, and of a lunar spray-bow on the American, for which we must refer to his book. Of the former he says:—

“At a little distance, as long as the hissing spray is not overpowering, and you can keep your eyes open, the sight is most beautiful. You see above you a transparent mass of greenish crystal spring in a bold arch into the air, and all around you streams are dashing down upon the dark rocks, and then, as if frightened at what they saw there, shooting up again in showers of glittering drops towards the regions

had been but just saved from destruction. A man had been allowed, as is usual in America, to walk along the line, a single one, and came to a yawning gap in it, formed by the giving way of the rock. He returned to Lewiston, and informed the clerk in time for his stopping the next train by telegraph. The New York and Erie Railroad carried us thus some 100 miles along the Delaware.

* The gorge was crossed in 1849 by an iron basket attached to a wire, let down the incline, and drawn up on the other side by a windlass. The bridge was begun in 1852, and first used 8th of March, 1855. It is 250 feet above the river; there are 28 feet between the two stories, and its weight is 800 tons. There are about 100 tons of ballast.

† There is a view of this proposed tubular bridge in the book (placed at the head of this article) on that across the St. Lawrence, at Montreal. We sub-join its dimensions:—

Total length		840 feet
Centre-span		400 "
Side-span		200 "
Height above water		224 "
Width of tube for double track		24 "
Ditto, carriage-way, each side		13 "
Ditto, foot-path, ditto		13 "

of sunshine they have quitted ; flashing, like showers of sparks, forwards, sideways, in all directions, from the rocky walls, but all at last falling into the deep gulf, and being seen no more. . . .

"It was wild work inside the cavern. Furious gusts of wind blew from all corners, heavy showers dashed in our faces, and in a few moments, in spite of our mummy-like wrappages, we were wet to the skin, lost our breath, and were so blinded by the torrents of spray, that we had to trust entirely to our sense of touch, and feel our way along the rocky walls. The roaring, hissing, and boiling of the waters made such an uproar, that, to communicate with each other, we had to scream with all our might under the flaps of oil-skin by which our ears were defended. I was rather before the rest, and was crawling to one of the last rocks, when the figure of our negro moved swiftly towards me through the cloud of spray ; the great black mouth opened, and I heard under my ear-flap the 'winged words,'—'Stop, sir! Here is the termination rock! If master goes a step further, master fall down fifty feet!'"

The writer of this paper was neither armed *cap-à-pie* "in wax-cloth, oil-cloth, and India-rubber," nor saved by a ghost-like apparition resembling a photographic "negative." Warned by the correspondent of the *New York Herald*, who stated that he had found all those elaborate protections useless, and had envied "a smart little Yankee with only an umbrella," he imitated the latter, and went, moreover, alone. True, he got drenched ; but his thin coat soon dried, spread out in the July sun.

Mr. Ruskin's "catenary curves" of high water-falls were observed by Professor Agassiz's* party, in their close approach to these great cataracts on board the little steamer that whisks one all round the tossing cauldron. Here again the gusts make of little use the oil-cloth cloaks and hoods, in which you sit like the group of devils in the "Ingoldsby Legends."

The corpses of those who tumble over the Falls are, if ever seen again, found spinning round in the whirlpool, stripped of all clothing. Great sturgeons seem to be the only creatures that can shoot them unscathed. The otter alone is "too wide awake" to go over, M. Kohl heard from the ferryman. Father Hennepin, "who travelled and wrote in 1678," is commonly said to have been the first white man that beheld the Falls of Niagara. It seems not improbable that Champlain saw them in the course of his sojourn among friendly Indians on the southern shore of Ontario in 1615. At all events, they could scarcely have escaped the knowledge of the Jesuits, who were so often in this neighbourhood between 1634 and 1647, or of La Salle in 1670. M. Kohl thinks that the old Franciscan "got his account only

* Agassiz's "Lake Superior," (Boston, 1850,) p. 18.

from hearsay ;" since, " for instance, he estimates the height of the Falls at 700 feet, that is, about three times what it really is." " A traveller's tales" are, however, proverbial, and, if we were to reject the claims of all exaggerating eyewitnesses, our " historic doubts" would prove very sweeping. Passing by the oft-described rapids, we ascend the broad river to Lake Erie, a comparatively shallow body of water, with flat and monotonous shores. •

The break in navigation, caused by the rapids and falls, is met by a canal across the Canadian side of the Niagara River, while the Americans will soon have a similar and shorter link between Ontario and Erie on their own side of the isthmus, from the site of the original cataract to Buffalo. This city, though burnt to the ground in the war of 1812, is twice as populous as Toronto on Lake Ontario, and scarcely less than Chicago on Lake Michigan. The disasters of the Ontario mart on the one side were balanced by that of the Erie one on the other in the drawn game of 1812, which was fought out by land on the Niagara isthmus, by water on those two lakes. Though Canada cannot show one city on Lake Erie, while the States have no less than five, and their craft swarm on its tossing waters, a tract that may be called " the garden" of Canada, lies along its northern shore, bounded on the east by Ontario, on the west by the clear dark-blue depths of Huron.

As the cultivated* part of Canada along the great lakes cannot be fairly extended north of the southern half of this basin, we shall not in this article pursue, as we could with the aid of personal experience, the great Laurentian water-system up the winding channel between Lakes Huron and Superior, and then by the mountainous coast and virgin islands of the northern half of the latter, or follow it up to the chain of imperfectly explored lakes beyond, and sources mapped, like those of the Nile, only from the reports of wandering savages.

On the eastern side of Lake Huron stretch two bodies of water, commonly called the North Channel and the Georgian Bay, but virtually separate basins, communicating with that lake by narrow entrances. The main partition is a large island called Great Manitoulin, deriving its name, as so many do, from the Indian equivalent to Spirit. A little south of the labyrinth of islets that divide from the North Channel the Georgian Bay (sometimes called Lake Manitoulin), is what in railway language would be called Ottawa Road Junction. From this point it is about one hundred miles, as the crow flies, across to the River Ottawa. It is an old canoe-route, involving a few short por-

* The Canadian Government has but recently been selling, in lots for settlement, land on St. Mary River, between Lakes Huron and Superior.

tages. About half the interval is occupied by French River, the outlet of a basin, about a hundred and fifty miles in circumference, called Lake Nipissing, shortly beyond which is a small lake discharging into the River Ottawa. It was by this route, the shortest from Montreal to the upper lakes, that the Jesuit missionaries passed up to Lake Superior in the seventeenth century, and Henry, the English trader, late in the eighteenth (1780). When the canal and railroad, already designed, are made, it will probably be, in the twentieth, a link in the chain of communication between the seaboard of the Northern Atlantic and the Northern Pacific, between Halifax, Montreal, Ottawa City, Saut Ste. Marie, and the chief towns of Rupert's Land, and British Columbia. The point where this route strikes the Ottawa is four hundred and sixty-three miles from its northern sources. There are others, however, some hundred and fifty miles to the east of the northern, near those of the Saguenay. These distances serve to give a notion of the extent of the Ottawa country. The area drained by that water-system is at least eighty thousand square miles, a tract six times as large as Holland. Rising in the watershed between the Hudson's Bay and St. Lawrence valleys, its streams pass through lakes of considerable size, and a country hitherto uncleared and imperfectly surveyed. Even south of the old *portage* and future Huron and Ottawa canal, a tract measuring one hundred miles by one hundred and fifty is still in its wild state. At the junction with the Ottawa, we are fifty-three miles above the present head of steamer navigation, one hundred and ninety-seven above Ottawa City, and three hundred and seventeen above Montreal, where the river unites with the St. Lawrence. When the canals that obviate its rapids are finished, steamer-navigation will be able to reach some seven hundred miles above Montreal in this direction. Above Ottawa City the combination of wood, rock, and water is particularly fine. At one part—

“The current seems to have cut through the rocks like a cannon-ball, and formed a broad channel of from thirty to forty miles in length, between high perpendicular walls of stone. You can look through it with a glass from one end to the other; the depth of water is everywhere equal, and 't flows quite smoothly.”—(Kohl, i. 243).

Its volume is remarkably great. Where it has to receive tributaries equal to the Hudson, the Shannon, the Thames, the Tweed, the Spey, and the Clyde, it displays, when unconfined, a width of half a mile of strong, boiling rapid; and, when at the highest, while the north waters are passing, the volume, by cal-

culated approximation, is fully equal to that passing Niagara—that is, double the common volume of the Ganges.”*

The view from Barrack Hill, at the city of Ottawa, is a very fine one, especially at sunrise, or, as we enjoyed it, at sunset. You are here at that confluence of four great watercourses, which makes this city a centre of Canadian life second only to Montreal. From the “forest primæval” of the north-west comes the mighty Ottawa, laden with many a raft of the ‘lumber men,’ its yellow timber relieved by their red jerseys and flags. A little to your left it issues from woods, backed by blue mountains, a mass of dancing snow, in which, on a nearer approach, the fleecy foam is beautifully set off by the black rocks and the effervescing pools, which bear those tints of coffee or amber, that the Lyns of North Devon imbibe from the bogs of Exmoor. From the North, a little lower down the great river, comes a tributary whose unexplored course is probably one of 420 miles. Eastward, picking up subsidiaries as it goes, the flood proceeds to its confluence with the St. Lawrence, and the greater heart of British America. Toward the south-east the Rideau Canal, whose designer deserved to “call the city after his own name,”† unites the new seat of Government with Kingston and Lake Ontario. We may add that southward is a railway to the St. Lawrence, from which another passes one on to the Hudson and to New York. Thus the city is by railway 54 miles from the St. Lawrence, by water 120 miles from Montreal, and 126 from Kingston; the former of which cities is about the same distance by water from Quebec that the latter is from Toronto. When, recently, nearly as many cities claimed to be the seat of Canadian Government as did of old to be the accredited birthplace of Homer, Ottawa won the honour, on account of her central position, her comparative distance from the frontier of the States, and her possession of an excellent acropolis in Barrack Hill. A hint too was taken from Brother Jonathan, who has not made New York the seat of the Federal Government, or even of that of the Empire State, and there was the warning of the doings of the Montreal mob in 1850, when they burnt down the Parliament Houses, and pelted Lord Elgin with rotten eggs. For some time at least, Ottawa will probably be to Montreal what Albany is to New York. We must not conclude this brief sketch of the great arteries of Canada, without giving some account of the formation of those rafts that one sees just above Quebec, in the cove which bears the name of the young English

* Report of Railway Committee of Canadian House of Assembly.

† Its name was, till recently, Bytown, from Colonel By, of the Royal Engineers. The canal was intended to secure a communication, besides that of the St. Lawrence, between Montreal and the Lakes, in time of war.

hero who landed there before his first and last battle-field. They are the product chiefly of the enterprising capitalists termed 'lumber-men,' and of the men and their woodmen, whose French name is "Gens de Chantier," from that habit of singing as they ply their task which was made known to our people by Moore's "Canadian Boat-song." Their log-houses are called *chantiers*, whence the English *shanty*, and *shanty-men*. These men live chiefly on salt meat and bacon,* washed down with tea and coffee, the latter of which beverages was formerly only a sham material made from toasted corn, sweetened with the sugar they get by 'tapping' the maple tree, which is to Canadians what the olive was to the Athenians of yore, and well deserves to be the emblem of Canada. Their masters are chiefly of that nation which has given the Hudson Bay Company Lord Selkirk, Sir George Simpson, and most of the 'superintendents' of its 'forts;' that nation whose sons have shown such capacity for administration in our East Indian Empire also. The Scotch workmen, too, are said to surpass in hardihood even the experienced Franco-Canadians. With regard to the rafts themselves, the difficulties they have to contend with forbid their being constructed so simply as those of the Rhine or Danube. They consist of several portions, termed 'bonds,' each of which is divided again into 'cribs.' A whole 'bond' is sent down a cataract, while, where a wooden slide termed a 'timber-shoot' is provided, each 'crib' speeds down it separately, under the guidance of three or four hardy fellows, to be collected below. It was this lumber population that sent forth a little fleet of canoes to welcome the Prince of Wales to their capital, and it was down one of these 'timber-shoots' that he descended with the Governor-General and the Duke of Newcastle. The timber was formerly sent to Quebec in the rough state, but now it is sawed and planed in mills that avail themselves of what Americans call the 'water-privileges' of the wide Chaudière Falls at Ottawa. We may add that the 'lumber-men' pay Government a yearly ground-rent per acre, and a duty of a halfpenny per cubic foot on the timber, when brought to market. If they bring to market less than a certain proportion, their ground-rent is doubled, or their license withdrawn. Thus they cannot, by renting large tracts and leaving them untouched, selfishly benefit themselves in the consequent rise of the price of wood, and simultaneously injure the public revenue.

The climate of Canada—especially in regard to its effects on man—is a subject exceedingly interesting to those who think of

* "Oui, monsieur," said a Franco-Canadian to M. Kohl, "du loard [bacon] c'est bon pour eux; ça leur donne beaucoup de force." (Vol. i. p. 265.)

emigrating. If they consult the publications that invite them to that country, they will find the favourable side of it dwelt upon, but in a fair spirit. If they think a private friend more trustworthy, and consult him or her, they should make allowance for their friend's constitution. Speaking from an experience of nearly two years, we would say of Upper Canada—the main resort of emigrants—that, in the case of a man of fair constitution, health very much depends on the domestic comforts he may be fortunate enough or wise enough to procure. Let the man who can afford it live in a substantial stone house, and pay proper attention to his drainage. Let him clothe himself warmly, and eat plenty of meat, in the long winter. Let him abstain from excess of iced water and fruit, in the short but intense summer-heat. As long as the country is being cleared, there will be more or less risk of ague and malaria in various forms, and they will affect a man according to the vicinity of his residence to uncultivated land. We may add, that he should stay indoors as much as possible during the hot weather, except in early morning and late evening. If he can spend that part of the year on the Atlantic coast or the inland waters, so much the better. There are fogs sometimes, especially on the shores of the lakes; but, on the average, the air is dry, pure, and stimulating. Hence it is more trying, however, than England to young children, whom it is, comparatively speaking, hard to rear, especially during the summer, when they are carried off by diarrhœa.

As to Lower Canada, it is only necessary to add, that the winter is longer and severer, while, on the other hand, as its settled part—which is tantamount to both banks of the St. Lawrence, save the coast from the Montmorenci to Labrador—contains little or no uncleared land, it has got rid of ague and malaria. In both divisions of Canada it is well to prefer good open-grate fires to the stoves usually adopted, recommended by an injudicious economy, but apt to overheat the room and exhaust the air. To their effects, and also to the habit of sitting indoors which they encourage, is to be traced, we believe, the sallowness, delicacy, or positive unhealthiness of Transatlantic women, as compared with those of their own stock in the British isles. We need scarcely mention that the climate of America is, in corresponding latitudes, far colder than that of Europe, owing to its lack of the Northern Ocean and the many indentations of the sea which temper that of the latter. The north wind is of course particularly keen in Canada, blowing, as it does, from huge fields of polar ice without being softened by intervening water. The west wind, too, is a cold one, coming, as it does, over so vast a mass of land. In Upper Canada, however, the climate is modified by the vast bodies of fresh water that hem it in, contrasting well with that of Illinois

and even New York. Its superiority to even the New England States is shown by the fact that the black walnut, whose wood is such a valuable material for furniture in the skilful hands of its Canadian compatriots, scarce extends ~~its~~ habitation above the city of New York on the Atlantic seaboard. Its very summer-heat is an advantage to Canada, in an agricultural point of view, added to its humidity and the particularly suitable distribution of its rain.

In a geological point of view, the Laurentian valley is palæozoic; the mountainous tract north of it is azoic.

With regard to the former part, the lake-girt peninsula is Devonian and Upper Silurian; the country east of it is Lower Silurian as far as Lake Memphramagog and Quebec; then come Lower Silurian along the St. Lawrence, and Upper Silurian from the aforesaid lake to Gaspé; while, southward again, is a tract of Devonian in the interior, and a strip of carboniferous rock on the coast. This last is a part of the great New Brunswick coal-field, but contains no workable seams. The country, however, from Gaspé to Lake Champlain, contains great mineral wealth. Though the gold found in the drift is too scanty to be made much of, and the quantity of the highly argentiferous lead-ore is small, the beds of chromic iron are promising, and copper mines are worked with fair success.* The magnetic and specular oxides of iron in this region are often accompanied by titanium, the possession of which, in a small proportion, constitutes the value of Swedish iron for the manufacture of steel. Roofing-slates are transported hence to Chicago. Numerous marbles may be expected from the calcareous rocks, and from a long range of serpentine, traced nearly three hundred miles. There are thick beds of soapstone, pot-stone, and whetstone, and large masses of magnesite, yielding a cement that resists the decomposing power of sea-water.

The great iron-rocks of Canada, however, are associated with the azoic Laurentian mountains which extend from Labrador to the British frontier on the west of Lake Superior. Beds from 10 to 500 feet occur, containing from 60 to 70 per cent. of pure

* "In nine weeks after mining operations commenced last year, 300 tons of ore, containing about 30 per cent. of pure copper, were obtained, and the work still continues with much the same results."

"Valuable deposits of the ores here occur in beds, as they do in the copper states of Germany; and this has been confirmed by the recent discovery at Acton (Bagot County), of a most remarkable mass of the vitreous variegated and pyritous sulphuret of copper, constituting apparently the paste of a conglomerate with limestone pebbles, subordinate to the stratification. This discovery naturally enhances the importance with which smaller indications are regarded in other parts." *The Canadian Settler's Guide*, 10th edition: London. Stanford, 1860, (a compilation embodying the latest information for emigrants), contains the substance of Sir W. Logan's Geological Reports.

iron. There are mines east of Kingston, and furnaces west of that city. The exports to Pittsburgh, in Pennsylvania, have amounted to 15,000 tons of ore in two years. In these Laurentian ores titanium is abundant. Veins of lead, seemingly workable, and rensselærite, resembling limestone in hardness and soapstone in its uses, exist in bands of crystalline limestone, which also sometimes show graphite or plumbago, mica, and phosphate of lime, with indications of corundum or emery. The chief representative of the copper region on the Canadian sides of Lakes Huron and Superior is the district of the Bruce and Wellington mines. The Canadian part of this region is 500 miles long. If its breadth be but 12, it is ten times as large as all the mineral country of Devon and Cornwall. Silver, nickel, lead, and zinc accompany the copper. A Montreal company has recently leased the mine in Michipicoten Island (Lake Superior), where "native copper is found in the body of an amygdaloid rock."* We wish we could find room for the entertaining account of this island, and the Indian legend of the discovery of its copper, given in the Report of the Jesuit missionary, Dablon.† Smelting, for which formerly the ore of this region was sent to Swansea, or to Boston, or Baltimore, is now done at Bruce Mine, where one could not recently trace the metamorphoses of the ore beyond its mud-paste condition after passing through the crushing process, the "jigger-works," and the "puddling-troughs." Nor do these mineral regions monopolize that important element in the wealth of a country. There is what is called bog iron-ore, as well as superior stone for building and glass-making, white and red brick clays, peat, freshwater shell-marl occasionally, petroleum-springs, supplying, as we can personally testify, highly serviceable oil, and bituminous shales, which, at Bowmanville on Lake Ontario, were set down as coal, till shown to Professor Chapin, of Toronto University.

The trees of Canada are her especial glory. Those of the Western Peninsula are as remarkable now as when Bouchette, in his survey, observed them, for their sturdiness and variety. The elm, the red (or pitch) and white pine, the oak, and the button-wood are particularly fine trees, of which the elm may be ranked first. Sir R. Bonnycastle took the dimensions of a hale red pine—"merely a chance one by the path-side"—between Lakes Simcoe and Huron, and found its height 200 feet, its girth twenty-six. It would have made a plank eight feet broad. Mr. Linton ("Life of a Backwoodsman," &c.) counted

* *Montreal Advertiser*, Dec. 16, 1859.

† "Relations de ce que s'est passé de plus Remarquable aux Missions des Pères de la Compagnie de Jesus en la Nouvelle France." (1660—1670.)

the rings of an oak midway between Lake Huron and the head of Lake Ontario, and calculated that "it had been a sapling about the time when Sir William Wallace and Robert Bruce were defending" his "native country." Canadian oaks and elms shoot up to a great height, straight as an arrow. The red pine we have mentioned would certainly have served for

"——— the mast
Of some great admiral,"

if not for the spear of Milton's Titanic spirit, but the white pine, which grows to a height of 160 feet, is much used for masts, though the size of the red is greater, and it is the Jack-of-all-trades, *par excellence*, of all the forest-giants. For general purposes serve also, especially, the tough, compact red and white beech, the red cedar, and the tulip tree. Mallets are made out of the heavy iron-wood, tool-handles and handspikes out of the hickory, posts and rails out of the red cedar. One's furniture is of the black walnut, the maple, or the cherry. The white oak is the favourite of the wheelwright, the white ash that of the carriage-builder, the white oak, larch, and red cedar, those of the ship-builder, while the black spruce supplies him with spars, and the white pine with masts. The chestnut and the white cedar produce good charcoal, the beeches, the maples, and the birches good fuel. The red elm and the sassafras are useful medicinally. The bark of the oaks and that of the hemlock are used by the tanner. The trunk of the balsam spruce yields the turpentine vulgarly called "balm of Gilead," and the "spruce-beer" is extracted from the young branches of the black spruce, while gin is distilled from the berry of the red cedar. The tree-fruits are numerous.

The flowers of Canada, though, in general scentless, surpass ours in variety and beauty. To make the acquaintance, one must not be satisfied with walking along the high-roads or even along the paths in the "bush," but make one's way delicately and deftly over soft spongy swamp, or resolutely through the strongly-matted thicket. Those who do so are amply rewarded; and the British public, which cannot, would, we believe, warmly welcome a popular account of them with coloured illustrations.

The nature of the timber is the guide to the quality of the soil for agricultural purposes. The best land exhibits a growth of "hard-wood" (oak, ash, elm, beech, basswood, and sugar-maple), with a few pines and balsams. Undulations, the result of the fall of trees, indicate a loose soil suitable for wheat, which loves a rich loam above the clay.

Two great tracts, each of nearly 2,000,000 acres, remain uncultivated, the one in Lower, the other in Upper Canada. The

former is in the Eastern Townships, the latter is the area already mentioned below Lake Nipissing, an undulating country, showing a rich growth of hard wood, and bounded, most advantageously, by the great lumber-country on the east, and Lake Huron on the west. The former has yet to be opened up, as the latter is being, by colonization-roads. Along these, in the latter, Government is offering free grants, not exceeding 100 acres, on conditions that insure *bonâ fide* settling.*

Speaking generally, Lower Canada is the abode of the grazier and dairyman, Upper Canada that of the wheat-grower, owing to the ravages in the former of the midge or weevil, but lately got rid of in the main. From their grossly bad farming, Canadians have not merely not done justice to their excellent soil, but even impoverished it till of late. The yield, however, rises to thirty or forty bushels per acre. Barley averages twenty-seven and a half bushels in Upper Canada, and its growth is increasing. Flax and hemp have a suitable soil and climate, with ample means of water-rotting, and will doubtless be much grown when the scutching is generally done on the spot.

In Upper Canada, the average weight of sheep is, of carcass seventeen pounds per quarter, of fleece four pounds eight ounces. Indian corn, hops, and tobacco flourish, while melons, tomatoes, and especially pumpkins are enormous, these last having exceeded 300 lbs. The plums of the Isle of Orleans, and the apples of Montreal are renowned. Peaches ripen in the open air in the western peninsula, where, as well as in the Eastern Townships, vines do also, and a native grape has been successfully domesticated.

We regret that our *spatia iniqua* do not admit of our touching on the indigenous food of Canada as it deserves. M. Kohl was reminded by the maple-"tapping" for sugar of the custom of getting a syrup from the apple-tree "among the Tartar families of the Crimea," "the children of the Letts in Courland," who run into the woods in March to tap the birch-tree, and obtain its fermenting sap for "household purposes," and of the turpentine got similarly from the pine in "the mountainous part of Lombardy and the Tyrol." The wild rice, of which M. Kohl gives an interesting account, is extremely nutritious, and considered far superior

* Firstly, the settler must have completed his eighteenth year; secondly, he must take possession within a month; thirdly, he must bring into cultivation twelve acres within four years; fourthly, he must build a log-house, twenty feet by eighteen, and reside there till he has fulfilled the third condition. The same offer is made along roads that are being cut on the right bank of the Lower St. Lawrence. Government is also offering several millions of acres at from 10*d.* to 4*s.* per acre. A pound per acre is the lowest price at which land adapted for farming can be expected from private companies or individuals.

to that of the East Indies. Our garden-fruits, from plums downwards, grow wild and are prized, especially by the Indians, for the conserves they supply.

A region so much covered as Canada with lakes and rivers, besides those so prominent as to be mentioned in this brief article, might be expected to shine in its fisheries. Though, instead of being carefully tended, they have suffered most cruel injury, the yearly value, not including that of the take in non-Canadian vessels, amounts to 942,528 dols. (say 188,505*l.* 12*s.*), of which 380,000 dols. (say 76,000*l.*) is the share of Upper Canada. The Province has recently, however, taken the matter up. A Superintendent of Fisheries* has been appointed. He not only preserves what there are, especially from the reckless spears of the Indian, but breeds salmon artificially with great zeal. The fisheries of the Gulf-coast, of the great river, of its numerous tributaries, and of inland lakes are now offered to private purchase or lease, while stringent protective regulations † are in force, infraction of which is punished by fine or imprisonment. We should add that the cod abounds in the St. Lawrence, the mackerel in its lower part, the herring in the broad Gulf, while whalers go out from Gaspé, the eastern extremity of the Province.‡

The game, too, are now protected by Government, their respective seasons fixed, and snaring forbidden. Deer must be sought in the unsettled parts, as well as bears and wolves. The moose and the cariboo, however, may be found near Quebec. Wild fowl need not be sought far.

We have devoted a comparatively large space to a sketch of the great waters of Canada, but one by no means larger than their comparative importance. Canada, as a home for man, civilized man especially, has been as much made by its inland waters, particularly its St. Lawrence, as Egypt, in the words of its ancient people, was "the gift of its river."

Those great arteries that we have sketched and the countless other lakes and streams that Keith Johnston's excellent map shows strewn broadcast over this vast region, while they have tempered the cold of the climate to a state suitable for agriculture and for the human constitution, have been the means of introducing the most energetic of the human stocks to the cultivation

* This office, of which Mr. Nettle is the first tenant, was created in consequence of his having, in a well-written little book, appealed to Government on the subject.

† The Fishery Regulations, a list of those of the seventy salmon-rivers now offered, and a clear map, are given in the "Canadian Settler's Guide," at the end of which are the advertisements.

‡ The average value of the oil of one season is 27,000 dols. (say 5,400*l.*).

of the country, and the use of the manifold industrial and economical resources which their abundant water-power* places in the hands of an intellectual population. Indeed the enterprise and skill of the European immigrants have even improved the unrivalled means of communication that these waters have placed at their command. Art has completed the work of Nature. The obstructions left by the latter have been vanquished by the former. A series of canals has carried ships from the Atlantic into the very heart of North America, while the same process is being worked out in the great river that supplies the raw material of those vessels. What may be termed the Laurentian canal-system has been effected at a cost of about 16,000,000 dols. (say 3,200,000*l.*), of which sum about 1,000,000 dols. (say 200,000*l.*), have been expended by the Americans in the recent construction of the link that obviates the rapids between Lakes Huron and Superior. The Americans set the example, as might be expected, opening in 1824 the Erie Canal, constructed by the State of New York, and connecting that city with Lake Erie. It was followed by the construction, on a small scale, of a canal between that lake and Lake Ontario on the Canadian side of the isthmus, by the Rideau Canal connecting the Ottawa with Lake Ontario—a military work of the British Government,—and the La Chine Canal, surmounting that rapid of the St. Lawrence. In 1841 the British Government guaranteed a loan of 1,500,000*l.* for the enlargement of the Ontario and Erie Canal, and for canals to obviate the rapids between Montreal and the former lake. Thus in 1846 Canada possessed a system of canals that took vessels of 800 tons from the Atlantic to the head of Lake Ontario, 1016 miles from Anticosti Island, and those of 400 into the Upper Lakes; while the American Huron-Superior Canal, opened in 1855, extends ship-navigation to the head of Lake Superior, more than 2000 miles inland. Dredging has deepened the shallow expanse that occurs between Quebec and Montreal, so that 18½ feet, instead of 11½, is the draught of water it allows vessels even in summer. Government has also built lighthouses in the St. Lawrence, improved the pilotage, and provided tug-boats.

However, as in England railways superseded in a great measure the much-belauded canals, so was it clear that even Canadian water-communication must bow to the railways of the Northern States, and the latter divert to themselves much of its traffic. Hence, in 1849, the Province guaranteed 6 per cent. on half the

* We may instance the saw-mills, already mentioned, on the Ottawa. There is said to be a great amount of water-power in the undeveloped region of the Eastern Townships.

cost of any railway 75 miles long, and with this encouragement, three railways were commenced: the Great Western, across the lake-girt peninsula; the Northern, to connect Lake Ontario with Lake Simcoe and the Georgian Bay; and the St. Lawrence and Atlantic, whose name explains itself. In 1852, however, the guarantee was confined to one main line, that was to pass through the whole length of the Province, and in the same year—

“The Grand Trunk Line, from Montreal to Toronto, and from Quebec to Rivière-du-Loup, was incorporated as part of the Main Trunk Line, with a stipulated advance, by way of loan, of 3000*l.* per mile; the line from Quebec to Richmond having already been commenced as part of the Main Trunk Line, under the original Act. In 1853, Acts were passed providing for the amalgamation of all the companies forming the Main Trunk Line, with powers to construct the Victoria Bridge, connecting the lines west of Montreal with those leading to Quebec and Portland, and also authorizing the lease in perpetuity of the American line connecting the Canadian railway-system with the ocean at Portland, U.S., which, from its admirable harbour, and from being the nearest port to the St. Lawrence, was selected as the point through which the winter trade of Canada could be most advantageously carried on. This city is therefore now the Atlantic terminus of the Canadian railway-system in winter, and has been adopted as the port to which the Canadian line of steam-ships ply while the navigation of the St. Lawrence is interrupted. Efforts have been repeatedly made, as well by Canada as by New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, to induce the Imperial Government to promote the extension of the Grand Trunk Railway to some winter port, but without success; and it is as yet wholly beyond the power of the provinces, unaided, to construct a line which is more valuable on national than on commercial grounds.

“The result of the legislation to which allusion has been made, has been the formation of the Grand Trunk Railway Company, whose gigantic works are at length on the point of completion; and of this Company it may be truly said, that, comprising 1112 miles of rail, of which no less than 1092 miles are strictly a trunk line, constructed in the most permanent manner, and connecting the American railway-system west of the great lakes with the ocean at Portland in winter, and at Montreal, Quebec, and Rivière-du-Loup in summer, it presents probably the most complete and comprehensive railway-system in the world; and taken into connexion with the unequalled inland-navigation of the St. Lawrence, it cannot fail to attract a large share of the vast and increasing traffic of the West, while it affords to the whole province of Canada the greatest possible facilities for inter-communication.

“The difficulties attendant on the prosecution of this immense enterprise, arising from the Russian war, and consequent rise in the value of money, induced the Legislature, to prevent the stoppage of works so essential to the prosperity of the Province, to come to the relief of

the company, and in 1856 and 1857 Acts were passed giving the private capital of the company priority over the provincial first lien of 3,111,500*l*.

"By this measure the company were enabled to raise additional funds, and the wisdom of the step is now seen in the full completion of the undertaking."

This is the account of the Grand Trunk Railway, given by the Hon. A. T. Galt, Finance Minister of Canada, who has recently proposed to the holders of the Canadian 6 per cent. Government Securities, the conversion of them into others at 5 per cent., a proposal based of course on the increasing wealth of Canada. That country has indeed been benefited by the Grand Trunk, which has given it by far the largest portion of a railway-system that is, in comparison with its population, unrivalled. But—to say nothing of the water communication side by side with it—on account of, firstly, the vast population and shipping of New York proving a most powerful source of attraction to the trade of the interior of North America; secondly, the fact that railways connect her with the great Canadian cities as well as those of the Western States; thirdly, the fact that Baltimore is an Atlantic port about half the distance that Portland is from Cincinnati, while New York and Boston are about one-third the distance from Detroit—the Grand Trunk can scarcely be expected to be very remunerative, if it even pay the expenses of its lengthy course. The shareholders maintain that the Province is responsible for the prospectus, which stated that the average traffic might be expected to be at least 25*l*. per mile per week, whereas the opening of the Victoria Bridge (19th Dec., 1859), raised it only to 12*l*. 10*s*.; an average that has happily of late increased to 16*l*. 10*s*.; and, it is said, would have reached 20*l*., had there but been adequate rolling stock. The shareholders say that, in their memorial of March, 1856, they told the Canadian Government that

"It should be clearly and distinctly understood that the Province of Canada—not merely through its Legislature, but by the direct intervention of its superior executive officers,—assumed a very large share of responsibility towards the individuals, who embarked their private means in the Grand Trunk Railway."

They add, that in the second memorial, of April, 1857, they further observed that, firstly, the Company had been required by the Province to spend nearly 2,000,000*l*. in lines indefensible on commercial grounds; while, secondly, the Grand Trunk has already enormously increased the value of land, and immensely benefited Canada and Canadians.*

* See the *Economist* of Oct. 6 and 13, and of Dec. 1, 1860.

On the other hand,* it is contended that the Imperial Government is in fault, on the ground that Lord John Russell's Cabinet pledged itself to recommend Parliament to guarantee a minimum rate of interest, or to advance money on condition of Canada taking on herself some of the military expenses of the country, and carrying a railway from Quebec through Montreal to the foot of Lake Huron. But, we would reply, Lord John Russell's Cabinet could not promise for its successors, and the refusal of that of Lord Derby, owing to the quarrel between Mr. Hinckes and Sir John Pakington, cannot affect their predecessors.

We do certainly consider that the original plan of placing the Atlantic terminus at Halifax—the plan recommended by Lord Durham—was a most wise one, and should have been unfalteringly carried out by the co-operation of the British and the Provincial Governments. That the British people should be mulcted with a disproportionate share of the expense is rather too much to expect of even much-enduring and heavily-taxed John Bull. But Halifax is the natural landing-stage for Europeans in America, being the nearest port on the mainland—400 miles nearer than Portland, 600 nearer than New York or any other port of the States, and the finest harbour in the New World.

Mr. Cauchon,† now a member of the Legislative Assembly of Canada, and in 1857 a member of the Ministry as Commissioner of Crown Lands, denies that the Province was implicated in the encouragement held out by the prospectus of 1853, which was, he contends, the composition of English contractors, who desired to get up a great railway-company, formed exaggerated expectations of the traffic to follow, and imparted them to Canadian officials and leading London capitalists, while the Acts of the Provincial Parliament simply promise the aid of 3,111,500*l.*, and have supplied it.

We believe that, though the Canadians, to raise the interest on those debentures, have to increase the taxation on their imports to from 10 to 15 per cent., the Grand Trunk is too much bound up with the prosperity of the Province to be allowed to cease running even one week.

Young Canada has her clothes made too large for her, to allow of her growing. No wonder then that they cost more than they would do, if made for present requirements. Mr. Galt, her

* "The Present Position and Future Prospects of the Grand Trunk Railway Company of Canada." London: Abbot, Barton, & Co., 35, Wellington-street, Strand. 1860.

† In a letter to the *Journal de Quebec*, copied in the *London Times* of Nov. 19, 1860.

Finance Minister, has the following brief statement of her youthful embarrassments in consequence (see his Pamphlet, p. 33):—

“The direct debt of Canada, including advances to railways, is 9,677,672*l.*, and, after deducting the sinking fund for the redemption of the Imperial guaranteed loan, amounts to 8,884,672*l.*; and the payments on account of the public works of the Province, without reckoning interest, have been as follows:—

Canals, lighthouses, and other works connected with the development of the navigation of the St. Lawrence, represent	£ 3,902,900
Railway advances	4,161,150
Roads and bridges and improvement of rivers	738,350
	8,862,400”

But her public works are not the only causes of the ‘indebtedness’ of the Province. Not only has she had to go through, in her infancy, the calamitous American war of 1812, and the revolt caused by her exclusives in 1837, but the great commercial ‘crisis’ of 1857, and the bad harvests of 1857 and 1858. In consequence of these recent troubles, the Province has been obliged to make large advances to enable the municipalities to pay the interest of their bonds, and, in lieu of this plan, Government now redeems the debentures and holds them against the municipalities. Its advance in interest on the municipal debt costs it 100,000*l.* a-year, and the interest on railway-advances 200,000*l.*

Mr. Galt, on coming into office in August, 1858, found, moreover, a deficiency of 500,000*l.* in the revenue. He has met this grave conjuncture by increase of the duties on imports, and defends his policy in the pamphlet already cited. He says that it would be vain to attempt direct taxation in Canada, and he points to the customs-duties and the excise of the United Kingdom.

On the other side of the balance we must place the growing wealth and stamina of the country, her not having, as we have, a Civil List, and her being garrisoned at the expense of the population of the British Isles.

Things are certainly not so bad as they were in the latter days of French dominion, when M. Bigot, the intendant-general, peculated to the amount of 400,000*l.*—most of it lavished on a mistress, and his bills and orders on the French treasury, to the amount of between 3,000,000*l.* and 4,000,000*l.*, were protested.*

Let us rather, however, fix our attention on the bright part of

* M. Neckar’s first step to wealth was the purchase of some of these bills &c., which were afterwards paid by the French Government.

the picture—the completion in little more than six years of a magnificent railway, 1112 miles in length, and comprising the Victoria Bridge, the greatest engineering work ever achieved. The history of this bridge, which may be considered the keystone of an undertaking that has cost 13,677,000*l.*, is narrated ably, clearly, and entertainingly by its constructor himself—another Xenophon or Cæsar, in a magnificent volume, got up, at a cost of about 4000*l.*, in seven weeks, and itself a miracle of art. What with its gorgeous binding (decorated with the Maple-leaf of Canada, entwined with the Rose of England, the Thistle of Scotland, and the Shamrock of Ireland), its gilt edges, hot-pressed paper, gold border, and wide margin, together with its chromo-lithographs and other plates, it is indeed a volume worthy of presentation to the heir-apparent of the British Empire.

At the end of the book are copies of the inscriptions which have been placed at the entrance of the bridge. They are as follows :—

[On the outer lintel.]

ERECTED A.D. M.DCCC.LIX.

ROBERT STEPHENSON, ALEX. M. ROSS,
ENGINEERS.

[On the interior lintel.]

BUILT

BY

JAMES HODGES,

FOR

SIR S. MORTON PETO, BART., THOMAS BRASSEY,

AND

EDWARD LADD BETTS,

CONTRACTORS.

In 1846, the Hon. J. Young of Montreal broached the idea of carrying a bridge across the St. Lawrence, and obtained the opinions of several engineers. In 1852, the contractors went to Canada, at the request of the Provincial Government, to aid, by their examination of the country, in the construction of a railway-system. Mr. Ross, C.E., who went with them, took back to England the reports Mr. Young had procured, and, with these and his own observations, proceeded to design the structure, and laid his designs before Mr. Robert Stephenson, who approved of them, became associated with Mr. Ross as engineer, visited Canada in 1853, and planned the work, as it stands. The bridge is about one mile above the west end of the harbour of Montreal. The St. Lawrence is here 8,660 feet wide; its depth is from 5 to 15 feet at summer level, and 22 when greatest; its bed is of limestone, strewn with huge boulders; while the average rate of its

current is 7 miles an hour. As the piers were to be so made as to break the enormous mass of packed ice that 'shoves' down at this point, the character of the stone was an important consideration. Happily, a suitable kind was found only 16 miles from Montreal, and brought to the spot in barges and steam-tugs.

In the first winter, that of 1853, coffer-dams were made, which were to be sunk in the river during the working season, and then pumped out, and taken to a place of safety. The description of these ingenious machines should really be set by University Examiners for translation into Herodotean Greek, à la the account that the Father of History gives of the Persian despot's devices for his bridge over the Hellespont, and into Latin in the style of the Roman who has left us a chronicle of his military "experiences." We refer for the details to the book before us, or rather to the excellent illustrations.

Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures,
Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.

The work began with many disheartening circumstances. In winter, the men suffered from frost-bite, and even snow-blindness; in summer, from sun-stroke and cholera; while even men brought from England at the cost of 3000*l.* 'struck' at the end of a fortnight. On the other hand, in the second winter, Mr. Chaffey, a sub-contractor, from a sketch and description brought out by Mr. Hodges, constructed a machine that supplied the place of a costly but useless 'steam traveller,' sent out from England. Mr. Chaffey's was, it seems, like the horse of a farmer of our acquaintance—"a rough un to look at, but a good un to go."

One pier was erected, when, on the 4th of January, 1855—

"The whole of the river and La Prairie Basin were one mass of packed ice, which, being held up by the jamb below, had been accumulating and rising for four days. At last some slight symptoms of motion were visible. The universal stillness which prevailed was interrupted by an occasional creaking, and every one breathlessly awaited the result, straining every nerve to ascertain if the movement was general. The uncertainty lasted but a short period; for, in a few minutes, the uproar arising from the rushing waters, the cracking, grinding, and shoving of the fields of ice, burst on our ears. The sight of twenty square miles (over 124,000,000 tons) of packed ice (which but a few minutes before seemed as a lake of solid rock) all in motion, presented a scene grand beyond description."

No wonder that Mr. Hodges, who witnessed and has graphically 'dashed off' the scene, "felt relieved," when he found pier No. 1 still standing. On one occasion a dam was pushed down some distance by a raft that bore down on it, but it was brought up by anchors and tugged back by three steamers. Some of the

dams were made of 'cribs,' which were torn, when tugged up against the current, and had instead to be conveyed above, and floated down the rapids. Again, a boulder weighing more than 20 tons was not removed in less than six days from a 'puddle chamber.'

In 1857, the continuation of the work was almost despaired of, from want of funds. There was the delay too caused by the huge boulder. At one time a spring of black water spouted up at a blow of the pick, and the men "had to run for their lives." However, in that year the placing of the tube began, and, in the repiecing, it was found that not a single mistake, even in punching, had been made at the Canada works, Birkenhead, to the great credit of the manager and those under him.

In 1859 the work went on rapidly, with no serious reverse. On the 10th of March, indeed, a storm destroyed much of the scaffolding, and, on the 26th, when the sustaining wedges were removed, the screw-jacks employed to lessen the strain gave way, and the tube was found deflected to an extent of nine inches. On the 17th of December, the first train passed over. "About an hour before this was timed to pass, a fearful crash was heard," and they "found the staging drifting down the river with the ice, leaving the bridge perfectly clear of all its temporary works." We hope there were not on the river below a Canadian Tom and Maggie. If so, however, what a *Deus ex machinâ* occurrence for a Canadian George Eliot! Before leaving, the workmen raised a granite boulder, weighing some 30 tons, on a pedestal six feet high, above the 'plague-pit,' in which lay huddled 6000 poor emigrants, who had died here of ship-fever in 1816 and 1847. We may as well add the chief dates. The first part of the coffer-dam was towed into place 24th May, 1854. The first stone of the bridge was laid 20th July, same year. The first train passed over 17th December, 1859, and trains began to run on the 19th; while the bridge was formally inaugurated by the Prince of Wales on the 25th August, 1860. In conclusion, the work was performed by 3040 men, 144 horses, and 4 'locomotives.'

In other than a financial point of view, the state of Canada leaves little to be desiderated. All political grievances have been done away with. The most important was that of the Clergy Reserves in Upper Canada, the main cause of the rebellion of 1837. The Imperial Legislature had reserved one-seventh of the land of Upper Canada for the maintenance of a Protestant clergy, and the Church of England claimed and held these reserves, but the other religious bodies demanded to share in them, and the existence of an established church was assailed. After much agitation and ineffectual endeavours to compromise the question, the Church of England being asked to admit that of Scotland to

a share, the Provincial Legislature, authorized by the Imperial, annulled all connexion between Church and State, and divided the bone of contention among the municipalities, in proportion to population, after fully compensating the then incumbents, and providing for widows and orphans of clergy. "The Family Compact" was the other cry of those who, in 1837, sought a remedy in the severance of British sovereignty. They pointed to the monopoly of public offices in the hands of some Tory families, whom 'one could count on one's fingers,' and who had so intermarried as to be virtually one family. This cry, and that of the Clergy Reserves, were not hushed till the settlement of the latter in 1851.* It is by Acts of that year, too, and of 1859, that the Seigniorial Tenure in Lower Canada has been completely abolished, by payment of a certain sum by each tenant, and of about 650,000*l.* from the Province. It had enervated the character of the Lower Canadians, and been an incubus on their industry and natural resources.

By an Act of the Imperial Parliament in 1774, eleven years after the Treaty of Versailles, and fifteen after Wolfe's decisive victory, a Legislative Council was appointed to assist the Governor of the "Province of Quebec," as Canada was then designated. By that of 1791, two Legislative chambers were constituted. Even by the constitution of 1839, though the members of the Legislative Assembly were elected by the people, those of the Council were named by the Crown. The

* Sir R. Bonnycastle, a strong Tory, wrote thus in 1816:—

"The 'Family Compact' is still the war-cry of a party in Upper Canada, and one person of respectability has published a letter to Sir Allan Macnab, in which he states that, so long as the Chief Justice and the Bishop of Toronto continue to force Episcopalianism down the throats of the people, so long will Canada be in danger. This gentleman, an influential Scotch merchant of Toronto, in his letter, dated Hamilton, C. West, 18th November, 1846, says, that the Family Compact, or Church of England Tory faction, whose usurpations were the cause of the last rebellion, will be the cause of a future and more successful one, 'if they are not checked;' and while he fears rebellion, he dreads that, in case of a war, his countrymen, 'the Scotch, could not, on their principles, defend the British Government, which suffered their degradation in the colony.'

"It is obvious to common sense that any attempt on the part of the clergy or the laity of Upper Canada to crush the free exercise of religious belief, would be met not only with difficulties absolutely insurmountable, but by the withdrawal of all support from the home Government; for, as the Queen of England is alike Queen of the presbyterian and of the churchman, and is forbidden by the constitution to exercise power over the consciences of her subjects throughout her vast dominions; so it would be absurd to suppose for a moment that the limited influence in a small portion of Canada of a chief justice or a bishop, even supposing them mad or foolish enough to urge it, could plunge their country into a war for the purposes of rendering one creed dominant."—(Canada and the Canadians in 1846, vol. ii. p. 35.)

franchise accompanies a house-rent of 6*l.* in the towns, and 4*l.* in the rural districts. The members of the Upper House, too, are now elected, one member being returned by each of the forty-eight divisions of the Province marked out for that purpose. A fourth of their number is elected every two years, and these twelve go out of office at the close of eight years. This House is not like the Lower House, dissolved at the will of the Governor-General, nor does it, like that, die a natural death at the end of four years. The Province has enjoyed complete self-government since 1849, and, in that year, municipalities, possessing the same power, were constituted in Upper Canada, while in 1850 a similar measure was enacted for Lower. Every subdivision,—county, city, town, or township—manages its own internal affairs, as much as the whole Province itself.

Education is zealously attended to by all these corporations, including the Province, and is supported by rates, as well as a Provincial grant of 90,000*l.* Local trustees are elected, and there is an able Superintendent, assisted by a Council of Instruction, comprising every form of religious or political sentiment, while excellent school-materials (books, &c., &c.), are dispensed from head-quarters. There are also normal schools for male and female teachers. Upper Canada possesses at Toronto, its chief city, a Provincial University, non-sectarian, and in a high state of efficiency, with a very able president and staff,* and we believe about 200 students, probably more. Its charter, obtained from Lord Bathurst in 1827, by Bishop Stachan, established it as an institution, of which that prelate was visitor, and the Archdeacon was president, while every member of the council, of whom seven were to become professors, was to subscribe to the 39 Articles. When, in 1849, the University was taken out of the special control of the Bishop, he established one of his own, chiefly by aid of the Home Church. This institution has not thriven as well as it might, if it possessed even the confidence of the religious society that it would be, of course, supposed to represent comprehensively, instead of being merely the seminary and nursery of the High-Church section. This is the more to be wondered at when one considers that the Church of England in Canada, or rather its Canadian affiliation, is a body depending on the support of its own members there, and its co-religionists in the mother-country,

* We may mention, as men of literary note in this country, the Rev. Dr. John McCaul (editor of *Horace*, &c.), who is the President, and Dr. D. Wilson (author of "*The Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*") who is Professor of History and English Literature, and, we may add, editor of the *Canadian Journal*, the able monthly publication of the Canadian Institute.

and, from the composition of the population of the colony, as well as its not possessing what Mr. Bright terms "that part of the national funds at present in the possession of the Protestant Episcopalian Christians"—far less powerful in Canada than at home. The Church of Scotland possesses a University of its own in Queen's College, Kingston. Lower Canada has the University of McGill College, non-sectarian, and now in a flourishing state. It was established through a goodly bequest, and is aided chiefly by private contributions. The Churches of Rome and England have also their respective Universities.

In law, Canada is even 'a-head of' the mother-country; its statutes, which had acquired a surprising multiplicity, having been consolidated into three volumes. Its criminal law has been revised, its prisons are keenly inspected, and there is a Provincial penitentiary, as well as reformatories for the young. However, through a mistaken direction of municipal economy, it lacks (or did but recently) a sufficient force of civic police, especially for the outskirts of its cities, which swarm with thieves and ruffians. Nor must we pass over the frequency of fires, destroying sometimes whole rows of houses, and kindled by incendiaries, chiefly, it is said, with the object of thus procuring employment.

In science, Canada shines brilliantly, what with her geological surveys, since 1841, under Sir W. Logan, as well as the astronomical and highly-important meteorological observations at Toronto observatory of Colonel Lefroy, and his successor, Professor Kingston.

Finally—To what is Canada tending, in a political point of view?

She has an area nearly three times as large as Great Britain and Ireland. Of this region by far the larger part belongs to the eastern section, which, from its greater proximity to Europe, got the start in civilization, but lost it through the depressing effect of the feudalism introduced by her first European occupants. This drag on her progress is now, happily, removed, and she may be expected to make up for lost time with rapid strides. Canada is proverbial for her forests, and has an abundance of excellent soil for the production of vegetable and animal food, as well as waters that may now be expected to yield an amount of fish corresponding with their vast extent, while they offer to enterprise and industry unrivalled economic power. The majority of her population is derived from the most energetic of the European nations, while the remainder is composed of most valuable elements, the French, the German, and the Norse, which respectively contribute hardheadedness, *esprit*, and wiriness. This population, consisting of about 3,000,000, is rapidly increasing, and but 40,000 are settled, out of her 350,000 square miles. It

is calculated that, ten years hence, she will have settled as large a tract as Great Britain. She contains an abundance of mineral resources, while she has coal in the conterminous region of New Brunswick, on the very margin of her own waters, destined to waft it through her every vein.

Such is the raw material before us. Its debt is but one-eightieth of that of the British Isles. Its defences, naval and military, are provided at the expense of those isles. It has no fund to raise for the support of a civil list.

Politically, the colony is as self-governing as she can be. British dominion is a mere sham; she herself makes her postal arrangements with other countries. Her locally independent subdivisions—her townships especially—remind one of the constitution of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, of which indeed they are a reproduction, save that the regal power is but nominal. In the path of internal freedom, she is actually a-head of the mother-country. "The greater," says her Finance Minister, "the measure of reform granted in England, the greater identity will be produced with the state of things in Canada, where the Government of the country necessarily rests almost wholly upon the popular element." The Governor-General sent out to her by the mother-country can no more act in opposition to the will of the Canadian people, than can the reigning Sovereign of the British Isles to that of the British people. Her Upper House no longer consists of nominees of the Viceroy, but is elected by the people. She has, practically, household-suffrage.

Politically, then, whither is this young and highly thriving society tending?

Is it to remain attached by some bond, however slight, to the mother-country? Or is it destined to become annexed to the United States—forming part of a vast Northern Confederacy guarded from the tainting contact of slavery by the "secession" of the South? For ourselves, we see no reason why Canada should not, as regards the United States, preserve her independence. The enormous regions, consisting of British Provinces, which extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans, will ere long teem with populations destined to become a mighty nation or cluster of nations of themselves. The prospective hegemony of these rapidly growing peoples is likely, as it seems to us, to be far more attractive to Canadian statesmen than the idea of merging their country in the United States. So great is the freedom and independence of Canada in her present relation to Great Britain, that she has now nothing to gain, but possibly much to lose, by severing herself completely from the mother-country. But the sense of her growing importance and dignity may easily overpower all considerations of material interests, when the question of

declaring her independence is agitated, and, unless England prepares herself so to remould her constitution as to enable her to assemble representatives from her numerous colonies, who may in some sort constitute a Parliament of the British Empire, in which all subjects of Imperial interest may be discussed and determined on, she must look forward to the time, possibly not far distant, when her vast American colonies, as well as others of her possessions, will transform themselves into sovereign states.



ART. IV.—BIBLE INFALLIBILITY—"EVANGELICAL"
DEFENDERS OF THE FAITH.

1. *An Introduction to the Criticism of the Old Testament and to Biblical Interpretation ; with an Analysis of the Books of the Old Testament and Apocrypha.* Originally written by the REV. THOMAS HARTWELL HORNE, B.D., now revised and edited by the REV. JOHN AYRE, M.A. 8vo., London, 1860.
2. *Facts, Statements, and Explanations, connected with the publication of the second volume of the tenth edition of Horne's Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures, etc., etc.* By SAMUEL DAVIDSON, D.D. 8vo. 1857.
3. *Dr. Davidson's Removal from the Professorship of Biblical Literature in the Lancashire Independent College, Manchester, on account of alleged error in doctrine ; a statement of facts, with documents ; together with remarks and criticisms.* By REV. THOMAS NICHOLAS, Professor of Biblical Literature, and Mental and Moral Science, in the Presbyterian College, Carmarthen. 8vo. 1860.

ABOUT four years ago, a new edition of Horne's Introduction to the Critical Study of the Scriptures was published, the second volume of which was the work of the Rev. Professor Davidson, purporting to be, not a revised edition of the old, but altogether a new treatise on the text of the Old Testament and Biblical interpretation. This volume, owing to the breadth of its criticism and candour of its deductions, almost immediately on its appearance, roused a storm of indignation and alarm in that section of Church and Dissenters appropriating to itself the epithet 'Evangelical.' The religious newspapers, so called, *lucus a non lucendo*, with their usual unprincipled ferocity and popish assumption, branded the author as heterodox, not only on the question of inspiration, but on the doctrines of the Trinity and justification by faith also ; and at once consigned the book to

their *index expurgatorius*. The heavenly Cerberi who keep watch at the temple of orthodoxy barked furiously, and hounded off the Professor and his learning as Germanistic and dangerous; and to the disgrace of a denomination which has stood high in history for intelligence, learning, and freedom from intolerance, a party actuated by personal animosity and jealousy of feeling, rather than by the love of truth, ejected him from his professorship. A demand was made for another edition, not to supplant the offensive and outlawed work, but to please the taste of the Low Church or evangelical party, with which the publisher has thought it politic to comply; and the result is the appearance of the book above named, under the editorship of the Rev. John Ayre.

This volume then appears as the declaration of the Evangelical school upon the important subjects of Biblical inquiry: it has been compiled at their request, and to meet their views. The circumstance will at once stamp it in the opinion of many as inferior to the work it is intended to rival. If the aim of a book is avowedly—not truth pure and simple—but truth according to preconceived and adopted theories, it can never become a trustworthy guide for the student. The editor's task in this case has been to re-arrange and condense an old work, making additions of his own, and maintaining a fixed key in the tone of his criticism—a pre-established theory to which that criticism must submit, and with which it must be squared. This is a very difficult part for an honest man and a scholar to fulfil. Thoroughly to acquaint himself with the arguments and conclusions of the most advanced and most competent critics; to give due weight to the astounding facts of modern discovery in the departments of geology, philology, and chronology; candidly to face the discrepancies and contradictions which a more minute and closer study of the Scriptures, and a higher scholarship, have elicited; and withal to arrive at the same conclusions and adopt the same views which were held previously to these accessions to our knowledge, the result of premises now found to be narrow and erroneous—this truly is a herculean labour.

The great George Stephenson used to say, that he had acquired the faculty of stripping the word impossible of its first syllable; but it needs a cleverer engineer, a more skilful 'navigator' in the department of criticism than even Stephenson was in his, to level hills of difficulties, to pierce through stubborn rocks of fact, to harmonize modern discoveries with ancient forms of speech, and to carry the self-satisfied Evangelicals in easy and somnolent security across the mountainous country of Biblical criticism. The book before us witnesses the difficulty of the task. The editor continually finds himself going too far, allowing too much;

and he retracts or makes some excusing or palliating remark, interjecting a few commonplaces of orthodox phraseology as a makeweight. Difficulties loom in the distance, and leave on the mind an impression of uneasiness and dissatisfaction, though they are immediately clouded over by vague misty words of Evangelical sentiment. Arguments are given and considerations stated which are allowed to be of very great weight, and which are not answered; yet the editor avows his belief in the conclusion opposite to that to which they lead. To such an extent is this observable, that in reading it, the comparison occurred to us again and again, of his book to the dish called Irish stew, which consists of fragments of meat hidden in a large quantity of potato. In Mr. Horne's matter, which constitutes the bulk of the book, we have the plain food, not very nourishing though not unwholesome; and in the extracts given by the editor from modern and enlightened critics, we have the strong meat, in small proportion it is true, and fragmentary, carefully marked off in brackets, yet too strong for orthodox stomachs to digest, and therefore, to make it palatable, well seasoned with the known phraseology of the school for whom the dish is intended.

Mr. Ayre deserves credit for having made himself acquainted with the literature of the subject in Germany as well as England, and for giving in good faith, for the most part, the arguments of those to whom he is opposed. But he has not been able to conceal the fact that his increased knowledge has altered in some measure his previous opinions, which yet he has not the courage to surrender. His book therefore is very inconsistent, part with part, and not unfrequently it is self-contradictory. The force of truth has been too much for his pre-adopted theory, and he seems to be in an uncomfortable transition state of judgment.

He evidently wishes to identify himself with the Low Church party, a large class of whom, on account of their newspaper, so notorious for its rancour and invective, has been designated "*Recordite*," a name not to be understood as meaning anything approaching *recondite*. It may be said, by the way, that instead of the old and well-known appellations, High, Broad, and Low Church, the epithets *Attitudinarian*, *Latitudinarian* and *Platitudinarian*, would perhaps be more expressive to designate the religious parties of our day. With the last of these we have now to do. The Recordites or Platitudinarians, take for the corner-stone of their creed Bible infallibility; maintaining it on the ground that if we introduce the slightest uncertainty into Scripture we are left without any guide; and contenting themselves with the repetition of "orthodox" commonplaces and bitter anathemas against the "unsound." Mr. Ayre evidently desires to make his

conclusions square with the tenets of his party ; but his increased knowledge and his facts are continually in his way. The consequence is a strange inconsistency and self-contradiction in his book, which the following passages are an example of:—

Mr. Ayre Recordite:—

“Our Lord was constantly correcting their [the apostles’] erroneous views of his kingdom : it is reasonable then to suppose that if their belief in Biblical infallibility were ‘superstitious,’ our Lord would have corrected that too. If the disciples held this belief, it need not surprise us to find that it prevailed generally among those who succeeded them. Dr. Lee calls attention to the singular uniformity which has prevailed upon the question of inspiration in every age.”

“It is readily admitted that *real* contradictions are a just and sufficient proof that a book is not divinely inspired, whatever pretences it may make to such inspiration.”

“For my own part, let me say that, after long and carefully weighing the argument of those who think differently, after anxiously comparing scripture with scripture, and using the helps available to me for understanding it, my deliberate conviction is that the sacred writers were preserved from inaccuracy even in the lower domain of history, science, &c. ; since most of the apparent objections are capable of a reasonable solution ; and it would be rash positively to declare that the rest are inexplicable.” (p. 306.)

Mr. Ayre enlightened—

“It is true that Christ’s mission was not to set limits to critical investigation ; and some modes of speaking we might fairly suppose him to leave as he found them. It becomes us also to use the greatest reverence in asserting what Christ would or would not do : his ways are higher than our ways, his thoughts than our thoughts ; so that we must not presume to measure the doings of the Holy One by our fallible judgment.” (p. 547.)

“It is indisputable that the Bible, *as we have it*, is not wholly free from error. We have it only in imperfect translations, or if we take the originals, in an uncertain text. No one now questions the fact that transcribers have erred, that interpreters have made mistakes. Unless there were a perpetual miracle, affecting every copyist, and every printer, and every translator, we must acknowledge that we have not the book *exactly* as it proceeded from the authors ; if altogether perfect then, it has come down to us somewhat tarnished with the rust of ages, soiled by the human hands which have carried it along.”

“The fear then of impairing the certainty of faith by allowing that inspiration does not necessarily suppose infallibility may be carried too far.” (p. 300.)

“The morality as well as the spiritual teaching of revelation had its gradual development.” (p. 427.)

Notwithstanding these contradictory statements, instances of which might be multiplied, it is evident that Mr. Ayre adopts the dynamical theory of inspiration, of which Dr. Lee is the ablest exponent. This theory insists upon that distinction between Revelation and Inspiration, which applies the one name to direct communications of God to man, as contained in the scriptures; and the other to that actuating energy of the Holy Spirit, under which all parts of the Bible have been committed to writing, whether they contain an account of ordinary historical facts, or the narrative of supernatural revelations. Dr. Lee justly remarks:—

"It should never be forgotten that the real question with which our inquiry is concerned, is the result of the Divine influence, as presented to us in the Holy Scriptures, *not* the manner according to which it has pleased God that this result should be attained."

And he goes on to say, as the verdict of the school he represents:—

"Moses unquestionably received more abundant tokens of the divine favour than Ezra, or Nehemiah, or the author of the books of Chronicles; but this does not render that element of the Bible, in composing which Moses was the agent, one whit more true or more accurate in its details, than the writings of the others." (Lect. I. p. 28).

Here, then, is the doctrine of the infallibility of the Bible, a doctrine which, according to Mr. Ayre and his school, the apostles held and Christ sanctioned; which from the earliest times the Church has adopted, and which the plenary as well as the verbal inspirationists still maintain. Our object now shall be to prove the utter untenableness of this theory, from facts deducible from the volume before us.

The question of Bible infallibility is one of fact, not of theory, to be answered by careful induction from the records themselves, not by *a priori* reasonings. We are not called on to theorize as to what ought to be or might be expected to be, but as to what actually is—a fallible or an infallible record. Yet at the outset we are met by presuppositions and opinions. "When we bear in mind," argues Lee,

"That so many astonishing miracles have been performed to convey this revelation to man, and to bring to pass the system of things which it announces, we feel instinctively inclined to presuppose that God cannot have withheld the far less striking miracle of providing against error in the documents which preserve it. If we had never heard of the difficulties which have been urged against Inspiration—if we had never opened the scriptures themselves—could the suspicion

have ever occurred to any fair mind, that God may thus have left to all the chances of human fallibility the history of that revelation which he has given to his creatures ?”

Such arguments as these are altogether beside the mark ; for the question is not as to what God might or ought to do, but what he has done. Moreover, there is great impropriety involved in these presumptions, as has frequently enough been shown ; and it is marvellous that men who know and venerate Bishop Butler’s works, should indulge in reasonings which he so continually forbids. Much has been said and written of the Baconian method and its influence in regenerating philosophical inquiry. Men were the slaves of a debasing intellectual superstition, until this great reformer dethroned the idols which occupied and defiled the sanctuary of reason. The inductive method revived and regenerated the sciences ; but it has not been adopted as it should in the ranges of theology. In this department we still find men as Bacon described them,

“ Pushing forward theories and systems, but despising particulars, and employing examples only as lictors or officers to keep off the crowd in order to open up a way for their own views.”

The *idola tribûs*, *idola speciûs*, *idola fori*, idols imposed upon the understanding by the tendencies of human nature, by individual bent and training, and by “ the deceptions and incantations of words,” are still the objects of worship, and the tyrannizers of reason. How appropriate still is the example given in the “ *De Augmentis*” of the *idola tribûs* :—

“ The nature of the human mind is more wrought upon by affirmative than negative instances, though justly and fairly it ought to show itself impartial to both. This is the root of all superstition and silly credulity. He therefore wisely replied, who, on being pointed out in a temple a painting of those who had discharged their vows, for having escaped the dangers of shipwreck, and was pressed with the question if he did not recognize Neptune’s divine power, retorted by asking, But where is the painting of those who perished after making their vows ?”

Bacon’s illustration is still applicable to the departments of theological inquiry ; and we need in our day the “ *lumen siccum*” of Heraclitus, the dry clear light of intellect purified from the moisture and mists of passion and prejudice ; and that “ *judicii suspensio*” which will enable us to examine all things and hold fast that which is good.

Adopting, then, the inductive method, let us treat the subject as one of fact, not of theory. Have we an infallible or only a fallible Bible ? Measured by the facts which are recognised in, or evident from the book before us—which itself by no means goes

the full length of fair criticism of the Biblical text—judged by the facts which the plenary inspirationists themselves allow, will the theory of scripture infallibility stand?

It is a fact that there is not extant a single original of any of the Old or New Testament writings: the individual *αὐτόγραφα* of the inspired writers are utterly perished and lost out of the world. We possess copies only, made by men who had no claims to infallibility, copies not agreeing together, but in several places at variance; so that it is now impossible to pronounce with certainty what is the original and correct text of any book. An editor by critical comparison of extant manuscripts, may present to us what approaches in his judgment nearest to the writer's words, he may punctuate the manuscript thus revised, insert accents, parentheses, notes of interrogation, all which much affect the sense; but when this has been done, who will venture to pronounce that we have a correct work, a text precisely in harmony with the author's writing, much less infallible?

It may be objected that this fact is of weight only against the mechanical or verbal inspiration theory. But it is plain that if the Divine Spirit prevented the authors of our Scriptures from falling into any error, while using their own words in their own style, those words of theirs must be miraculously preserved to us that we may possess the ideas and truths they embody free from error. The following is the testimony of the volume before us as to the actual state of the Old Testament record:—

“Various readings have arisen both from negligence and from design—not always in the latter case with an intention of depraving the text, but much more frequently with the well-meaning purpose of improving it. Mistakes have sometimes been caused, when the copyist has had the MS. before him, by visual imperfection. Many of the Hebrew letters nearly resemble each other, and hence they have been interchanged. Similar changes are found in Greek MSS. When the MS. was dictated to a copyist mistakes might arise from imperfect hearing. If the copyist did not carefully keep his eye upon his exemplar, mistakes might occur through defect of memory; and thus words or clauses might be transposed or omitted, or synonyms might be substituted; or the expressions of parallel passages be introduced.” (p. 99.)

It is well known with what obstinacy the great Puritan divine, Dr. Owen, maintained the antiquity and inspiration of the Hebrew punctuation. He accumulated testimonies of Hebrew scholars to the effect that without the points no certain truth could be learned from the Hebrew Scriptures: that “he who reads scripture without points is like a man that rides a horse *ἀχάλινος*, without a bridle; he may be carried he knows not whither.”

"I cannot but tremble to think," says Owen, "what would be the issue of this supposition, that the points or vowels, and accents, are no better guides unto us than may be expected from those who are pretended to be their authors. The Lord, I hope, will safe guard his own from the poison of such attempts. To suppose that the true and exact pronunciation of every tittle, letter, and syllable, was preserved alive by oral tradition, not written anywhere, not commonly spoken by any, is to build towns and castles of imaginations, which may as easily be cast down as they are erected. Yet unless this is supposed, it must be granted that the great rule of all present translations that have been made in the Church of God for some hundreds of years, is the arbitrary invention of some few Jews living in an obscure corner of the world, under the curse of God, in their unbelief and blindness!"

What Owen thus indignantly denies as a fatal theory, is now a universally acknowledged fact :—

"When the Hebrew ceased to be a living language," says Ayre, "it was of course most difficult to retain the pronunciation without expressed vowels. We shall not greatly err if we suppose that the system of vowel signs was developed between the sixth and tenth centuries."

What would Owen say to a statement like this from an advocate of an infallible Bible? He was wrong as to the fact, but he was right in the argument; if the points be not inspired, infallibility of the inspired text must be surrendered.

The second fact which opposes itself to the infallibility theory, is that the majority of quotations in the New Testament vary from the Old Testament text. The advocates of plenary inspiration attach great importance to the manner in which these quotations are made; the phrases *ἵνα πληρωθῇ*, "that it might be fulfilled," *καθὼς γέγραπται*, "as it is written," *Θεὸς εἶπεν*, or *λέγει ἡ γραφή*, "God said," or "the Scripture saith," as indicating their veneration for the Old Testament text, and the importance they attached to it as the word of God.

But when we compare the passages quoted, with the Hebrew text, the original as it has come down to us, we find that the majority of them disagree with it in words, and several in the sense also. About one-third of these citations are made not from the Hebrew, but from the Septuagint translation, adhering to it when it varies in sense from the Hebrew; the writer in the case of the Epistle to the Hebrews, grounding his argument or placing his reason for citing, on the words and expressions of the LXX, even where no corresponding terms are found in the Hebrew text.

The question therefore arises, are we to take the original Hebrew, or the Septuagint version as the infallible text?

The inspired writer of the Old Testament text could not have been the author of both. If the Septuagint translation be the correct version of his ideas, then our Hebrew text in the cases in question is erroneous; if our received text be genuine, then the Septuagint is faulty; though withal it be adopted by the New Testament writer. The argument based upon introductory phrases “it is written,” &c., proves too much; if we may never say the New Testament writers quote from memory or accommodate Scripture, then it must follow either that we have not a correct Hebrew text, or that the Septuagint translators were inspired. Take, for instance, the quotation in Hebrews x. 5—7, where the author quoting Psalm xl. 7—9, adheres to the LXX, “*a body hast thou prepared me,*” and not to the Hebrew, “*mine ears hast thou opened.*” The attempted explanation that the LXX is an appropriate paraphrase of the Hebrew is untenable; and even Dean Alford leaves the difficulty an unsolved one, not being satisfied with the supposition of a misreading in the LXX version, and having no other view to propound. But this quotation, in common with the rest, is introduced in the words διὸ λέγει, and if the argument of the plenary inspirationists holds good, it obliges them to recognise the divine authority of the LXX. Yet Dr. Lee describes it “a translation which, although of great value, is not inspired;” and the author of *Cautions for the Times* holds up the Tractarians to ridicule, because “they speak of the LXX as inspired, and suggest that those who made it were supernaturally directed in some cases to give *wrong* translations of the Hebrew, so that even in those places where their versions swerved from the Hebrew verity there was a special providential design in such variation.” The opinion here referred to, the naming of which was supposed enough to secure its rejection, is, notwithstanding, the only legitimate one for those who hold the doctrine of plenary inspiration.

But a yet more important fact in relation to these quotations is, that some of them vary both from the Hebrew and the LXX.

“The authors,” says Mr. Ayre, “never intend to bind themselves to a verbal transcribing of the passages they cite. Sometimes they introduce into one quotation words taken from another part of Scripture, occasionally combining several passages into one paragraph. Again, they abridge, they add, they transpose words or phrases, making a variety of changes according both to the character of the persons addressed, and to the different objects which they themselves had in view.”

This language implies what indeed is the fact, that the sense of the original is occasionally altered. St. Paul, in Eph. iv. 8, [Vol. LXXV. No. CXLVII.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XIX. No. I. H

citing Psalm lxviii. 19, makes a "remarkable alteration" in the last clause. He changes the Hebrew and LXX, "*received gifts for men*," into "*gave gifts unto men*;" and the cardinal word is obviously the one which he alters. "Unto every one of us the grace which he has is bestowed according to the measure of the gift of Christ." These gifts are conferred by Christ, and he pauses to add the weighty confirmation of Scripture—"When he ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and *gave* gifts unto men."

"The difference," observes Ellicott, "in St. Paul's citation is palpable; and, we are bound in candour to say, does not appear diminished by any of the proposed reconciliations."

But there is yet a third fact in connexion with this branch of the subject, which must at least be named: there are no fewer than four citations from the Old Testament in the New, of passages which nowhere occur in the Hebrew or LXX, and which are withal introduced with the solemn formulas, "That it might be fulfilled," "It is written," "The Holy Ghost saith." Space will only allow the mention of these, Matthew ii. 23, Acts vii. 16, Eph. v. 11, and James iv. 5. In the list of quotations revised by Mr. Ayre, these passages have no parallel given to them in the Hebrew or Greek, but only a number of references to places which may have been in the citer's mind at the time. But if the Holy Spirit's influence was such as to guard the Apostles from any, the least mistake or error, if it cannot therefore be allowed that they quoted from memory or accommodated Scripture, how are these cases to be explained?

"Though the words '*he shall be called a Nazarene*,' says Ayre, are not to be found in the writings of the Prophets, yet as the thing intended by them is of frequent occurrence, the application is made with sufficient propriety."

And he argues that as Nazareth was a despised town, and Isaiah prophesies that the Messiah should be despised, "he has in reality predicted that he should be called a Nazarene." It requires but a little thought and candour to see the fallacy of this. The Evangelist does not intend to indicate the fulfilment of the prophecies that the Messiah should be despised; but the fulfilment of that spoken by the prophets, "he shall be called a Nazarene in the coming and dwelling of the Holy Family at Nazareth." "He came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets, he shall be called a Nazarene." We have here, then, and in the other places, as might severally be shown, passages purporting to be quotations from Scripture, yet nowhere to be found in the Old Testament. The dilemma is obvious—either the New Testament writers were

mistaken in their citations, or we possess an imperfect Hebrew Bible—on either supposition the theory of infallibility must be surrendered. The induction from all these particulars of scriptural quotation is very strong. The evidence is cumulative, and carries all the more weight with it on account of the stress laid upon the formulæ which the New Testament writers use. Dr. Lee therefore grants that it is an *experimentum crucis* of every theory of inspiration; and affirms the doctrine that the Apostles in their quotations from the LXX missed the sense of the original, if capable of proof, obviously fatal to the view of inspiration, which he endeavours to maintain; according to which “each and every portion of the Bible is perfect and divine.” The table of quotations in the volume before us proves this doctrine to be fact.

The third fact to which we shall refer as militating against Bible infallibility is, that there are in the record many discrepancies and contradictions in accounts of various transactions, in historical details, in names, in genealogies, in numbers, in science. One has only carefully to read through the chapter in the volume before us upon the alleged contradictions in the Old Testament, solely Mr. Ayre’s contribution, reading the several passages referred to side by side, to be convinced of the inadequacy, and even meanness, of the subterfuges and conjectures resorted to. Better far, he will say, leave the Bible as it is, an honest record with all its discrepancies; let contradictions stand, and be not ashamed of them; they are the mistakes of fallible men, not God’s: better far do this than have recourse to such wretched casuistry and subtilizing sophistry and flimsy farfetched conjectures, for the sake of patching and propping up a theory.

“When God says by my name Jehovah was I not known to them, he did not mean that they were ignorant of the appellation Jehovah! ‘The word *all* in the verse referred to is used in a popular way;’ here a round number is used: there is most probably an error in Kings, the number should be as in Chronicles. More stress has been laid on the variation than was just; the discrepancies are sufficiently puzzling, but they are only in the detailed numbers. In all histories persons are said to do what they do through the instrumentality of others; the evangelists are not to be taken as always relating occurrences according to their precise chronological sequence; it may be that vv. 9-20, are not from the pen of the Evangelist: *his* credit therefore is not involved in the statement: differences in numbers we have sufficiently seen are not uncommon, and it is often difficult to reconcile them. But because we have not now the requisite knowledge we may not conclude that they are irreconcilable.”

It is thus that Mr. Ayre limps on from one difficulty to another; now catching at this straw, now at that subtlety; now

granting an error in number, and again a mistake in transcription; sometimes altering one place to suit another, which is a concession of error and an assumption of infallible knowledge to pronounce either right; and sometimes plaintively appealing to the practices of historians generally, and the allowances made for them: forgetting that the assumption to be proved is what is not claimed for other historians—infallibility. Grant that the books of Kings, Chronicles, &c., are but as other histories of honest, trustworthy, yet fallible men, and mistakes affect them not; but assume that they were so inspired of the Holy Ghost as to guard them from all mistake and error, and to establish your assumption you must prove that there is not a single error or mistake in their writings. After a miserably lame attempt to harmonize the differences between St. John and the other Evangelists about the feast of the passover at our Lord's crucifixion, Mr. Ayre quotes Dr. Chalmers as an apology for his conjectures. "A mere conjecture may be of no force in the upholding of any position, and yet be all-powerful in neutralizing the objection to it of adversaries." Yes, we reply, when you have established your position, conjectures suffice to neutralize after objections. But your work now is not to defend a doctrine already established, but to prove a gratuitous assumption; and Dr. Chalmers' statement is your condemnation, not your sanction. "Conjectures are of no force in upholding any position; when their object is demonstrative, they are idle speculations." The same illogical blunder is fallen into by Dr. Lee;* the fallacy of attributing objections to the proofs which do in reality lie against the thing to be proved. The *onus probandi* rests with the asserter of infallibility; he is called upon to demonstrate that every discrepancy is apparent only, not real: that there are no actual contradictions. This he cannot do: the attempts made prove the futility of the effort, and as Dean Alford says—"Christianity never was, and never can be, the gainer by any concealment, warping, or avoidance of plain truth wherever it is to be found."

The following is the manly confession of Dr. Kalisch, upon a discrepancy which the editor of Horne professes to dispose of in half a dozen lines. He can quote this learned critic when it suits his purpose; but he seems sadly ignorant of his views. On Genesis vii. 1—10, Dr. Kalisch says—

"The text not only repeats in the first ten verses several of the statements already distinctly made, but what is more important, it is in one point irreconcilable with the preceding narrative. All attempts at arguing away this discrepancy have been utterly unsuccessful. Who can declare these two conflicting statements to be identical? or regard

* Lect. viii. p. 384.

the one [as Mr. Ayre, Recordite, does] simply as a detailed explanation of the other? or consider a reconciliation possible? We appeal to every unbiassed understanding. The Bible cannot be abused to defy common sense, to foster sophistry and perverse reasoning, to cloud the intellect, or to poison the heart with the rank weeds of insincerity; nothing but the despair of perplexity could lead men to declare, with an affected humility, that the exposition of the books written for man is beyond the reach of the human intellect. We do not hesitate to acknowledge here the manifest contradiction, as we have avowed it in the history of the creation. And we explain it here on the same unobjectionable principle which we have found efficient in the former instance. The author of the Pentateuch, or the Jehovist, used, among other materials, especially an old and venerable document, or that of the Elohist, and he based his immortal work upon it; but he enlarged it, wherever he believed that the context required an amplification, and he inserted facts and reflections derived from his own experience and wisdom."—(KALISCH on *Genesis*, p. 183.)

It would be impossible now to enter into the examination of the discrepancies and contradictions in the Old and New Testaments—their name is legion; in the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles; in the Gospels, the book of the Acts, and the Epistles; as to the creation, the flood, the tower of Babel; the lives and genealogies of Abraham, and Jacob, and Moses; the journeys of the Israelites, their wars, their judges, their kings; the genealogies of Matthew and Luke; Peter's denial; the miracle of the blind men at Jericho; the hour of the crucifixion, and the appearances after the resurrection. These difficulties are by the ablest critics pronounced, for the most part, insolvable. Taking, then, the standard of Dr. Lee himself—"If we fully and entirely believe in the divine origin of Holy Scripture, to assert that its statements do not harmonize is a contradiction in terms." It is fact that the statements of Scripture do not harmonize; to believe, then, fully and entirely in the divine origin of Holy Scripture, is a contradiction in terms.

The fact of the utter irreconcilableness of Scripture with science is also conclusive against the Biblical infallibility.

Were it not for the serious harm done to religion by fostering a spirit of mockery and scorn, we might well be amused at the marvellous prescience of modern discoveries and inventions attributed by the platitudinarians to the Old Testament authors. When the prophet spoke of "swift beasts," he meant steam-engines, and of "bulrushes" he was thinking of steam-ships. It is only what might be expected when we find the editor of *Horne* in like manner giving Moses, Joshua, and Job credit for a strange insight into the then unknown secrets of Nature. "The stars," he says, "are described as innumerable in *Genesis* xv. 5; and yet the early catalogues of astronomers reckon few more than

a thousand ; nor were men able, till the invention of the telescope, to form any idea of the countless multitudes of the starry hosts." Has "the present writer," as he designates himself ever read Homer, or does he not remember the beautiful line—

Ἐν δὲ τὰ τέλεια πάντα, τὰ τ' οὐρανὸς ἐστεφάνωται.

Il. Σ. 485.

Or does he fancy that men in the time of Moses had no eyes ? We don't need the telescope to tell us of countless stars. "Again," he proceeds, "we find the earth poised in space (Job xxvi. 7), a truth hardly within ancient knowledge " But according to another Scripture statement it rests on foundations or pillars, so that it never moves ; and in the same book of Job we have its "foundations" and "its corner stone" spoken of. Moreover, two heathen poets, Ovid* and Lucretius (ii. 602), have a like insight to that of Job. But our expositor proceeds :—"The address of Joshua to the sun and moon is remarkable. The moon's light was not needed if the sun was to continue above the horizon, and we can hardly suppose it generally known in that age, that when the sun's apparent motion ceased, the moon also could not quit her place." But from another part of the volume we find Mr. Ayre aware of the fact that this address of Joshua to the sun and moon is a poetical quotation from the book of Jasher, to which work, therefore, the credit of this extraordinary prescience belongs. We may add, by the way, what no doubt will shock his friends, that Mr. Ayre admits there is weight in the arguments urged against the miracle of Joshua stopping the sun, and he will not charge the advocates of such views with sceptical tendencies. Take care, Mr. Ayre, you are going too far, even though you have the orthodox Keil on your side ; your views are "dangerous." Would it not be wiser to hold with the Rabbi, who on being tested as to his orthodoxy on this matter, replied, "Joshua stopped the sun ; and it has stood still ever since."

But Mr. Ayre had not yet departed from the Recordite key when he wrote that if the two records, the Mosaic and Geological, were really in contradiction, the defender of plenary inspiration would doubtless be in serious difficulty ; when we examine the early chapters of Genesis, we cannot find that there is any such contradiction ! Now we should like to ask this gentleman whether he had carefully read Kalisch's work, which is without doubt the ablest, as it is the most recent, upon the book of Genesis. He quotes it more than once, but always as his supporter, even when he is endeavouring to reconcile chapters i. and ii. in Genesis, and is arguing against the Elohist and Jehovish theory. Any one

* Fasti vi. 271—6.

who did not know Kalisch's sentiments would infer that he was opposed to this theory, and belonged to the school of Mr. Ayre. But it is not so. Kalisch differs from him *in toto*, and does not hesitate to castigate in the strongest terms such modes of argument as his. What, let us ask, is the verdict of this critic, quoted and esteemed even by Mr. Ayre, upon the questions of reconciliation between geology and Genesis, and of the use of written documents by the author of Genesis? After an elaborate *resumé* of the well attested discoveries of astronomy and of geology, as well as of the various attempts and plans of harmonizing the Mosaic narrative with those discoveries, Kalisch says:—

“We believe we have indisputably demonstrated, both by positive and negative proofs, that, with regard to astronomy and geology, the Biblical records are, in many essential points, utterly and irreconcilably at variance with the established results of modern researches. We must acquiesce in the conviction that at the time of the composition of the Pentateuch, the natural sciences were still in their infancy, and that the Hebrews were in those branches not materially in advance of the other ancient nations.”—p. 52.

This language is decisive, and it is the result and conclusion of a fair and able criticism. How “the present writer” in Horne ignored it we cannot explain. It appears, too, that upon the discrepancies between Genesis i. and ii. Kalisch is equally plain. “Another cosmogony is introduced, which, to complete the perplexity, is, in many important features, in direct contradiction with the first;” and he explains the matter by telling us that “the author of the Pentateuch added to an ancient document on the creation the history of man's disobedience and its consequences.” Once more, upon the difficulty of a universal deluge, he thus sums up the argument:—

“Geology teaches the impossibility of a universal deluge since the last 6000 years, but does not exclude a partial destruction of the earth's surface within that period. The Biblical text, on the other hand, demands the supposition of a universal deluge, and absolutely excludes a partial flood. How is this difficulty to be reconciled? The only solution possible is by consistently carrying out the principle of Biblical interpretation which has hitherto guided us. . . . The Old Testament does not show the ancient Hebrews as superior to their contemporaries in secular knowledge. . . . The Biblical narrative is based upon a historical fact; but this fact was, in the course of time, amplified and adorned, till it was, in the period of the author of the Pentateuch, generally augmented into a universal flood.”

Generally *sound* in the Recordite sense as Mr. Ayre is in this volume, and especially on the matter of scientific discovery in its relation to Scripture, he makes some strange admis-

sions which we must not pass by. If, for instance, any portion of the Old Testament can lay claim to verbal and plenary inspiration, and therefore to infallibility, it is the Decalogue written by the finger of God on the two tables of stone. But the Fourth Commandment, as recorded in Exodus, differs seriously from the version of it in Deuteronomy. Which of the two is the inspired text? According to Mr. Ayre the latter part of the Fourth Commandment is only the enforcement of the precept, added by Moses, who in one place urges the observance of the Sabbath by a motive taken from the Creation; in the latter, by another derived from the deliverance from bondage in Egypt!

Another commonplace *experimentum crucis* of orthodoxy, is the story of Balaam and his ass. What anxious solicitude and righteous indignation must it not excite among the "Platitudinarians" to hear from their champion the wicked confession. "It is not so clear whether the speaking of the ass was a literal fact or whether it occurred in vision. The testimony of St. Peter would appear decisive; but then there are grave doubts whether the second epistle ascribed to St. Peter be genuine." Stay your invectives, Christian censors; do not at once excommunicate the offender. True, he gives the arguments which support the heresy, and does not attempt to answer them; but he immediately reclaims his character for "soundness" by the declaration;—"the present writer believes that the supernatural event literally occurred."

Another criterion of evangelicalism is the spiritual meaning of Solomon's Song. Yet Mr. Ayre allows it to be a matter of question whether it be a pious allegory or a literal love song. He gives the arguments against the spiritual interpretation, admits that there is great weight in them, and that "if it be considered proved that three principal persons are indicated, and that Solomon's love is rejected, the spiritual interpretation can hardly be maintained." But let us not suppose that Mr. Ayre adopts the contraband conclusion, though he disproves not the premisses. To do so, would be to grant that they who formed the canon, believed the allegory contrary to the purpose of the writer; and this would be to throw grave doubts on the authority of the canon. "Books were not received therein by any fancy of the men that collected them; but because they were inspired by God, because they had always been so acknowledged, and because the Church is 'a witness and keeper of holy writ,' not to decide of herself, but to express her acknowledgment of what God has decided. It is not likely that the purport of a book could have been mistaken." A parenthesis soon after informs us, consequently, that the reasons for an allegorical interpretation appear "to the present writer" the more weighty.

To mention but one instance more. It has been the received opinion that “the desire of all nations” (Haggai ii. 7) means the Messiah. Even Dean Trench adopted the phrase as the title of his Hulsean Lectures in 1846. But Mr. Ayre sanctions an interpretation of the passage which has hitherto been branded by his party as “heterodox.” “It is more than doubtful,” he tell us, “whether the phrase was intended to refer to Christ. The Vulgate translates *desideratus cunctis gentibus*; and hence the idea has become current. But the original will hardly bear it.” He further paraphrases the text thus: “All shall be shaken or fear; but the choicest, the best, shall come to give honour to God.”

Our last argument against the theory of Biblical infallibility furnished by the volume before us, is the fact of the doubtful authorship of the Old Testament books. The late Sir W. Hamilton, in his discussion with Archdeacon Hare on the subject of Luther’s Biblical views, proposes the following inquiry:—“Is the opinion of Biblical books being a compilation by unknown collectors, and in part from unknown and uninspired authorities, an orthodox opinion; an opinion consistent with any admissible doctrine of revelation?” They who maintain plenary inspiration will at once reply in the negative. But what are we to say if that which Hamilton states as an opinion be fact? If the mountain cannot be brought to Mohammed, Mohammed must go to the mountain. If the Bible cannot be squared and harmonized with our theory, and its books proved to be not compilations, but the writings of known authors, our theories must be brought down to meet these stubborn facts.

The following is the verdict of the volume before us as to the authorship and compilation of the Old Testament books. For fairness’ sake it is necessary to give its counter statements as to the PENTATEUCH side by side.

Mr. Ayre, Recordite:—

“Suppose it true that the Jews popularly attributed to Moses that which never flowed from Moses’ pen, if others can believe that our Lord would have left them in such an error, nay, that he should have used language himself confirmatory of it, the present writer never can.”
—p. 547.

Mr. Ayre, enlightened:—

“It is very possible that a student, after diligent research, may be persuaded that he sees traces of more than one hand in the Pentateuch. The question is confessedly intricate. And if the varied use of the divine name, and any perceptible difference of diction incline the mind to the conclusion that the most reasonable mode of accounting for the phenomena is to believe that previous documents were worked up into

the composition as we have it, the present writer is far from censuring such a conclusion."—p. 587.

JOSHUA.—"Some of the reasons, however, above produced, negative the belief that the book, in its present condition, was of that early date, or could have been altogether composed by Joshua himself. . . . We must at least believe that this book was written not later than the earlier years of David. And in that case the expressions which seem to proceed from an eye-witness formed part of some original document, inserted with little or no alteration by the subsequent compiler."—p. 612.

JUDGES.—"If, as seems to be the case, the appendix proceeds from a different hand than the former chapters, there is yet another question—did the appendix-writer edit the whole work, collecting the earlier portions from contemporaneous documents? The reply must be in the negative. Both authors may have used written documents, but there is no ground for supposing that the latter moulded his own and other materials into a whole."—p. 625.

RUTH.—"Of the authorship of this book nothing satisfactory can be said."—p. 629.

1ST AND 2ND SAMUEL.—"It is not easy to arrive at any certainty with respect to the age and authorship of these books. . . . " p. 632. "That some use was made of previously existing documents, none perhaps will deny."—p. 635.

1ST AND 2ND KINGS.—"The books of Kings evince a sufficient unity to show that they were composed by one and the same author. They are compiled from particular annals, but they are no mere compilation."—p. 641. "The sources from which the author mainly drew his materials are indicated by himself. At the close of Solomon's history he refers for full particulars to *the Book of the Acts of Solomon*; for every King of Judah, to *the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah*; and for every King of Israel, to *the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel*. . . . Besides the sources named, the writer had possibly some others for the histories of Elijah and Elisha."—pp. 643, 4.

1ST AND 2ND CHRONICLES.—"The sources to which the Chronicle writer refers are"—[A list of ten books referred to follows.] "It has been questioned whether the Chronicle writer had the canonical books of Kings before him. He can hardly be supposed ignorant of these books, though he appears to have worked out his narrative from his sources after his own method, and not as merely adding a supplement to the preceding writer."—p. 649.

EZRA.—"The probability seems to be that chaps. i—vi. were not from Ezra's pen; and there is an equal probability that the remainder, chaps. vii—x was written by him. If, however (and the matter is a balance of probabilities), a different view is taken, it must be supposed that some final editor incorporated Ezra's own narrative, vii. 27—ix. 15, with other documents, connecting them into a continuous history."—p. 657.

NEHEMIAH.—"The probability is, that this section [Neh. i. 1—vii. 5], though not written by Nehemiah, was yet the work of a con-

temporary, and formed part of the materials from which the whole book was afterwards compiled."—p. 660.

ESTHER.—"That the book was composed by a resident in Persia may indeed be freely acknowledged, from the acquaintance evinced with Persian customs."—p. 663.

JOB.—"To one who devoutly believes that the book of Job was written by divine inspiration, it is but a subordinate question whether the history be the record of facts, or whether the form of parable or fictitious narrative have been chosen as the vehicle of momentous instruction."—p. 669. "We may consider the book of Job as a complete production flowing from a single pen; and then it is a point of difficulty to determine in what age it was composed, and who was the author. That there can be little certainty here is evident from the guesses which range over almost the whole period embraced by the Bible history."—p. 678.

PROVERBS.—"It is admitted that Solomon himself did not collect the book into its present form. It was probably formed by degrees; we should hardly else have found the proverbs which Hezekiah's men copied out, xxv. 1, &c., placed as an appendix. This seems to presuppose that there was a former compilation; which must have been made between the time of Solomon and that of Hezekiah, a period of somewhat more than 250 years."—p. 733.

ECCLIESIASTES.—"It is not easy to decide upon the authorship; different minds will arrive at different conclusions. The reasons which have been given make Heugstenberg and Keil, as well as other critics, believe that the book is not from Solomon. If this be conceded, the same proof will show that the date of its composition must be placed not earlier than the exile."—p. 741.

SOLOMON'S SONG.—"It is readily admitted that, if the subject be proved to be the rejection of Solomon's love, he is not likely to have himself written the book. On this point, also, good and wise men will differ."—p. 759.

THE PROPHETS.—"It is not certain that the prophets always collected their own productions. This was, however, doubtless done under divine guidance."—p. 774.

We hail these admissions as tokens of the enlightenment of a party that hitherto has obstinately shut its eyes against knowledge and criticism, and persevered in repeating its shibboleths of an infallible Bible, and its anathemas against those who refuse to think with them. Truth never can be benefited by the props of ignorance or credulity. It challenges investigation, and scorns the mock fortifications which its timid defenders raise. Facts are stubborn things, and they force us to conclude that the Bible is the fallible record of what is received as a Divine Revelation. It is fact that we have not an infallible text, but many manuscripts and versions with various readings, and needing man's fallible judgment to decide, or rather to guess the most probably correct. It is fact that the formal phrase

"it is written," "thus saith the Holy Ghost," are used of quotations occasionally not to be found in the Old Testament, or varying in word and meaning from it, or agreeing only with a translation confessedly uninspired. It is fact that some of the records are compilations only from previously existing anonymous documents, for the inspiration of which there is not an iota of evidence or claim. It is fact that we are in total ignorance of the authors of several of the Old Testament books, of Joshua, and Judges, and Ruth, and 1st and 2nd Samuel, and 1st and 2nd Kings, and 1st and 2nd Chronicles, and Esther, and Job, and Proverbs, and probably Ecclesiastes, and Solomon's Song. With these facts staring them in the face, now, in the name of truth and honesty, can it still be said we possess a book divinely inspired in every part, and wholly free from error—an infallible Bible? In the name of honesty, truth, and righteousness we say,—let us hear no more of book infallibility. To overturn such a dogma is an act of justice and religion; for it is blasphemy to ascribe imperfection to God. Keeping up a falsehood like this degrades a man, lowers the standard of his intelligence, and warps his moral nature; it fosters insincerity; it tends to a cowardly habit of concealing and glossing over difficulties, a habit of pious fraud, of using words without meaning, or in a hypocritical way,—of lying for the glory of God. Crushing inquiry and doubt in their own minds, preachers of the low church party, both within and without the establishment, talk smoothly and with complaisance from the pulpit, the platform, or the magazine, fancying that their hearers are taking all as gospel; while the fact is the laity are weary of their platitudes, see through their insincerity, and entertain serious questionings and doubts as to Bible infallibility themselves. We know the case of a clergyman of this school, being suddenly taken aback one day by one of his parishioners, a plain man, asking him how he reconciled the genealogies of Matthew and Luke? He had been quenching inquiry in his own mind, and carefully concealing his misgivings, and qualms of conscience in his instructions, under the delusion that his flock were in blissful ignorance and belief, and that it would be foolish to unsettle their minds. And so we believe it is with many. They are better than their professions; though they fear to throw off the mask and honestly avow their doubts. We allow there is excuse for this timidity. An organized system of persecution is at work; a kind of self-constituted Papacy watches with basilisk eye every movement indicating freedom of thought, and springs mercilessly upon the unfortunate victim, whoever he may be, that refuses to submit to its sway. No rest is given to him; his name is cast out as evil; his livelihood is stolen from him, he is henceforth a marked man;

and the section which appropriates to itself that strange *oxymoron*,—“the religious world,” offers him its curses and its prayers. There is reason to believe, however, that this party is diminishing in numbers and influence, and that “men be courageous enough to despise its threats, and boldly to avow the principles which lie smothered in their heart of hearts, they will not want sympathy and friends among the masses of the people.

In the treatment Professor Davidson and his work received at the hands of the votaries of Bible infallibility and so-called “defenders of the faith,” we have a melancholy instance of the wretched fallacies, the gross invective, the falsifying vituperation resorted to by the Recordite party to prop an untenable dogma. When such subterfuges are adopted, there is generally reason to suspect falsehood or hollowness; of which the circumstances narrated in the pamphlets before us afford a striking illustration. No sooner had Dr. Davidson’s volume appeared, a work which an eminent German professor, Roediger of Halle, describes as presenting “a conservative and only too moderate a freedom of inquiry,” than the attack was commenced by no other than his fellow-labourer in revising *Horne’s Introduction*, Dr. Tregelles. A letter from him appeared in various newspapers, in the *Record* among others, reiterating “the received doctrine of the plenary authority of Scripture as inspired by the Holy Ghost,” and protesting against the book and its author for “avowing and bringing into notice sentiments,” the adoption of which was “*wholly unknown*” to himself and Mr. Horne. The incorrectness of this statement has been shown by the fact that *all the sheets of the entire work* had been forwarded, from the beginning to the end, to the co-editors, so that they knew, or had the opportunity of knowing, the contents of the book before its publication. The leader of this crusade thus began with the three-edged sword of a platitude, an untruth, and a protest. The “religious” newspapers followed in his train, adopting the same weapon, but wielding it with a rougher and more unscrupulous hand. The *Record*, well known for the judgment it pronounced on the death-bed of Arnold and Robertson, and for the recklessness of its statements concerning the character of other writers of their school, gave vent to the feelings of its supporters in misstatements and invectives almost unparalleled even in that quarter in modern times. Dr. Davidson was at once denounced as “an intrusive editor, a German Rationalist.” “He has spoiled and turned into waste paper a large edition of one of the most valuable theological works of modern times.” “Sound doctrine is to him distasteful, but all shades of heresy find favour in his eyes.” “The volume is nothing more than a German Neologian or Rationalistic perversion of the Old Testament Scriptures in an English garb.” “It

was not then imagined that Dr. Davidson was likely to charge error on any portion of the Word of God, or that he would have tried to disparage the commissioned writers of that Word." "A man like him had only to study at Halle, and having acquired the German language, return to Manchester with a trunk-load of Neologian nonsense." Such was the style of wholesale slander and vituperation indulged in by the *Record*; and other newspapers and magazines reviewed the book with similar unfairness; adopting, if not the falsification, the platitude and the protest loud and long in defence of the received dogma of infallibility. Many good people who probably would never have looked into the book but for the cry raised against it, were startled as they read it, by facts of Bible criticism new to them; and reckoned among the errors of the "Neologian" Professor, statements which they might have found made by Horne himself in former editions of the *Introduction*. The Board of the Dissenting Academy at Manchester, where Dr. Davidson held his professorship, took the alarm. They appointed five of their number to examine his book, and to ascertain the truth respecting the allegation of "unsoundness." As the result of this investigation, they passed a resolution expressing "continued confidence in the general soundness of Dr. Davidson's theological views," and "appreciation of the value of his services to the college;" requesting him at the same time to give explanations of certain doubtful parts of his recent work. The matter, however, was not to end here. One of the gentlemen, who afterwards stepped forward as the leader of the hostile party, was ill at ease; and though he seconded the vote of confidence, a few weeks afterwards proposed a resolution of *want of confidence*. At a subsequent meeting we are informed this resolution "was put, and carried by a majority of *two*! The chairman who had never been known to vote since the Academy was opened, not only voted, but reserved his casting vote for the same purpose. The other vote which gained the majority of two against the Professor, was that of his colleague in office, the Theological tutor! —*ex officio* a member of Committee." (See Pamphlet by Mr. Nicholas, p. 21.) Two characteristic circumstances in connexion with this transaction are worthy of mention. The decision of the Board was, it appears, totally unsupported by the schedule of doctrine attached to the Academy Trust Deed itself, so that it was deemed politic to obtain *counsel's opinion* as to the power of the Board to depose the Professor *notwithstanding* the schedule; and an affirmative answer was received. We learn also from the pamphlets before us, that the resolution of want of confidence contained no specific charges, but was couched in vague terms of

indefinite import: and the demand of the Professor for the precise grounds on which its clauses were based was refused. This significant fact strikingly illustrates the weakness, meanness, and injustice of such self-styled “defenders of the faith.” They have no real arguments; facts are against them; their position is logically untenable; and they have recourse to the affectation of super-eminent piety, to orthodox rant, to groundless surmisings, and arbitrary ostracism. In justice, however, to the *Independents*, it is fair to add that in the persecution of their Professor, only a section of malcontents sympathized. The resolution was carried, as we have seen already, by a majority of two only; the five gentlemen deputed to examine the obnoxious volume, declined to a man to vote against Dr. Davidson; the students tendered him a letter of sympathy; his ministerial friends who had been his former pupils rallied round him, and in presenting to him a tribute of their esteem, expressed their conviction of the good tendency of his teaching, and their regret at the uncharitable treatment he had received; and a still more substantial testimonial was given to him by the merchants and other gentlemen of Manchester and its neighbourhood, accompanied by an outspoken resolution, declaring “their decided dissent from the decision of the Committee, and their emphatic sympathy with Dr. Davidson, as to the painful misrepresentations, and the perverse and calumnious charges—many of them utterly groundless and false—from which he has suffered at the hands of persons belonging to a certain portion of the press.”

It is gratifying thus to find a large proportion of the *Independents* repudiating the creed and conduct of the persecutors of their professor, and evincing the honesty and liberality which are the distinguishing marks of a truth-loving spirit. It is another token of the appropriateness of the threefold division of religious opinion (elaborated by the lamented Conybeare for the Established Church) to all sections of English Protestants. Wherever we look we may discover the High, the Low, and the Broad Church party. Dissenters have their Attitudinarians, who imitate in dress the well known M.B. waistcoat and clerical mien, who approve of forms, adopt ecclesiastical architecture, and make free use of the Book of Common Prayer. They have their more liberal, broad, and latitudinarian party, comprehending the modicum of learning and research found among them; who admire such men as Arnold, Hare, Maurice, and who are the authors of their unsectarian and more intelligent literature. And they have their *Low Church* party, very low indeed; their Platitudinarians, distinguished for their sanctimonious slang and violent rhodomontade, their ignorance and bluster, in the pulpit or the magazine,

in the newspaper or in Exeter Hall. They make up the deficiency of their learning by the force of *diatribe*, and the hopelessness of their position by the violence of abuse.

If we seek after the origin of the dogma combated in this paper, we shall probably find it in that longing after infallibility inherent in the thoughtless and illiterate mind, by which it may be saved the trouble of inquiry and the uneasiness of doubt. It was through the power of this feeling that the doctrine of Church infallibility gained, and sustained so long, a footing in the world. Luther nobly threw off that bondage, and asserted the right of private judgment; and in that assertion lay the germ of the variety and extremes of creed and no creed through Protestant Europe. But the craving for an infallible authority was as strong as ever; and no sooner was one infallibility destroyed than another began to be set up, until now it has assumed the form of idolatry of an infallible book.

The good old word *revelation* began to be supplanted by another, *inspiration*, and instead of the truth of God revealed in the Scriptures—a revelation conveyed through a fallible though trustworthy record—we now hear only of the record itself as divinely inspired in every part. The old dogma “the Church is infallible,” is supplanted by another equally untenable, “we have an infallible book.” The words of the great Dr. Arnold regarding Coleridge’s “Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit,” indicated a far-seeing mind, and have been strangely fulfilled—“They are well fitted,” he wrote, “to break ground in the approaches to that momentous question, which involves in it so great a shock to existing notions, the greatest probably that has ever been given since the discovery of the falsehood of the doctrine of the Pope’s infallibility.” As, when that dogma was cast away, the cry was raised—Whither will this tend? to what lengths may not private judgment go? where will you stop? so exactly is it now, when book infallibility is called in question. To allow that the Bible is fallible, in the least jot or tittle of it, is *dangerous*; for where will you draw the line between fallible and infallible? One man will object to this section, another to that—each will pick and choose what parts he will receive, and will reject what parts he dislikes: what barrier have you then against the inroads of the most hideous rationalism and barefaced scepticism? To all this the old answer must be given:—private judgment is not only a right but a necessity. Before a man can submit his judgment to any book, he must first judge what version of that book, what manuscript, what text is the genuine one; he must, secondly, judge that there is sufficient evidence to prove that the writer of that text was under the guidance of the Spirit of God, so as to preserve

him from error or mistake of every kind ; and he must, thirdly, judge what is the right meaning and interpretation of the text thus divinely inspired. It is evident, therefore, that an infallible book is of no avail to check rationalism, unless you have also an infallible interpreter. Men holding the most opposite doctrines would be found appealing to the same infallible authority, and even to the same texts, for the support of them. Private judgment becomes the last resource even in judging the reality and the meaning of a Divine revelation. And from this truth arises the serious responsibility resting on each individual man, to keep a clear conscience, a rightly balanced intellect, and a pure heart ; and to seek for inspiration from the Father of lights, in the pursuit of truth. If it be asked, then, what is our safeguard in the midst of fallible interpreters and with a fallible book ? we reply, TRUTH, wherever God has lodged it, whether in the soul of man, in nature, or in the Bible ; truth is our rock, indestructible and eternal. And the truths of Christianity are its facts : whether spoken or written, in this volume or in that : the facts of Christianity, we repeat it, are its foundation. You may reject the book, but you cannot deny the facts, or destroy a jot of the truth. "The truth as it is in Jesus" is not dependent upon any manuscript or collection of manuscripts ; upon any one treatise in the Bible nor upon all together. It was in the world before the New Testament ; and inexpressibly valuable as the New Testament is, as the record of its facts and early history, if all manuscripts and versions and Bibles and Testaments were by some strange catastrophe to be at once annihilated, the religion of Christ would survive the loss.

Astronomy may describe for us the size and distances and wondrous motions of our globe with its moon, and the planets with their satellites, extending thirteen millions of miles from the sun ; it may fill us with awe by its revelation that our solar system in its vast dimensions is a mere point in the infinitude of space, and that the twinkling stars are the centres of systems like ours. Geology may read for us the autobiography of the earth, and take us back, in its tertiary strata only, a period of 100,000 years, and tell us of myriads of ages before that date, when animals and plants lived and grew upon our world. Ethnography and philology may compute for us the probable age of the human race thousands of years before the Adam of Genesis. We receive these stupendous facts and bid God speed to the labourers who work them out ; we acknowledge without fear the errors of the Mosaic cosmogony and the narrow fancies and beliefs of the holy men who wrote the books of Scripture, and of the times in which they lived. We allow the mistakes they made in chronology and in

historical details; but at the same time we maintain that in their fallible writings God has treasured up for us infallible truth, the food of our souls and the glory of our being—truth lasting as the rocks and eternal as the heavens.



ART. V.—THE NEAPOLITAN AND ROMAN QUESTIONS.

L'Unité Nationale de l'Italie. Par EMANUELE MARLIANI.
Torino: Sebastiano Franco, 1860.

THE great Italian movement which set in with the year 1859, bids fair to provide posterity with matter for contemplation, as wonderful, as fanciful, as riveting as anything that can be found in the annals of mankind. Unless the end wofully belies the beginning, our grandchildren when told the stories of our times, are likely with the flushed yearning of youthful wonder to exclaim, "Would that we had lived in the glorious days of our forefathers!" Indeed, in sober truth, our times are so passing strange that reality seems to have made it a business to *mock* fancy. Two short years have passed, and deeds are fulfilled the possibility of which even the boldest ventured seriously to contemplate only in connexion with an indefinite term of time. Efforts which the most far-sighted and high-hearted put forth, with the sole hope of making good a step towards a far off-object, have, to their amazement, rebounded with an irresistible shock into its all but complete consummation. We no longer see our cotemporaries engaged in cautiously meditating how to achieve an advance towards making an Italy. Italy has fulfilled the term of gestation, and is in the act of stepping forth in the fulness of her natural proportions. In spite of all persistent predictions to the contrary, bit by bit, and piece by piece, province after province, and state after state, has deliberately hastened to bring its distinctive privileges as an offering to a common realm. Already has Sicily, with her supposed inveterate susceptibilities, spontaneously exchanged her historical title-deeds for the common charter; already has Naples, with a court-fed society and inorganic population, hailed a political condition that must strip the kingdom of all particular position and immediate pomp. And now the Pope—that standing bugbear of all speculators on Italian freedom—at the contemplation of whose abnormal conformation even the wisest would sometimes turn away their faces with a despondent sensation—the Pope himself is now fairly undergoing

an operation which there is good reason to hope will happily reduce him to that condition which will constrain him to coalesce with the other fusing elements of the Peninsula. Venice alone is wanting to the absolute completion of Italian unity; but although its material conquest be still in the future, its moral one is already fully achieved. Truly the review of all this success is so dazzling, that its contemplation might inspire a superstitious dread lest this be a mocking gift, which a mischievous and capricious fate intends dashing to pieces just as the hand grasps finally to close upon it.

Like all great dramas, the action of this Italian one falls naturally into a series of divisions, indicated by moments when of themselves its action stopped short, to sound the pass they had arrived at, and gather breath for the next step. Such a moment was produced by the peace of Villafranca; another, occurred the day when the annexation of Central Italy became a fact, by the admission of its representatives within the Parliament assembled at Turin; and a third has come about at present when Italy, short of pining Venice, congregated under Victor Emmanuel, finds herself brought face to face with the Pope, shrunk within his Vatican and his City—with a few miles of waste land for all possessions. This is the situation of the hour; out of this point of suspense the next phase must proceed, whatever that may be. How has this come about, and what will be the end?

There is a school of politicians, especially numerous represented by foreign diplomatists and statesmen, which has a very explicit answer ready to these questions. The world and its government being in their theory a matter of mere machinery, without any impulse of its own, and depending for its action solely upon the more or less skill, or the more or less arbitrary force, with which it can be wound up at pleasure, these persons consider all that is happening in Italy as due to the cunning and wilful influence of one man. Formerly, this respectable set of dowager worthies used to clench their demonstrations of what constituted sound and conscientious winding-up, by impressively pointing to the one shuddering exception in civilized countries, presented in the conduct of an English statesman. But that was when the Evil one lay as yet in the primitive state of a monad. Conviction can no longer remain blind to the melancholy fact that he has now attained a very positive stage of duality. Lord Palmerston no longer enjoys in his person the monopoly of making up in his office insidious little doses of wickedness, whose poisonous matter he craftily disseminates through the peaceful glades of a quiet and well-principled world. The parent-stock of mischief has put forth a second head of yet more voracious and inordinate propensities in Count Cavour. He it is who has brought about

all the misfortunes in Italy. To his grasping, ambitious, and unscrupulous rapacity are alone due the revolutions that have overthrown the governments in the Peninsula. A wholesale system of instigation, treason, and bribery, according to the report of these observers, are the instruments to which this politician habitually has had recourse, and to which are solely due the events that have occurred. Of this radically malignant disposition of Count Cavour's nature, the indubitable confirmation lies, according to them, in his action towards the King of the Two Sicilies and the Pope. For what he did in the matter of Tuscany, the Duchies, and Romagna, they are sometimes disposed to affect an excuse, glad of an opportunity covertly to level a blow against the big offender on the French throne, who initiated the Italian war. But of the events which have deprived the King of the Two Sicilies of a throne, they declare Count Cavour to have been the deliberate instigator, bringing them about from afar by the underhand machinations of a conspirator and the low devices of a hypocritical plotter. We all appreciate fully the exact amount of truth in the elaborate revelations of Lord Palmerston's indefatigable enormities, consigned, for the instruction of posterity, in the pages of such painstaking publications as *Le Palmerston Dévoilé*, due to the pen of high-placed functionaries. The hearty laugh we get out of the fund of invention exhibited in the hoax fully compensates us for the half-crown it may have cost—without taking into account the use we certainly find for it in lighting the fire. Whether the diplomatic reports of current events which reach foreign Ministers of State affect them with the like reflection, we have not the means of knowing; but we strongly suspect that, on the score of imaginative fancy, they often are amply calculated to contribute to hilarity. It is pre-eminently due to Count Cavour's sagacity and immense self-possession that we may hope to see goodly fruit gathered from what might easily have degenerated into desultory and barren revolts. He had the presence of mind to lay hold of and direct to a purpose opportunities which otherwise must have rolled straight into the hands of mischief. For this he deserves general gratitude, as thereby he saved the young creation of an Italian State probably from destruction, certainly from much disturbance. But to represent him as having of his own choice sought this encounter, and deliberately fired the train in Sicily, at a moment when he was already distracted with duties and calls, shows a thorough misapprehension of the true state of the case. These statements, for truth, are on a level with the dogmatism of such orthodox astronomical catechisms as, in spite of Galileo, would affirm, in deference to a principle of authority, that the sun must move round the earth; or the instruction of the Legitimist preceptor, who doggedly taught his

pupil French history, with the suppression of Monsieur Bonaparte's trifling deeds. The truth is, that a few moments' calm survey of circumstances which are on the surface must suffice to prove that the Sicilian outbreak overtook Count Cavour, and at the time added considerably to the difficulties of his anxious position. It is his merit to have proved equal to this sudden emergency.

The Sicilian rising occurred in the beginning of April, coinciding with the opening, at Turin, of the first Parliament of the new kingdom. The weighty subjects for consideration necessarily incumbent on so grave a moment in the history of a state, happened to be enhanced by an unpleasant combination of irritating complications in both foreign and domestic relations. Of the former, the sole cause was centred in the treaty for the cession of Savoy and Nice. The publication of that treaty revived with aggravated intensity all the public considerations which had so grievously indisposed the cabinets of Europe against that of Turin at the beginning of hostilities, and just as a better understanding seemed to be ensuing, isolated afresh the latter for a while even more completely than had yet been the case. With the assent even of those who had hitherto countenanced his policy, Count Cavour became proscribed as an outlaw to good faith, and the relations of Piedmont towards foreign countries grew for the time thoroughly dark and uncertain. On news of the treaty, the growing sympathies of England for the young Italian State declined sensibly, while national susceptibilities impelled public opinion in Germany to gravitate towards Austria at the alarming sight of France overstepping her treaty boundaries. With France the relations, in spite of apparent alliance, were also extremely equivocal. The cession of Savoy and Nice had not been compensated for by any recognition, much less guarantee, on the part of his inscrutable neighbour to the king of Piedmont, of that extension of territory which had been made the official pretext for the extortion of these two provinces. At any moment the raw levies of the Italian army might be exposed to fight single-handed the veteran armaments of Austria, that menacingly bristled in heavy masses upon the Venetian frontier. Nowhere did the young Italian kingdom possess a friend upon whose, at least, full moral support it might trust in the event of being attacked by Austria. The anxiety of this painfully ambiguous position was enhanced to Count Cavour by the appearance of symptoms which, unless carefully attended to, might easily result in a dangerous agitation at home. With his office, Count Cavour had also inherited the consequences of Rattazzi's administration; and amongst the legacies thus bequeathed to him, was the strong dissatisfaction engendered in Lombardy at the unwise regulations arbitrarily decreed for it, by

this red-tape and dogmatical functionary. It is unnecessary to dwell on the details of this subject, which has been explained in the last number of this *Review*. Suffice it to say, that the Lombards came to Parliament in a state of great irritation at the grievances to which they were subjected. Now, although annoying, yet, in its strictly local aspect, this discontent would have had nothing formidable in it. Its direct remedy was an easy matter. But the Lombards are in many respects a touchy, intractable, and somewhat pretentious race; and their passions on this occasion were being worked upon by artful and specious demagogues. These last were nothing more than revived Mazzinians, who now styled themselves monarchical democrats, whatever that may be. These politicians are distinguished by an impatient and excessive *Italianism*, with perpetual denunciations of the acts of Government, inspired according to them by a narrow and exclusive Piedmontese feeling. Nothing could satisfy them except the immediate expulsion of the Austrians, and the immediate emancipation of Rome from the Pope. The dissatisfaction entertained by the susceptible Lombards at the bureaucratic injunctions of the minister Rattazzi was being zealously fomented by these intriguers with the proposition of a popular clause against the selfish policy of Piedmont, actuated solely by an instinct of acquisition, and neglecting from cold self-interest to take the least thought of the poor enchained provinces of Italy, left to pine in captivity. With the strong and pronounced sentiment for unity in Italy, appeals of this kind would always have something attractive to a popular audience. But the danger likely to arise from them was powerfully heightened by the profound pain caused throughout Italy at the cession of Nice. There, said these intemperate demagogues, there stands the Piedmontese minister in the conviction of his selfishness; on the one side he dismembers Italy of its ancient province as the price of an accession of territory; on the other, he looks with cold unconcern upon the woes of our brethren! This inflammatory language failed of general effect. The elections in Central Italy were overwhelming in a ministerial majority; not because there was indifference as to the liberation of Italy, but because there was, on the contrary, confidence that the statesman who had achieved so much, would be prepared at the proper moment to consummate his work. And this really was the intention of Cavour. But to fulfil this purpose he was not ready to imperil the existence of what had been won by premature encounter with an unknown force. There ought to be no illusion as to the condition of the Italian armaments. All that formed the old Piedmontese army was in perfect condition. But the rest, however excellent might be its material, was thoroughly

raw and unformed. Nor could this be otherwise. There never had been an army in Tuscany or the Duchies fit for service. Their sovereigns, for all purposes except of parade, had systematically relied upon Austrian garrisons. It was the work of time to form recruits and soldiers ; and it took Della Marmora years to train the soldiers of Novara into a perfect army. Enthusiasm and public spirit were plentiful, but even any amount of these qualities cannot dispense with a lengthened degree of training to ensure victory over disciplined and fully equipped armies. The contest in prospect, if Piedmont were to commit an aggression, was one the proportions of which could not well be predicted, for the Neapolitan army was then intact, the Papal forces were being actively recruited ; while on the one hand Austria showed decided dispositions not to brook tamely further encroachment on the part of her deadly foe ; and on the other, France held out no assurance of giving active support. Hence, Count Cavour's policy was directed to promote by every possible exertion, the rapid organization of the State in a military and administrative respect, and to exert the influence he had justly acquired to induce the subjects of the Pope and King of Naples to endure yet for a term their subjection. Whoever is really conversant with Italian politics will bear us out in the statement, that all the counsels which incessantly proceeded from the cabinet of Turin at the time, strove most earnestly to impress the necessity of not compromising the certainty of future results by premature insurrections, which it would be impossible to support. It is highly to the credit of the practical sense of the Italian people, how fully these procrastinating counsels were appreciated, in spite of eager language ; and how steadily Count Cavour was supported by all the leading politicians in the country. The chiefs of all the men who approached and acted in connexion with the supreme direction at Turin—and they are the men who have borne the foremost part in bringing the country to its present pitch—concurred in one recommendation of self-denying patience and unflinching exertion for organization. So general a concurrence in moderation—not from listlessness, but from deliberate and stern resolution, thereby to husband strength for crushing action—is an unparalleled act of wisdom on the part of a population.

But the support they extended to Count Cavour was one not to be trifled with. It rested on conditions the execution of which would be jealously exacted, for public feeling bled at the loss of Nice. The irritation at its surrender was profound throughout the country. Reflection was able to persuade of the necessity to acquiesce, but it could not get the better of the painful distress with which this was accepted, and the conditions of which

overcame even Count Cavour's iron resolution as he made his statement to the Chambers. Everybody was conscious of a sacrifice being made under compulsion from a dagger held to the throat. It was one of those critical moments when popular feeling floats in a state which it requires but a stray gust to foment into tremendous agitation. The many mischievous politicians on the watch to wound the minister rushed to turn to account the favourable opportunity. The profound grief of the popular hero, Garibaldi, at seeing his native district separated from Italy, was eagerly sought to be converted into a clap-trap instrument of excitement, while within and without the Chambers Guerazzi and his colleagues discharged floods of incendiary rhetoric against the national treason perpetrated, and of mad appeals to frantic wholesale war. The situation was one which required the indefatigable efforts of the honest men who had obtained a leading influence in the various provinces of Italy to prevent the people from giving ear to these dangerous insinuations. And at the moment when Count Cavour was straining every nerve to calm agitation—when he staked all his credit and authority in daily entreaties not to risk foolhardy attempts, certain people want us to believe that he studiously instigated in Sicily—of all places the one where he could least give covert assistance—an outbreak so hazardous and so ill-combined as to offer the slenderest prospect of success against the overpowering forces of the Government. The original revolt did, in fact, fail; and the success of the revolution is due to the arrival of Garibaldi and his followers. When on Easter Sunday the first reliable tidings reached Turin of a rising at Palermo, and of the sanguinary contest at the monastery of La Garcia, the impression was intense. Everybody felt that an event had happened which was probably pregnant with great consequences. The leading representatives of the South Italian emigration were for the most part profoundly impressed with the likelihood of the movement ending in defeat. The Neapolitan exiles, indeed, distinctly pronounced it utterly premature; and that in the continental provinces the elements for an efficient insurrection were not as yet forthcoming. The Sicilians had good reason to reckon confidently on the active sympathies of the island population, but entertained anxious misgivings that their countrymen must be destitute of the means to cope with the ample royal armies. To the mass of Italian politicians perplexing considerations presented themselves in every aspect of the case. If the insurgents were worsted, how would it be possible, in their present state of agitation, to restrain the Italian population from flocking to the assistance of their brethren? How could the Piedmontese Government then avoid following in their wake without a total loss of influence and

consideration—and yet at the risk of plunging into a war where it might find arrayed against itself, Naples, the Pope, Austria, and even France? If, on the other hand, the insurrection was to triumph over the Bourbons, then the people rose immediately to view a series of embarrassing visions as to the future constitution of these regions, and which from that distance presented the most alarming eventualities, comprising the claims of a foreign pretender, and the immediate prospect of having to deal with the Pope. For Italian statesmen dreaded the inorganic condition of the Neapolitan population as likely to produce a crop of difficulties inferior only to those which attended the question how to dispose of the Pope's person. The Sicilian outbreak gratified therefore, indeed, the passions of some demagogues, but the majority of thinking men regarded it with the anxious suspense with which the issue of what is considered an untoward event becomes watched by persons whom its result must affect seriously. It was in this deprecatory mood of authoritative circles that Garibaldi's expedition was undertaken, not with the concurrence—much less at the instigation—of the minister, but under the protection of a rising agitation in the country which compelled him, in self-defence against greater danger, to connive at an enterprise whose hazardous audacity he inwardly deplored as a misfortune. For the presence of Garibaldi and his forlorn hope gave to the Sicilian struggle a character in the popular mind the importance of which could not be disregarded with impunity. The defeat of the purely Sicilian insurgents might possibly have been borne with by the kindred populations—but the destruction of the people's hero and his band of patriotic followers, would have been the signal for a tumultuous cry throughout the Peninsula to which the Turin Cabinet could never have been deaf. That destruction seemed a matter of inevitable certainty to men the most qualified to form a judgment. Seldom has there been such a concurrence in prognostication as on this occasion characterized the opinions of judicious persons with regard to the issue awaiting the most daring of expeditions. Nor let us be misled by the brilliancy of posterior events to condemn unduly the justness of these opinions. With all allowance for Garibaldi's military genius, and all respect for his followers' courage, there can be yet no question but that his success, in its first and really decisive stage, was the triumph of fortunate recklessness and unparalleled luck rather than of skill and strategy. To conquer an island held by an overwhelming and perfectly appointed army, supported by a fleet in command of the sea, Garibaldi disposed of about fifteen hundred imperfectly armed men, with two little mountain guns for all artillery, and embarked in a couple of trading steamers unfit to resist a shot.

For so rash an enterprise to succeed, it required the intervention of accidents altogether beyond calculation, which in the first place preserved the invaders, no one can explain how, from certain and easy demolition in the harbour of Marsala by the guns of the Neapolitan cruisers, and thus brought them in collision with commanders whose imbecility taxes credulity. Even after the capture of Palermo, the providential perfection of Francis II.'s miraculous idiocy alone enabled Garibaldi to become the Dictator of Naples. To infer therefore from his ultimate success that the decided misgivings entertained by Count Cavour and other competent men sprang from narrow prejudice, would be like arguing that a gamester has disproved the ruinous hazards of roulette by having accidentally flung his first stake upon the number that really turned up. The circumstances that led to the success of Garibaldi's magnanimous, but thoroughly rash expedition, were altogether beyond the range of foresight, and such as it would be criminal for a statesman—especially with Count Cavour's grave responsibility—to base his speculations upon.

The remarkable collapse which befel the king's authority in the Neapolitan States, is the natural consequence of the peculiar process of demoralization and exhaustion which had been adopted as a system of government. This system is the heirloom of Spanish traditions. It consists in converting Government into a crushing roller, which with irresistible weight presses out the last drop of spirit, of impulse, and of vigour—reducing a whole population into an undistinguishable company of mutes. Such a system offers supremely tempting advantage to a jealous and suspicious Government, which finds in it a safeguard against the dreaded danger of effective insurrection. But the systematic pressure that has thus ground down all independent spirit into equal meekness, likewise deprives the Government of all resources within the country capable of defying serious aggression. For the population successfully subjected to a course of this compression, has acquired in every layer of society a like taint of languor and faint-heartedness, which, however admirably adapted for tame obedience, utterly fail in furnishing at a pinch the stuff for steady sacrifice and exertion. The unmitigated pressure of the iron heel of Spanish despotism has weighed so fully upon the Neapolitan people, that its masses have been practically reduced into as feeble and abject and disjointed a condition as if they had been broken upon the wheel. As long, therefore, as this Government had merely to deal with the shadows of human life which it had created for itself at home, it was irresistibly strong in the fancied weight of its crushing executive force. But the day a really live assailant invaded its precincts, its forces at once vanished in his presence; not from positive attraction towards him, but

simply from total inability to confront strength and vigour of any kind. Still it is not to these elements of weakness at home that the fall of the King of Naples must be solely ascribed. Indeed, they ought to have been a timely assistance to him, as diminishing proportionately the amount of concessions which would have enabled him in due season to conjure the rising danger by a satisfactory semblance of national action. The peculiar downfall which has overtaken the Bourbon dynasty required for its event the especially stolid persistence of Francis II. in conspiring against his own interests.

It will be hard to find in the plentiful annals of benighted sovereigns an example parallel to that of this young king of Naples. He seems to epitomize in his person an unprecedented assemblage of qualities calculated to render a monarch at once contemptible as well as obnoxious. Many princes have fallen through their wilfulness, yet most have possessed sparks of some virtue or other. Charles I. had about his manners much of the high-bred gentleman; James II. showed in his foolhardy bigotry traces of the soldierlike courage he had exhibited in battle; Louis XVI. undoubtedly possessed a good deal of domestic kindness; but this youthful scion of the Bourbon appears to have an organization incapable of bearing the slightest infusion of any noble quality proper to the human constitution. His intellect, which evidently can command merely the simplest efforts of perception, has been rendered hopelessly malignant by systematic subjection from infancy to perverse influences, while his nerve and vigour are those of some wretched abortion, affording daily spectacles of the most abject cravenheartedness and inconceivable prostration. The father was a ruthless monster, but he had the courage and the talents for his disposition—while the son enjoys nothing but the worthless dregs of cowardly malignancy. To make up for these inborn defects, Fortune seemed to have made it her especial care to throw upon this young sovereign at his accession a profusion of favourable constellations. Never was there a prince for whom people were more disposed to make allowances, and whom they were more willing to applaud. But every opportunity was steadily rejected by an incurable hardness of sense, until at last this obstinate dulness worked its own destruction. It will be recollected that the first indications of the slightest disposition on the part of the king of Naples to modify his system and his policy were only consequent upon the capture of Palermo. That disaster produced in the royal councils most unambiguous consternation, but without an equally vivid impression of what was rendered imperative by such an event. The royal circles were convulsed with paroxysms of terror; the palace rang with the shrill clamour of frantic recriminations hurled

at each other by the different members of the royal family, in their despair at a misfortune which threatened each with loss of fortune, and the shipwreck of some private plot for his own especial advantage; while the sovereign's anguish vented itself literally in a whimpering exhibition of cries and contortions befitting only a little boy when for the first time thrust into a black-hole. In his extremity, therefore, he turned for help to a man whom on his deathbed his father had advised him to consult in the hour of need. This person was M. de Martino, at that moment in charge of the Neapolitan mission in Rome. Justly the public opinion of the Neapolitan service is so bad, that the *prima facie* appreciation of this statesman's character has been injuriously affected by this impression. It was hard to fancy it possible for a man to have retained his post during many years under King Ferdinand without having rendered himself a party to unworthy proceedings. It was not unnatural for those not possessed of closer knowledge, to contemplate him with suspicion in the character of a constitutional politician. These very intelligible misgivings were, however, thoroughly unfounded. M. de Martino's conduct during his many years of service under Ferdinand II. was marked by the most honourable and outspoken uprightness, and he certainly never purchased his post by accommodating language. Because he would not become a party to proceedings which he reprobated, he steadily rejected the most flattering offers of high office at home. His diplomatic reports were so little framed with a view to humour his sovereign's political bias as to have exposed him at one time to serious disgrace. Ferdinand II., however, was a man who could decipher character. He was convinced that Martino's high honour would never let him dabble in conspiracy against the dynasty from whom he accepted salary, and so willingly employed his great talent in foreign service, making his own comments upon the ample information supplied by his indefatigable activity. Hence, when on his deathbed he uneasily contemplated the lowering future, Ferdinand had especially advised his inexperienced successor, in the event of pressing difficulties, to seek counsel from M. de Martino, as a man who, though unfortunately infected with liberal doctrines, would yet not betray his confidence. Francis II., upon his accession, immediately sent for him and applied for his advice. But M. de Martino's counsels were far too large for the young king's cramped intellect. They involved a complete rupture with the past, and co-operation with Piedmont in a national policy.

Such language was heresy beyond comprehension in the royal palace at Naples; and M. de Martino probably owed quiet return to his old post in Rome as much to a prudent inclination to postpone decisive acts till after the termination of the then pending

Italian campaign, as to the yet ringing recommendation of the dying monarch. There, confining himself within the legitimate sphere of his duties, M. de Martino exerted himself with faithful but despondent zeal in circumstantial reports to awaken his sovereign to a sense of danger, and to counteract the baneful influence of the Vatican, when the appeal of the king in his distress suddenly summoned him to Naples. The scene which he met in that capital was one of unlimited bewilderment in official regions. M. de Martino was stormed with a clamour for help, of which it seemed superstitiously believed that his capacity contained an inexhaustible fund at will. He was beset with a gaping mendicancy, like that with which a credulous mob besets a quack believed to be in possession of a wonder-working specific. But when with prompt distinctness M. de Martino began to unfold the absolute conditions on which alone, in his opinion, depended a chance of saving the dynasty, he discovered that even the present intense fit of consternation had not been strong enough to eradicate the obstinate elements of hereditary prejudice. Constitution was still a sin in the king's eyes which he would not face; an alliance with Piedmont was to him still a wickedness, at the thought of which he crossed himself with a holy shudder. The idea had not yet penetrated the royal intellect, that its effective power had entered upon a process of dissolution incapable of riding out the vigour of the rising storm. Above all, there was an unaccountable notion that the Royal House of Naples would not be abandoned by the family of European sovereigns, who would defend it against any such disaster as had overtaken the unfortunate Dukes of Central Italy. It was in consequence of this ungrounded belief that M. de Martino, actuated by a sincere desire to get the Constitution introduced before it was too late to save the dynasty, hastened to Paris with a mission which naturally suggested wrong interpretations. It is a misfortune unavoidable in a politician having to work with unwilling materials, that he is at times obliged to accept positions which expose him to stand in an injurious light. It was not therefore wonderful that a public duly mistrustful of Neapolitan sincerity for genuine reform, should draw suspicious inferences from the fact that the leading statesman of the hour inaugurated his action by flying—not to Turin, the centre of national movement—but to a foreign court, which could exercise active influence only through an act of intervention. The motive, however, which really impelled M. de Martino to proceed in hot haste to Paris, was, once for all, to settle the certainty of no foreign assistance coming from abroad, in a manner that might destroy the illusions of the royal family, and, as he hoped, render it obligatory upon the king to adopt a constitutional and national policy without reserve. The result responded

to his expectations only to a certain extent. When the communications brought back from Paris destroyed every possible shred of flattering delusion, that from some quarter or other foreign assistance might yet be extended, the despair and anguish which overcame the king's superstitious conscience on finding himself brought face to face with the dreaded monster, Constitution, resulted in spectacles so painfully contemptible as to tax credulity.

But there was no help. The bitter misfortune had to be embraced, and the only alleviation left for Francis II. was to prostrate himself in humble supplication before Pius IX. for dispensation to perpetrate the impiety of temporary apostacy, until better times might allow him with impunity to recur to the holy principles of traditional misgovernment. The concessions thus extorted from the king's drivelling helplessness were ample in principle. That they should become so also in practice was the resolution that sincerely actuated M. de Martino and his colleagues in the Nero cabinet. It would be the height of injustice to suspect M. de Martino to have been guilty of diplomatic wiles in the large reforms he proclaimed, and the national principles he avowed. Not a speck of suspicion can rest on the perfect good faith and genuine Italian feeling of this statesman and the members of his Government. But he was strongly of opinion that the interests of the common country, as well as the particular conditions of the Neapolitan populations, required at all events the present conservation of autonomy in Southern Italy. In this opinion M. de Martino was not singular, as is sufficiently proved by the number of distinguished patriots—men that had suffered for their cause—who came forward zealously to co-operate with him in the effort to establish constitutional freedom under the reigning dynasty. All men of sense were impressed with the absence of pervading public spirit—especially in the provinces—and of any pronounced political opinion in the masses calculated to impose conditions. It was fully felt that the population had become reduced to a so thoroughly inorganic condition as to be incapable of independent and initiatory action. Under these circumstances, it was generally held by thinking men, that a constitution of any kind should not be rejected, but rather treasured as a means of gradually elevating the character of the masses. Even that batch of Neapolitan exiles who had identified themselves with the principle of Italian unity in its extremest expression, virtually admitted the soundness of these considerations. Poerio and his political confederates very rightly abstained from taking advantage of the amnesty, because after their distinct declarations in favour of one Italy under Victor Emmanuel, their presence in Naples could serve only as the symbol of agitation

to the embarrassment of the Government. Individually, they declined to acknowledge any other sovereign than the one of their choice: but admitting freely the difficulties in at once amalgamating as they would like the Neapolitan States with the rest of Italy, they resolved not spontaneously to offer obstacles in the way of a consolidation of constitutional Government under the reigning dynasty. Indeed, so lively a sense was entertained at Turin of the peculiar character of the Neapolitan population, that even after Garibaldi's success in Sicily, and when already he was entering upon his triumphant career on the mainland, Count Cavour was still affected with anxious doubts as to the advisability of pushing the movement to annexation. But these considerable chances in favour of the reigning king were counterbalanced by an irresistible combination of circumstances. In the first place, the royal family was torn by dissensions arising from a tissue of cross-plots. Foremost was the king's step-mother, a woman of masculine audacity and intrigue, who had not been restrained by profuse devoutness from deliberately plotting by her dying husband's bedside to substitute her own son in the room of the legitimate heir, and now again was sanctimoniously conspiring how to make her helpless stepchild's distress conduce to the accomplishment of this cherished object. This indefatigable lady held to the mean-spirited Francis II. the terrible position which in nurseries attaches to the old dame who carries about her person the birchen rod. Thus M. de Martino found it absolutely necessary to make it a capital condition, that the queen mother should take her departure. Unfortunately this inveterate adept in intrigue, under the pretence of merely waiting for a daily expected ship, contrived not to withdraw further than Gaeta, from which point she maintained an unceasing course of plottings. At the same time the king's uncles, the Counts of Aquila and Syracuse, were each engaged in pursuing private interests. The former, who had been the affectionate supporter of his late brother during all his worst proceedings, now suddenly expressed the bitterest censure of the old system, and showed himself especially assiduous in paying attention to France. The honourable motive for this patriotic activity on the part of the prince was the desire to get Francis II. declared incompetent to administer the State, and himself proclaimed lieutenant-general of the realm. The Count of Syracuse's dictates were at least more modest, if not more elevated. This prince is a voluptuary and a libertine of the stamp of Philippe Egalité, who above everything wants an easy life and a pleasant life. His royal appanage was the object of his chief solicitude. He thought he could not better secure it from the danger of confiscation in the wake of possible revolutions, than by betaking himself at once with bag and baggage into

the enemy's camp. Naples accordingly contemplated the edifying spectacle of a debauched Bourbon, tottering beneath repeated strokes of palsy, who spontaneously commenced agitation against his kin, and ostentatiously paraded uncalled-for declarations in favour of Victor Emmanuel. Finally, there was the evil disposition of the wretched sovereign, whose confirmed habits of bigoted prejudice not only made it necessary for the ministers to extort from him whatever they might want by the extreme threat of resignation, but actually induced his benighted intellect secretly to confide in his worst enemies, the queen mother and her agents, the Camarilla. The difficulties which M. de Martino had to encounter from the king's infatuated dulness and underhand dealings with reactionary officers cannot be imagined. It may well be wondered why he did not throw up the task of saving a master who requited his efforts by such ingratitude and hopelessly compromised his position in the country. The neglect to do so has certainly acted injuriously on the minister's personal interests.

But what must be pronounced a political error proceeded from a highly honourable feeling. M. de Martino became early aware that he was sacrificing himself by remaining in his position; but feeling that at the moment he alone stood between the king and a sanguinary reaction, of however short duration, which would proceed from the soldiery, already difficult to restrain, he considered it his duty to remain in office as long as he could preserve innocent lives from this otherwise inevitable slaughter. Such conduct deserves acknowledgment. But over and above these already formidable obstacles to contend against, there came in addition the insuperable element of Garibaldi's solid success in Sicily and resolute intention to advance. This fact precisely furnished in abundance the one thing which would not have been forthcoming from within the country. It at once transferred to revolution, in the fullest Italian sense, that superstitious attribute of force which had been the spell whereby Government had held populations in such mute subjection. The immediate consequence was an irresistible attraction, such as always impels the weak to creep under the wing of the strong, and the timid to put their confidence in the uppermost. It was a national process of solution against which, in the void it had created, the Government found itself unable to provide any counteracting spirit; for although political opinion was in a low condition of positive development, yet one feeling of intense distrust in Bourbon faithfulness pervaded all classes of the Neapolitan dominions. The only element which therefore might perhaps have served to support the sinking cause of the dynasty was the army. But then it would have been necessary for the king to face the enemy, and it was not until inexorable necessity drove him, as a helpless fugitive,

within the lines of Capua, that this pitiful monarch could be got near troops off parade. The force that thus irresistibly swept away the Neapolitan throne was a force which, by the fact of its successes, necessarily also coerced Count Cavour. The tiny germ that had stolen out of Genoa had sprung into the proportions of a power extorting a prominent place in the contemplation of Europe, and to be disowned by the Government of Victor Emmanuel, only at the price of complete moral suicide at home. Hence the self-evident impossibility for the Piedmontese Minister to respond to the proposal of an unlimited alliance with the Government of Francis II. Such an alliance had been an object of Count Cavour's most earnest wishes for a long period. The leading Neapolitan patriots, at the time when the Italian campaign began, had made an offer to King Ferdinand to waive the question of a constitution, if he would enter into active alliance with Piedmont. On the accession of his son, the Piedmontese cabinet had strained every nerve to induce him to enter into such a treaty, as the only means to obviate convulsions. These advances had encountered a steadily stolid repulse. When in the depths of his distress the Neapolitan sovereign turned, with accents of despair, to court the hand he had formerly rejected with such confirmed obstinacy, that hand was no longer in a condition to extend the assistance it once had been both able and willing to afford. The Neapolitan envoys despatched to Turin to negotiate a close union were there cordially received. The Government of Victor Emmanuel was thoroughly ready to live on terms of good fellowship with that of Francis II., and to abstain from aggravating its embarrassments. It was sincerely prepared to abide in the neighbourly relations of an ally. But for Count Cavour to have concluded, in the presence of what was occurring in Sicily, a treaty which must have implied a new recognition of, and fresh guarantees for, the autonomy of the Neapolitan dominions, would have been to convert Victor Emmanuel from the foremost champion of Italy into the foremost and recreant defender of its civil disunion. For any offensive and defensive treaty concluded at that moment with Francis II. would have distinctly invested Victor Emmanuel with the character of his declared protector—imposing upon that monarch the condition to stand between the former and the rising flood of revolution; to confront, and if necessary to repel with imperturbable determination the advances of those who had been devoted associates in his own great labour, and were merely trying to carry out in Southern Italy the same work to which, in other quarters, he had called them in stirring appeals. It is very natural that the King of Naples, in his profound distress, should have ardently desired to obtain the assistance of this powerful intervention. It is very certain that the

Neapolitan ministers who advanced the proposal are men whose integrity and patriotism offer every guarantee for the good faith with which it was their intention to turn to account the advantages they thereby would have obtained. But it is also clear to every impartial observer how utterly foolish it would have been in Count Cavour to allow Victor Emmanuel to ruin his popular position—imperilling at the same time the whole future of Italy—merely to serve the dynastic interests of a sovereign who, as long as he had any power, steadily withheld it from him with malignant obstinacy. The Piedmontese Government did as much as ought ever to have been expected from it, when it expressed its readiness to accept the new professions of Francis II., and not to initiate movements of subversion in his dominions, but even to exert its moral influence with the view of inducing Garibaldi not to pursue his course of aggression. The Piedmontese Government acted fairly up to the point of these intentions. The contrary assertion proceeds from a total misapprehension, first, of Count Cavour's great diffidence for a long while as to the policy, in the abstract, of aiming at annexation with a population of so peculiar a condition as that of the Neapolitan States; and, secondly, of his decided objection to see it consummated by the violent means of conquest.

There can be but one opinion as to the pure and highminded character of Garibaldi. It has been well said of him, that he has been cast in the genuine mould of Plutarch's men. His is a nature of magnanimous devotion, and singleminded abnegation, without a speck of calculation or guile. But natures of so pure a block are little adapted to deal adequately with the composite occurrences of practical life. Their views are so entirely of a transcendent aspiration, as to render them unwilling to contemplate—unable to appreciate—the vulgar necessities of expediency. Such is the case with Garibaldi. Fully has he established claims to the title of hero; but we fancy that hardly the most fanatic admirer of his virtues is still prepared to be enthusiastic about the Liberator's political capacities. It was inevitable that a mind so ingenuous and simply straightforward should often have a sovereign contempt for considerations which weighed with a profound and responsible politician, like Count Cavour: unmitigated fearlessness is not the exact element for duties that have essentially to repose on mature and subtle calculations. Also the grief which overcame Garibaldi on seeing his native province torn from Italy, rendered him incapable of understanding any explanations, and inspired him with indignation against the minister to the account of whose pusillanimity he laid the perpetration of this act. For to the man with a natural temper of forlorn hopes, it was unintelligible how even all the armies of France and Austria

together could have an appalling aspect. When therefore Garibaldi entered upon the expedition to Sicily, he was in a humour of deep resentment at Count Cavour, which became aggravated by the obstacles he found thrown in his way. The class of men to whom he thus was driven to find associates in so desperate an enterprise were daring adventurers, whose turn of mind naturally inclined them to extreme political doctrines. These doctrines in their distinct formula of republicanism, Garibaldi had long forsworn with the full singlemindedness of his strong convictions, and his generally true sense for properly appreciating the nature of things when once brought sufficiently close to him. In the personal qualities of Victor Emmanuel, he had recognised the unreal nature of Mazzinian abstractions. But while Garibaldi's straightforward fervour was then wholly won to the cause of monarchy, he yet allied himself with republicans, because the unsuspecting ingenuousness of his patriotism was easily caught by their specious arguments, to act fearlessly and rapidly toward the complete consummation of an united Italy, without regard for dictates of so called political expediency, or possible obstacles from without — France, Austria and the Pope, three quantities of grave power to statesmen, but which to the men of this school were mere chimeras existing in the brain of official prejudice. Suggestions of this kind unavoidably grew in attraction with the sense of growing force for their execution. Master of Palermo, sovereign of Sicily, after a course of most marvellous and instantaneous success under apparently impossible circumstances, it could not be otherwise but that Garibaldi, with his dauntless heart, should have acquired an unfaltering conviction in the invincibility of valour and reckless daring. What had been performed was to him merely an earnest of the absolute facility with which might be done what still remained to be achieved for the completion of his cherished hopes.

Consequently, at Palermo, Garibaldi was precisely in the mood the least fit to resist the congenial instigations of the movement party—the least calculated to lend a favourable ear to suggestions of temporizing policy, especially when coming from an obnoxious quarter. The moment was certainly not auspicious for Count Cavour to try and exercise influence over the decisions of the exasperated Dictator. It is more than doubtful whether any representations would have been able to make Garibaldi desist from pursuing his advantages on the mainland. It does, however, seem to us, that the measures adopted by Count Cavour with the view of restraining the Dictator's action were not skilfully devised. The mission to Sicily of M. La Farina was an unhappy choice. That politician, a Sicilian, and a highly honourable man, who laboured long and steadily for the patriotic cause, had, however,

made himself too direct and uncompromising a partisan of the minister not to excite by his presence very irritating recollections. In M. La Farina Garibaldi perceived the virulent emissary of a powerful opponent bent upon vehemently thwarting him ; while those about him freely concurred in denouncing a politician with whom many had come into bitter conflict in the course of party contest. The consequence was the summary expulsion and deportation from Palermo of M. La Farina, and several political associates ; an act which necessarily caused much painful scandal. After such incidents, the Dictator gave himself up to decided resolutions which were already far too much advanced towards realization to admit of his being any longer influenced by the counsels of moderation conveyed to him in a letter from Victor Emmanuel. Those counsels were not feigned, because granted even that Count Cavour was anxious for the subversion of the Bourbon dynasty, he yet deprecated the method in which Garibaldi proposed to bring it about. For it was plainly foreseen how his success at Naples would be attended by all the dangers that have really arisen in the wake of the intemperate men who became promoted to a highly critical authority. On the other hand, a conviction was entertained, that, with Sicily torn from the Bourbons and annexed to the territories of Victor Emmanuel, the Italian feeling would steadily develop itself in the Neapolitan provinces, to an extent which must, in the end, convert the Parliament into the constitutional and irresistible organ of its expression.

Such a revolution, it was justly held, would be far preferable to an armed conquest, even though considerably delayed ; for it must tend to justify Victor Emmanuel's title abroad, and facilitate his Government within. Count Cavour wished to leave to the undefined, but unerring and conclusive process of time, an operation which the impatience of Garibaldi and his followers fretted at seeing delayed for a day. In support of this policy, the Piedmontese minister stretched, to the verge of unpopularity, his influence with a view to arrest what he considered a precipitate event. Instead of abetting underhand opposition, the Piedmontese Cabinet was led by motives of policy, anxiously to extend to the constitutional efforts of the Neapolitan ministry, as much countenance as it possibly could, without irremediably compromising itself in Italy. Some persons may be disposed to blame these views as timid. That is a matter of legitimate controversy with which we have not to deal here. The point we dwell upon is the historical fact, that so far from being directed to undermine and subvert the throne of Francis II., the Piedmontese agents at his Court were strictly instructed to abstain from all acts calculated to accelerate what, in Count Cavour's

opinion, was a premature catastrophe. Also the attitude preserved by Count Villamarina proved rigidly in accordance with these directions, and it is out of the question to ascribe to emissaries from his Government the events which ultimately ensued in the continental provinces. They are solely and entirely due to the irrepressible ardour of Garibaldi, who gave full vent to his contempt for diplomatic considerations, and considers the Piedmontese ministers to have acted towards him in a spirit of malicious hostility. Thus with no other resources than were supplied by his own energy and skill, Garibaldi matured the invasion, and executed the conquest of Naples.

It is unnecessary to dilate upon the details attending Garibaldi's tenure of sovereign authority in Naples. For the comprehension of Count Cavour's subsequent policy, it suffices to bear distinctly in mind how the event at once invested Garibaldi with an immense accession of power, and proportionately extended the sphere within the immediate range of his action. For although the defence which, with an army of fifty-five thousand men, Francis II. has made good against raw levies from behind elaborate fortifications ought to offer nothing unexpected, yet the incredulous astonishment which the announcement of his intended resistance universally encountered, is conclusive evidence that not even his friends contemplated the probability of such fortitude. When the king's departure put Garibaldi in peaceful possession of the capital, the prevailing conviction was that the Royalist columns near Capua and Gaeta were already vying with each other in a process of dissolution, and that virtually no material obstacle any longer interposed itself between the conquering Liberator and the outposts of the French garrison of Rome. To march upon that city, by force of Italian arms to wrest it from the intrusive protection of foreign guardians, and at one vehement blow to avenge the disasters of 1849, and demolish the hated temporality of the Pope, has been the acknowledged dream of Garibaldi's life. When last year he commanded the levies of Central Italy, during a highly critical stage of the negotiations in reference to the then pending annexation, it had required Victor Emmanuel's personal appeal to induce the General to abstain from grievously compromising a hopeful situation by the rash invasion of the Pope's States. That voice, however, had lost much of its effect, since it was looked upon as an instrument under the direction of a recreant politician, the paltriness of whose views were now assumed to be demonstrated in the light of irrefragable success. Besides, the set of men who had succeeded in surrounding Garibaldi made it an especial duty to foment his instinctive bent towards a descent upon Rome. For the most part they were reckless levellers of a dogmatic school, who breathed uncompromising hatred to priests and all institu-

tions connected with them. Regardless of possible consequences, they longed to make the same short work with the Pope and cardinals which they were delighted at the opportunity of making with some refractory Neapolitan bishops. Undoubtedly there was extreme danger to be apprehended from these rough heads being admitted to deal with the most delicate of political problems. We are now in a perfect condition to appreciate the administrative capacities of these individuals by their operations in Naples. The crisis being now well over, there can be no reason not to denounce distinctly the mischief they were so near bringing on. Bertani, Crispi, and associates, by their persistently untoward administration, achieved the incredible. Their offensive measures rendered Garibaldi's Government so obnoxious to all classes, except the mob of the capital, as actually to call into existence a party which, but for the timely intervention of the Piedmontese, would probably have brought back the fugitive king, from sheer despair at a prospect of indefinite and ruinous confusion. The enthusiasm showered down on Victor Emmanuel was accompanied by so strong and outspoken a feeling of reaction against the Dictator as was truly painful to every one animated with a proper regard for the single-minded honesty of the high-souled patriot.

We do not know where to find a parallel case to the responsibility which Count Cavour had the moral boldness to assume under these circumstances, with the conviction of obviating still greater perils. Probably the nearest case in point is the resolution Mr. Canning dared to take for the attack on Copenhagen, upon the strength of information which, however credible, it was yet quite out of his power satisfactorily to verify. But the stake involved by him was far below what Count Cavour might have risked. Labouring yet under the stigma of bad faith, so freely heaped upon him for the transactions about Savoy and Nice, Count Cavour found himself impelled to have immediate recourse to a flagrant violation of the law of nations, without an adequate pledge for the result. Although financial and other reasons ought long ago to have set the thoughts of the Austrian Government in other directions, it nevertheless appears beyond doubt, that at that period the Emperor was so bent upon a renewal of war in Italy as to have become dissuaded only in consequence of the utter failure his advances encountered at Warsaw. The most reliable information confirmed Austrian armaments, which could be meant only with a view to war. The Pope's ministers reckoned confidently upon its occurrence, and the Piedmontese Government became anxiously impressed with its imminent probability. It is indeed generally assumed, that at Chambéry the French Emperor promised to connive at the pro-

posed aggression of the Piedmontese. We have no grounds to doubt the correctness of this prevalent assertion, but we have never heard of any engagement actively to assist Piedmont in consummating her particular operations in the Roman and Neapolitan States. All that is suggested to have ever occurred, is an intimation to Austria from France, that she could not be allowed to undo quietly in Lombardy the work which had cost such an amount of French life. Against an attempt to make the province again Austrian, a prospect of renewed military alliance was held out to Piedmont: but not, we believe, with any engagement precluding possible claims for compensation. The alternative Count Cavour had therefore to deal with was full of serious perplexity. If he let things go of themselves, Garibaldi and his intemperate followers would invade the Papal States, and rush into collision with the French forces, which, whether resulting in victory or defeat, must be alike pregnant with untoward consequences. If, on the other hand, he himself took the initiative in solving the vexatious problem of the Pope's anomalous establishment, he had to run the risk of opposition of undefined extent, his only possible ally being a power whose assistance he might have to remunerate by some fresh and painful concession, to the renewed irritation of all Europe. In arriving at the deliberate decision which he came to under the circumstance of such highly critical contingencies, Count Cavour has, in our opinion, vindicated his genuine claims to be a great statesman, more than by any previous act. The degree in which justice has been instinctively rendered to his bold deed is very striking. In the general concurrence of the best and most influential portions of European society to abstain from resenting—even from seriously discountenancing—proceedings which so clearly violated the usually sacred provisions of common right, it has been Count Cavour's fortune to obtain a truly unparalleled tribute to the moral justification of his acts. It is the final evidence of how profoundly distasteful the Pope's temporal sovereignty has become to the public feeling and the public conscience of the majority in Europe. At the same time this affords a lively expression of the conviction entertained as to the dangers that must have attended every other possible mode of procedure. It was beyond the power of man to prevent the States of the Church from being subjected to aggression from Garibaldi in possession of the contiguous kingdom. If success should attend the single-handed efforts of the reckless partisan, then that direction, which in the hands of Victor Emmanuel might be to Europe a pledge for sound and equitable adjustment, would for a period irrevocably lapse to a hot-tempered party of reckless subversionists. But success was out of the question. The contest Garibaldi had

resolved upon engaging in would have imposed upon the Emperor, if merely for the honour of his arms, the necessity of completely defeating him. Thus the only result of his advance could have been to embroil the already critical condition of the Peninsula by irretrievable confusion, and to ruin his military prospects by a fool-hardy diversion, that must have ended in the destruction of gallant bodies, and have deprived Italy of possible assistance from her only active ally, and inevitably have brought down at once the Austrian Emperor, eager for war, upon the inadequate North-Italian army. It is from this imminent danger of confusion, anarchy, and destruction of the means by which independence and strength alone can be ultimately consummated, that Count Cavour has saved his country, through boldly taking in hand the work which Garibaldi had resolved to fulfil in his own unsophisticated way. And in acting thus it may fearlessly be pronounced that he has rendered a general service to Europe. With what vigour the resolution arrived at was carried out by the officers entrusted with its execution, requires no comment. The events at Castel Fidardo and Ancona are perfectly known and appreciated. Then and there the military establishment and temporal sovereignty of Pius IX., (except as Lord of Rome itself,) were for all practical purposes demolished and buried. All that can interest us is the consideration what action it may be the Pope's intention to pursue in his present shrunk condition. Is it his resolution to scout surrender? Or can he be brought to terms? Above all, what are the means of which he can still dispose? And what kind of position may their judicious employment still suffice to secure, not merely for Pius IX., but for the institution of the Papacy?

If the ordinary rules for calculating the resources of governments were adequate for the estimate of Papal conditions, their exact valuation would lie within a nutshell. Reduced to the possession of his capital and an unproductive strip of land, and cut off from all territorial revenue, the Pope would be thus on the precise footing of the King of Naples in Gaeta; with the sole difference that exists between a blockade and a siege. Both processes, under consistent execution, must ultimately result with mathematical infallibility in starvation and surrender. But the altogether unique pretensions and principles that constitute the institution of the Papacy, likewise render altogether exceptional the quality of the resources of which it may be supposed to dispose. For those peculiar resources would be drawn from the regions of inward convictions and feelings not amenable to that mathematical analysis which can attain to irrefutable demonstration of material elements. In considering, therefore, the condition of Papal force, we continually have to deal with esti-

mates that cannot be brought to the test of conclusive processes, and can rely only on our own vigilance not to be misled into exaggerated appreciations. A point upon which there can however be no doubt, is the decided disposition of the Court of Rome not to waive its peculiar pretensions, and consequently to call into play all the particular resources in question, whatever these may practically amount to. For naturally the Court of Rome is infected with the same revival of uncompromising earnestness, which has been so prominent a feature in the general aspect of Catholic society of the present century in contrast to that of the last. The Vatican has become imbued with a very different temper from that unconscious contagion of Encyclopedic want of faith in his own infallibility, which induced Clement XIV. to lend himself as a voluntary instrument for the suppression of the body-guard of Pontifical sovereignty, the Jesuits, and from that pervading self-abandonment which caused a Pæpe of Tolentino to be tamely acquiesced in without scruples of conscience. To these deluded dispositions, there has succeeded a spasmodic grinness, very possibly the fatal symptom of disease at heart, attended with perfectly convulsive efforts at a return to full assertions of traditional pretensions. A pronounced tendency in this direction on the part of the Court of Rome, must unavoidably result in an inveterate conflict with the spirit of the age, and in the immediate question of Italian settlement with the strong sense of the people. But as by its constitution, or rather usurpations, that Court has become the most absolute in Europe, its action may be considered essentially liable to personal influences. The policy of the Vatican, therefore, if it can be at all foregathered, is to be learnt only in the character of the owner for the time being. This possession is at present divided amongst Pius IX., Cardinal Antonelli, and Monsignor Merode. Let the extreme resolutions of headstrong opposition prevail with these men, and they may be expected to the end of their lives to command all the forces at the disposal of Rome. Let them, on the other hand, be disposed to fair compromise, and there can be no question of their becoming hampered by any unruly fanaticism from the weak spirit of discipline proper to the classes constituting the conscientiously Catholic world.

Weak and vacillating as Pius IX. is by nature, the range of his oscillations is yet always strictly confined within the limits of priestly feeling. Such was also the character of that liberalism which once endowed him with singular sympathies. It was vague and theocratic impulse towards benevolence on the part of an intellect blandly ignorant of all knowledge as to practical government, or the temper of the times. In the Pius IX. of 1848, we were supplied with the exact measure of what Guelphism can pos-

sibly arrive at, as his natural age and distress have only tended to confirm and develop the elements of sacerdotal disposition which constitute the framework of the Pope's nature. Pius IX., in cast of mind, views of duty and appreciation of affairs, is the type of a monk raised to the chair of St. Peter. The world and its perplexing complications of State—Christianity and its grave interest of conscience, the Pope approaches, considers, and treats with the simple order of ideas which enable an humble friar to deal with the little incidents of his cloister life. The inevitable consequence of such circumscribed powers of vision being transferred into high and responsible position, has been to convert duty into a haunting hobgoblin for the mystically reverent Pius IX. Hence the pertinacity with which he has started back from the bare idea of a cession of temporal possessions. Ambitious lust of authority, there is none in his mild nature. Equally devoid is he of all kindred passions—avarice or covetousness or a sense for worldly comforts. One feeling alone can inspire his feeble mind with the strength of passionate resolution—his devotion to whatever reason or current prejudice may represent as portion of a Pontiff's duties. To this idea, therefore, Pius IX. is wedded, while the growing influence of mysticism over him has tended to confuse the conception of duty, and to render the Pope more and more prone to become the slave of prejudices. The force of these have hurried him into assuming an attitude in reference to his territorial possessions, which is not in accordance with the true spirit of the Church. Under the influence of exaggerated suggestions, Pius IX. has been guilty of the indiscretion of identifying himself in his capacity of spiritual Pontiff with his pretensions of temporal sovereign, and of linking the two authorities together. It is probable that the possible consequences of such an error were originally not comprehended. It is therefore a point of grave interest whether the persons of influence at the Vatican are prepared to abide by them, or are likely to induce the Sovereign Pontiff to modify in the eleventh hour his dispositions. Undoubtedly Cardinal Antonelli is the exact antitype to Pius IX. in all that concerns devotional and mystic convictions. His very positive and very sober astuteness is as indifferent to highflown aspirations, as his tenacious and grasping nature is destitute of sacrifice and abnegation. The service of the Vatican has been to Cardinal Antonelli the trade of his election. That service requires ecclesiastical profession, therefore Cardinal Antonelli professed. The calling thus adopted from calculation has been pursued with admirable assiduity, and the paramount influence made good over the pureminded disposition of the pious Pope has been acquired at a fabulous expense of unrelaxing and undeviating craft. Pius IX. is resolved to be ever the servant of every fancied gust

of duty. Cardinal Antonelli is as steadily resolved that no pressure and no vexation shall ever induce him to slip his moorings from a berth of interest and emolument. The circumstances of the moment which drifted Antonelli into office, tended towards overwhelming and apparently final reaction. It is not wonderful that a man gifted merely with the natural sharpness of a shrewd adventurer, and destitute of all comprehensive instruction, should have been misled into an exaggerated confidence in the perpetuity of conditions so favourable to irresponsible authority. The virtues of armies and treasures inspired overweening confidence in a mind whose natural want of faith was unable to grasp the force of principle and convictions. In the system of his administration the Cardinal accordingly proceeded upon the assumption that authority, power and protection could not fail, and that the passing away of possessions was out of the possible order of things, at least in his day. With views of so confined a range, there could be no obstacle founded on principle to prevent the Cardinal from propitiating every whim of his sovereign. This he completely knew how to accomplish. When, therefore, the grave complications of 1859 began to break over Italy, the same policy cordially united the Pontiff and his minister—although they embraced it from different feelings. The former was imbued with an exalted trust in the invincible triumph of Apostolical glory, while the latter merely had a profound contempt for speculations based on the chance of successfully breaking the bristling force of established prerogative. Antonelli therefore steadily discountenanced all notions of concessions to growing menace, because he recollected how in 1848 he had witnessed the overthrow of triumphant revolution; because he could not wean himself from an ignorant reliance in the invincibility of the victors of that day, and because he was utterly without the capacity to estimate the worth of altered circumstances, and the force of new powers which now came upon the scene. When, however, the progress of events began sensibly to impair the established order of things, and painfully to affect the conditions of the Holy See, the difference in disposition between the servant and the master revealed itself in the difference of their impulses. With his shrewd disinclination for hazardous risks, Antonelli would have been perfectly content to roll himself up in an attitude of impassive obstruction, meeting the rough force of superior infractions with no other resistance than of imperturbable protest. His positive turn of mind entertained a thorough dislike for the shadowy resources of purely Catholic elements, while a sober sense for ways and means rendered him extremely averse to exciting suggestions for raising efficient armies and enlisting distinguished captains. The Pope, on the contrary—mild, benign, and affable as he is by nature—was

quite disposed to such views, under the influence of that superstitious sense of duty we have alluded to. The contest engaged took for him the shape of a contest for holy principle, in behalf of which it was sternly incumbent upon him to consider the horrors of war as a minor evil. Such views naturally responded to the inward impulses of Catholics imbued with mystic fanaticism. It is this party that has found a devoted organ in the energetic person of Monsignor Merode, who transfers to the duties of ecclesiastical life the vehement impetuosity, not amiss in his former military profession. Thanks to the advantages offered for intimate intercourse by a household appointment, this prelate has gradually succeeded in asserting an influence over Pius IX., which at present actually has supplanted that of the great minister. Monsignor Merode is the man who has been the soul of all the Pope's military doings. He brought General Lamoricière into Italy, and with fanatical zeal seconded his efforts for the creation of an army. It is known that these measures were supremely displeasing to Cardinal Antonelli. His resolution not to break with the sovereign, made him however quietly acquiesce in what he saw the latter had set his mind upon. This condescension has maintained him in rank; but has not preserved him from most painful encroachments upon his influence. Of late Cardinal Antonelli holds the seals of office, merely because the Pope has as yet been unable to summon sufficient courage to go through the act of dismissing the man whose spell he has so long undergone, and whom he still quails at. Favour and influence have entirely fallen to the share of Monsignor Merode, while, excepting title, little is likely to remain in the possession of the imperturbable Cardinal, whose practical philosophy appears proof to all offence. The policy advocated by the ruling favourite comprises everything which is extreme. Monsignor Merode is pushing armaments, and enlistments, that must be meant in contemplation of a desperate renewal of active warfare; while he is also strongly of opinion that the Pope should betake himself into foreign parts, and thence wage, with full spiritual weapons, the contest against sacrilege and wickedness. There is no doubt as to the ascendancy at the present moment of the influence at the Vatican. The only question is, whether it can maintain itself, and whether it be in command of means adequate to its intentions.

The first inquiry that naturally suggests itself in connexion with such a policy, must be the condition of the Pontifical finances. Without money the Pope may still continue an immovable martyr; but must perforce become an impotent political agent. Now the available funds from public sources are easily calculated. The Pontifical exchequer can only be in receipt of so much of the usual revenue as had been collected before the Piedmontese invasion; and must therefore be minus one quarter of the year's

income. On the other hand, it has at its disposal the proceeds of the last loan, which was paid up to the amount of upwards of 50,000,000 of francs (5,000,000 of which are kept back by the bankers to guarantee the payment of the interest), and the "Peter's pence," which amount to near 10,000,000 of the same money. Against this treasure are to be put the expenses which have been seriously increased by charges for the army, and salaries of the officials expelled from the revolted provinces. The balance would leave in hand a sum of perhaps 20,000,000 francs as the whole fortune of the Papacy at the end of 1860. There are, however, reasons for supposing the Pope to be in command of other sums. It is impossible to acquire absolute certainty upon this point. Persons, however, who are the best able to watch the movements of the Roman Treasury, concur in the belief that the Pope has been put in possession of very considerable sums. This seems strongly corroborated by the absence of those symptoms of monetary difficulties which are inevitable on the approach of a stoppage of cash payment. Still these funds must be limited. It is impossible that they can flow on indefinitely, whatever may be their hidden source. Also the confidential advocates of the Pontifical Government do not presume to affirm its solvency to be insured longer than next spring. It is therefore very remarkable to find the Papal Government in the face of such prospects spontaneously launching into wilful expenditure. The Minister of War has quite recently given an order for thirty rifled cannon, and the most active exertions are being made at an immense expense to raise again a foreign force of several thousand men. Not even in the wildest transports of sublime conviction, is it possible for Monsignor Merode to be actuated with the notion that if abandoned by allies the Pope might successfully maintain himself in his capital with aid of such a force. Besides, there is not the least indication that the French garrison has any intention to deprive him of its guard. One is consequently driven to the conclusion that the ground for Monsignor Merode's measures must be looked for in a different direction. We are deeply convinced that they have been inspired by an infatuated conviction in an Austrian invasion, combined with a more or less general coalition against France. It is only with a view to such expectation that the self-confidence hitherto prevalent in the Vatican can become intelligible. The correspondence brought to light by the capture of Lamoricière's papers has fully revealed the complete military coalition which existed between the Vatican and Vienna. It is now also a matter put beyond doubt that the Emperor of Austria was at one moment firmly bent upon renewing hostilities. It is therefore very natural that the Pope's ministers should have taken measures in accordance with his probably very distinct

assurances. Up to the present moment we should certainly say that the Vatican has not yet abandoned the belief that a general war will break out against France. Whether Cardinal Antonelli himself be still sanguine of such an event, we do not venture an opinion. But we strongly suspect that the fanatical party—now in the ascendant—still reckon upon a general war for the coming spring, which is to end in as general a tide of reaction for their own especial benefit. If correct in their prognostics, they are infallibly right in their conclusions. But if spring should not inaugurate an overwhelming coalition for the re-establishment of overthrown Italian thrones, what will be the position with which the advisers of the Court of Rome will then find themselves obliged to deal?

As long as the French garrison continues, the Court of Rome will be able to reckon upon immunity from all danger of personal violence. There is not the slightest indication of any intention to deprive the Pope of a protection, whose withdrawal must instantaneously expose him to infallible coercion or expulsion. But there is likewise no reason to suppose that the military occupation of the French troops will be extended beyond its present limits. These embrace districts that virtually can contribute nothing to the Papal exchequer, being for the most part waste lands. The territory where the Pope's authority has of late been either re-established or confirmed by the presence of French troops can offer him absolutely no resources of any available kind. Their possession is the most barren of endowments. For the Pope, therefore, to derive benefit from his sovereignty, it is indispensable that he should be put in possession of additional territory. It requires no romantic conception of the French Emperor's views to come to the conclusion that such an act cannot enter into his designs. We have expressed, and still entertain, a profound conviction that the unity of Italy did not form part of his original scheme for its emancipation from Austrian supremacy. But now that—for the moment at least—the unitarian movement has irresistibly gained the upper hand, the clearest dictates of policy must impel the Emperor not to break for ever with Italy, his only possible active ally, in face of no countervailing advantage. For no arbitrary intervention for the mere purpose of preventing unions will suffice to obliterate the recollection of the past and enable the Emperor to regain the lost confidence of continental Courts; while the English alliance would be irremediably dashed to pieces by a proceeding of this nature. Moreover, whatever misgivings we may justly be disposed to entertain as to the Emperor's sincere adhesion to the doctrine of Italian union, his acts afford irrefutable proof of his decided disinclination to operate against it in the unpopular character of a champion of Pontifical restoration.

For had he been so disposed, recent circumstances certainly offered the most plausible pretexts and the most advantageous opportunities that can ever be expected. It depended merely on a significantly forbidding attitude being assumed by France, to make it impossible for Count Cavour to push the Piedmontese forces into the Roman States in the presence of an inevitable Austrian invasion of overwhelming force. At the same time this desertion of Piedmont would have furnished the French Emperor with an admirable and most specious occasion for satisfactorily breaking up the young strength of Italy in the collision he would have encountered as guardian of the Pope's person with the impetuous Garibaldi. He deliberately abstained, however, from this easy line of action. Moreover, when we come to look at matters closely, we discover that the recent extension of French occupation in the States of the Church, has been productive of benefit to the national movement. Undoubtedly this act has inspired profound local resentment in the populations directly affected by it, many of whom had already revolted in confident reliance upon distinctly implied assurances. But we cannot help coming to the conclusion, that the measure was supremely conducive to public good, when we find it to have mainly influenced the Pope not to leave Rome at a moment when his departure would have grievously aggravated the embarrassments of Count Cavour, who had to deal with the heavy task of Neapolitan confusion, and precisely at this conjuncture was for some days under the fear of hourly invasion from Austria. It is impossible to suppose that so crafty a politician as the French Emperor should have been blind to the practical consequences of his moves. It is also undeniable that if at present Victor Emmanuel's Government finds itself in a position to devote its undivided energy at home to the organization of Southern Italy, this is entirely due to the lucky postponement by the Pope of his moment for departure; a resolution which at the time was certainly assisted by the ostentatious arrival of large French reinforcements, that since have done nothing to restore the Pope to any virtual and effective authority. Hence we feel perfectly confident that at all events an intervention in behalf of the overthrown temporal powers of the Holy See does not form part of whatever secret designs the French Emperor may yet entertain with regard to the future of Italy. He is prepared indefinitely to extend to the Holy Father the same amount of protection as at present. This is, however, quite insufficient for providing him with the necessary revenue for his expenditure. The kernel of the problem as to the Pope's continued independence in its present sense must consequently lie within the compass of a simple calculation. Hardly the most sanguine adherent can venture to trust that the Pope will be en-

abled to defray permanently, through private contributions from the faithful, the expenditure that he still takes upon himself out of principle by no act to recognise a new government in the revolted provinces. The annual interest upon his debt alone amounts now to upwards of a million sterling. The evil day of insolvency is therefore inevitable, when it must come to an issue whether the Pope, repudiating obligations, will be in a position yet to continue the struggle from his old residence in unimpaired defiance, or whether he will wage it from some other point, or whether, finally, he will come to terms with his aggressors. In passing, let us only observe, that persons disposed to think it possible to avoid such extreme issues between the Papacy and the Italian people, are under a very mistaken apprehension of the latter's present temper. The issue can only be avoided in the event of some disastrous and unforeseen interference forcibly crushing the whole national movement; short of such an occurrence, nothing can get the better of the feeling which will strive to make of Rome the capital of the Italian State.

That the Pope should demean himself into clinging to his residence in Rome under the protection of French bayonets, after he has seen himself obliged to repudiate obligations, and has sunk publicly into the condition of a helpless and bankrupt shadow, we certainly think impossible. Also we find it very difficult to believe that with his particular pretensions and unambiguous declarations, the Pope should yet be brought to accept terms which to persons not imbued with the spirit of canonical prejudice might seem ample and advantageous. The Pope is willing to depend upon the private offerings of the faithful, but he has publicly declared on repeated occasions, with great solemnity, his irrevocable resolution never to become the stipendiary of governments. This determination must not be ascribed to mere personal passion. The individuality of Pius IX. has nothing more to do with it than that it happens to be the organ of the day for the inevitable expression of a logical and irresistible conclusion proceeding naturally from premises with which the Papacy has chosen to grow identified as with the spirit of its essence. For the Papacy the doctrine not to bow in homage to a State—not to concede dependence in any manner to a corporate body—is even a more inveterate sentiment than the idea of Divine right in royalty ever was for the most thoroughbred legitimist Sovereign in the purest days of unimpeachable monarchy. We should decidedly be of opinion that before the Holy See can be induced to depart so far from its traditional prejudices as to consent to accept State endowments, it will have to be put yet to a lengthened course of trials. It seems to us impossible to expect that the proverbially tenacious nature of the Court of Rome can be

induced to acquiesce in the signal infraction of its most cherished and distinctive principles, except after a series of events exhausting every contrivance for resistance, and precluding the shadow of hope for recovering the condition of former days. If we are correct in our appreciation of the temper of the Court of Rome, it then must follow that the Pope ought to be driven to take his departure the day he finds himself at the end of his means to defray any longer, in the manner he considers proper, the establishment of a Pontiff. That day is inevitable, as it is also inevitable that whenever that day occurs some resolution must be come to in the Vatican infallibly fraught with immense consequences to the Papacy and to Italy. The voice of human policy would on that occasion counsel the Pope to throw open the jealous gates of the Vatican stronghold, to meet in fair parley the adversaries of his former pretensions, and to abdicate his anomalous temporal sovereignty on conditions that might enable him in peace, dignity, and pomp to pursue the avocation of a Spiritual Pontiff. On the other hand, mysticism, hallucination, prejudice rendered venerable by the rust of tradition and personal passion, are likely to combine in impelling Pius IX. to take the opposite course. It is impossible to fix exactly the moment when the Pope will find himself in the predicament to have to come to a decision. It is only certain that there is no immediate want of money. He will undoubtedly be able to fulfil all his engagements for several months to come; some sanguine people say for an indefinite period. He is also firmly resolved to remain in Rome until the last extremities—as firmly as is possible with a man essentially feeble and vacillating. On this point he is, however, steadied by the same sentiment of duty, which, in certain events, would actuate him to do the contrary. We may therefore confidently reckon upon Pius IX. staying in Rome until the great coming crisis. The moment the Pope retires under such circumstances from Rome, this step will engulf him in that field of speculative resources to which we have alluded as not admitting of any mathematical test for accuracy of estimates. The intention involved in its adoption is, however, unmistakeably clear. In committing such an act the Pope would fling himself upon an appeal to the Roman Catholicism of the universe. The father of so many hundred millions of believers would wander forth in the conviction that the faithful will rise with devotional fervour to carry him back to the Pontifical residence he has seen himself expelled from by impious sacrilege. It will be a distinct and unequivocal appeal without circumlocution to the religious feelings of Catholic Christendom against the national movement of Italy, in behalf of the territorial interests of the Court of Rome. It lies beyond our scope to consider the many—hardly calculable—consequences with which such a step

threatens to prove pregnant, for the serious modification of the simply religious authority of future popes. Let us only glance for an instant at its almost certain effects upon the immediate question: the recovery of temporal sovereignty for the papacy. In the first place, we are convinced that the notion of great Catholic reaction proceeding from fervent affection for the temporalities of the Holy See, and resulting in a victorious crusade against Victor Emmanuel or his successor, is an utterly visionary hallucination, only to be found in the brains of insane fanatics. We have pretty well the measure of what Catholic piety is up to, in "*Peter's pence*" and Lamoricière's discomfited army. Secondly, there are unmistakable symptoms of a profound indisposition on the part of the bulk of the Italian clergy to allow itself to be dragged indefinitely into a vexatious contest with the ruling powers for the sake of interests that really do not affect it. For the Catholic priest out of Italy, the temporal establishment of the Pope is a conception that fits into his order of ideas, and practically touches him exactly of a piece with purgatory or any other received dogma. Not so with the priest in Italy, who is daily brought in contact with personal inconveniences, solely resulting from this obnoxious institution. Therefore, the bulk of the Italian clergy is well disposed to consider the matter of the Pope's temporalities as an affair that merely regards the Court of Rome. This feeling is participated in by the most conscientious divines, who have strongly blamed the bull of excommunication, by which the Pope identified himself in his spiritual capacity with his condition of sovereign, as an act outstepping the provisions of canon law. Moreover, it will rapidly spread, the day the vital interests of religion and the Church begin to suffer in Italy by the Pope's obstinately refusing, out of regard merely for his temporalities, to sanction nominations to vacant bishoprics in the territories now ruled by Victor Emmanuel. There are here very serious elements of schism fermenting which have extorted attention even from the Vatican. It is acknowledged that the inferior clergy is desisting from agitation against Victor Emmanuel. At the same time apprehension is becoming prevalent amongst religious corporations for their properties, menaced with imminent danger by a continuation of the present policy of the Holy See. For by far the greater portion of papal stock is in the hands of pious foundations that depend upon its proceeds for support. The growing anxiety thus produced amongst the best, the devoutest, and the widest sections of the Italian clergy, offers a chance for bringing about an accommodation between the Court of Rome and the adversaries of its sovereign existence. Should a vacancy occur in the Holy See before the inevitable day of financial crisis, we are inclined to think that the conclave

might be disposed to acknowledge the force of circumstances, and virtually sacrifice the Pope's temporalities out of regard for the dangers menacing the Church. But with Pius IX. we apprehend it to be hopeless to expect that such calm considerations will be able to gain the upper-hand over the exaggerated views and personal passions he appears to have so largely contracted. He has compromised himself to such a degree as probably to become helplessly bound to that false point of honour which is so omnipotent with weak natures. Such, as far as we can contrive to decipher them, seems to be the prospects of the papal future, and such the circumstances Count Cavour has put himself in the condition probably to deal with. The position which he has assumed in the States of the Church promises the reduction of the Pope by blockade, a process quite as effectual and far more conclusive than the expeditious, but objectionably rough treatment to which Garibaldi would have subjected him.

This great work of Italian regeneration and constitution so steadily and skilfully conducted by Count Cavour, and in the main, it seems to us, decidedly favoured with encouraging auspices, is still by no means free from dangerous elements. These reside in the serious possibility of paramount disturbing causes, intervening forcibly to prevent the Italian Government from devoting its whole energies to the necessary work of organization and prematurely to precipitate it into attempts above its power. The dominions of the King of the Two Sicilies have been conquered by Victor Emmanuel; they have now to be made his own in the true sense of the word. That monarch's tenure over their populations, at least in the Neapolitan provinces, is for the moment at bottom little more than the tenure by which they were kept in quiet subjection by former masters. It is the tenure of success—of the superstitious awe that has no comprehension how not to bend humbly before the symbol of force. An accession of some millions of subjects of such temper can swell the muster-roll of a realm, but cannot add to its material strength. That will only be brought about when the dead and ignorant masses have been quickened into a new spirit capable of appreciating the boon of a revolution that has really been imposed upon them by the impetuosity of a patriotic partisan, and the efforts of a select circle of intelligent individuals. Until this great work of organization and development has made progress, there ought to be no delusion as to the fact, that his properly Neapolitan populations will be for Victor Emmanuel but a fair-weather possession, not to be relied on for any valuable contribution to the defence of the country, or for any capacity of resistance. Moreover, there exist in these Neapolitan territories widespread reactionary elements which, although they failed to make good a head in open struggle for

the Bourbon dynasty, are very capable of proving vexatiously obstructive to the new Government. These are to be found amongst an ancient aristocracy of large territorial possessions—of Spanish, if not feudal, traditions—and especially averse to see Naples stripped of autonomy. They may easily combine with a seditious priesthood to instigate the passions of wild populations into a course of outlawry and rapine, a political guerilla warfare, which, under the shape of brigandage, may for years harass the march of improving government. This is merely what one must be prepared to encounter from a people in a thoroughly inorganic condition, and therefore necessarily liable to be swayed in little knots, hither and thither, at the mercy of chance influences, into desultory outbreaks. It requires but a certain amount of time, together with sound administration, to get the better of such defects. If Count Cavour be only allowed the former, his work in regard to administration will be rendered easy. The profound neglect in which motives of suspicion made it a State maxim for the Bourbons to leave their provinces, must afford any new Government an excellent means of propitiating the gratitude of its subjects. The Neapolitan provinces, with the exception of the immediate neighbourhood of the capital, constitute so many isolated districts of local and specific barbarousness. For the inmates of Calabria, Apulia conveys the idea of a country as remote and strange as America; and the inhabitant of the Abruzzi never has had any intercourse with his countryman in Magna Grecia. The inevitable consequence of this truly Spanish system of stifling free movement and intercourse has been to repress the development of the material resources of a country abounding in untold wealth. The kingdom of Naples is a virgin country, teeming with unexplored capacity for agricultural and commercial prosperity. The minister, therefore, who will open roads through these often directly inaccessible districts, who will stimulate the turning to account of their resources, and who will thus make the inhabitants acquainted with higher social conditions, will confer boons that cannot fail to be repaid with hundredfold interest, in a general elevation, not merely of the wealth, but also the spirit of the country. In this way a new temper will be evoked in the provinces, endowed with a strength more than ample to counter-balance any dissatisfaction that may arise in the capital at the loss of a Court. Besides, it must be borne in mind that the same system of inorganic isolation which has passed over the provinces in regard to each other, has likewise broken any intimate connexion between them and the capital. For the townsman of Brindisi, Manfredonia, or Tarentum, it makes no difference whether the king resides at Naples or Turin, for all that he ever had directly to do with the presence of royalty. Therefore the

especial appeal of the Neapolitan *lazzarone*, or court-fed noble, on the score of the absence of a royal establishment, will not be calculated to move the heart of the country at large. These on the whole, therefore, not inauspicious conditions are to be found in a yet higher degree in Sicily. Here there can be no longing reminiscences of a departed Court, while a pronounced and pervading national feeling unites the population in spontaneous allegiance to the new Government, under the impulse of aversion to Neapolitan domination. The same Spanish neglect of attending to the comforts of the people affords also in this island—even more so than on the continent—an easy method of acquiring popularity. There are some politicians who persist in considering the recent manifestations in Sicily in behalf of Victor Emmanuel to be factitious. They would maintain that the mass, both of the people and the intelligent classes, cherish the thought of a separate State. We believe this opinion to proceed from an entire misapprehension of the present temper of the Sicilians. This long and persistent aspiration for a Sicilian kingdom, was but the expression of their intense desire to get rid of Naples at a period when the idea of one Italian State suggested itself to no one as practically possible. The proof that such a separatist party does not exist, at least to any extent, is afforded by the participation in the act of annexation of the leading men of Sicily, in birth, station, and intelligence. It is true that Garibaldi, by his timely arrival, accomplished the essential part of the military revolution, but the moral and political one is in Sicily a thoroughly national and popular deed, and not, as in the Neapolitan provinces, the work, at best, of select intelligence. Were a system of stringent centralization to be introduced, this would undoubtedly give rise to dissatisfaction which must become dangerous. There is, however, no notion of doing so; and the same plan which has been successfully adopted in Tuscany will be pursued in Sicily and Naples, and give general contentment. Therefore time—and merely time, if properly applied—seems to us all that is wanted to ensure the work of consolidation in Southern Italy. But will that requisite time for the development of the strength of Italy be granted to Count Cavour? Can the passions of populations in the flush of unparalleled success be restrained from becoming hurried into a rash and premature aggression of Venetia? This looming conflict is the cardinal danger of Italy. By the side of it all others dwindle into nothing. Deeply is it to be deplored that at this most critical hour of his country's fate, the virtuous Garibaldi should have been hurried into lending the authoritative accents of his voice to the instigation of these dangerous passions. It is certain that if the already liberated portions of Italy contrive to grow

firmly together, Venetia must eventually be drawn to the sister realm. But it is also hardly conceivable that the Italian levies should, within the period of a few months, prove already in a condition by themselves to achieve what all military men hold to be about the hardest possible conquest. It is to be hoped that the experience of fortifications won at Capua may yet have the effect of moderating the impetuous disposition of Garibaldi, and especially of his followers: for they are more difficult to deal with than the straightforward, simple-minded General. No person can be more profoundly convinced than Count Cavour of the impolicy of beginning an attack on Venetia, which in the first place would justly expose Italy to general animadversion for plunging Europe anew into the dark vortex of war; and in the second place, as he well knows, must constrain Italy again to purchase the assistance of the Emperor Napoleon, probably oblige it to follow in his wake, and undergo the hazardous consequences of ulterior designs which cannot fail to call up the formidable enmity of combined Europe. Certainly this shrewd politician is firmly bent by every effort within his power upon striving not to imperil the unseasoned timbers of his State by rashly striking them against this menacing shoal. It is a lucky circumstance that the firm establishment of regular authority in the districts contiguous to Venetia will facilitate the prevention of untoward collision with Austrian forces on the part of intemperate volunteer bands. The danger of a premature outbreak is considerably diminished by the difficulties thus interposed in the way of organizing auxiliary expeditions. Still our main hope for seeing the Italians maintain on this occasion the same wise instinct as hitherto, must repose upon the admirable confidence they have so steadily accorded to sound counsel, and which there is no symptom as yet of their withdrawing. The ephemeral possession of political authority by Bertani, Crispi, and their comrades, has in one sense been a happy event. The extraordinary application of power by these gentlemen has proved the most seasonable corrective to a growing disposition in favour of extreme men and extreme measures. This temporary elevation seems to have proved to the re-emerging Republicans the same destructive blow as that which in former days of Mazzinian conspiracies had been suffered by them from their criminal attempt to seize the forts of Genoa. Public opinion has been strongly impressed by the contrast offered between the party rancour, confusion, and senseless provisions which have marked the action of the revolutionary Government in Naples, and the concord, order, and admirable arrangement that have accompanied change in the rest of Italy under the auspices of the very men whom the authors of Neapolitan failures kept denouncing with the shrillness of

frantic virulence. Mazzini, under the cover of dummies, has again, at a critical hour, and under most advantageous circumstances, attempted to get a hold on Italy, and the break-down has been most complete. A little temper in dealing with susceptibilities seems to us all that is requisite to ensure to Count Cavour and his friends the maintenance of that influence they have hitherto enjoyed. Nor is that period of peaceful development so much to be desired for Italy calculated to put off into indefinite time the accomplishment of what is still indispensable for the constitution of the country. It is indeed impossible to prognosticate the march of events in regard to Venetia, as proceeding from causes within the Austrian Empire. But as concerns Rome, it is indisputable that the conversion of the territories now held by Victor Emmanuel from the condition of a problematical into those of a consolidated power must forthwith introduce an element calculated to exert a telling influence upon the evacuation of Rome by the French. Even in the days when it was admitted that their presence alone could offer any guarantee against anarchy in Rome, this occupation was such an eyesore to Europe, that public opinion and diplomacy together lost no opportunity in protesting against its continuance, and extorting a promise for its earliest possible cessation. It is plain that as soon as the Italians have established their claim to a national force, all Europe, in behalf of its own interests, will combine to urge the transfer to it from French hands of the important possession of Rome. The position of the French in that capital must thus, in a short time, become perfectly untenable in presence of a compact Italian power, unless they be prepared to defy all Europe, and venture to act as unmitigated aggressors.

After duly weighing all the contingencies that seem to us looming in the future, we are decidedly inclined to think that we may presume to entertain hopes for the successful consummation of that great work of regeneration which has been hitherto favoured with such a marvellous constellation of lucky chances. It is now happily put beyond doubt, that the final fate of Italy has become lodged in the hands of her children. Upon their prudence, their temper, and their sound patriotism will have to depend the perfection and conservation of what as yet is merely a tender creation in the brittleness of infancy. The priceless gem of independence, for which generations have sighed, is now virtually in the possession of the Italian people. Let them then prove a genuine appreciation of the matchless treasure now within their permanent grasp, by nursing its germ with that jealous husbandry which only fools can shrink from, and which must prove the infallible means of bringing to perfection the as yet incomplete virtues of its lustre. For this end demands will have to be imposed upon

the Italian people, of longer duration—and therefore probably more fretting—but certainly not so extreme, as those to which they have already so often responded with admirable spontaneity. A little perseverance, therefore—a little fortitude on the part of the longing Venetians—a little curb upon the impulses of impetuous affection on the part of their Italian brethren—and we may reckon upon seeing, within a few years, an united Italy, strong in its loyalty to the dynasty of Victor Emmanuel, with Rome for a capital—the Alps, Adriatic, and Mediterranean for its frontiers—the cherished home of a happy people, and a pledge to the liberty and progress of Europe.



ART. VI.—AMERICAN SLAVERY : THE IMPENDING CRISIS.

1. *The Impending Crisis of the South : how to meet it.* BY HINTON ROWAN HELPER, of North Carolina. New York, 1860.
2. *A Journey in the Back Country.* BY FREDERICK LAW OLMS TED. London. 1860.

THE founders of the American Republic looked upon slavery as an anomaly in their land, and condemned the institution in the most unequivocal terms. In the flush resulting from successful revolution, the selfishness of slaveholders was dormant, and the idea of perpetuating the national sin was never broached. The Declaration of Independence asserted the personal liberty of every human inhabitant of the Colonies. But when the great struggle had ceased, and the leading minds of the country sat in council to frame a constitution the pro-slavery feeling revived, and though seven of the States declared for freedom, six of them stood by slavery, and the blemish was permitted to remain. Self-interest was too powerful for Washington and his co-patriots ; but though the system was tolerated, it was not sanctioned, and nowhere in the ' Constitution ' can the word slave or any of its derivatives be found. The thing was abhorred, and was evidently looked upon as the plague-spot of the land, the eradication of which was only a matter of time ; for it was thought by many that the institution would gradually die out after the extinction of the external trade in 1808 (provided for at the convention of 1787), which may account for the apparent lukewarmness of the friends of freedom at the moment when the death-blow to slavery

might have been given. The fallacy of this supposition was discovered too late, and the evil, instead of abating, has rapidly gained ground.

The cause of the continued ascendancy of slavery has been the timid conduct of the representatives of the free States, who though they have occasionally made a great show of resistance, have always succumbed when the hard fighting has commenced. The history of the struggle demonstrates, that notwithstanding the Northern States have been nominally on the side of freedom, yet the multiplicity and discordancy of their political parties, and the generally feeble and time-serving nature of their policy, have enabled the united and better organized forces of the South, not only to secure the preservation, but the indefinite extension of their favourite institution. A great awakening, however, seems now to be taking place in the American mind, and henceforward the enemies of freedom, instead of waging war with a disunited and factious foe, will have to combat the combined forces of a comparatively new antagonist, in the shape of the recently formed organization, known as the Republican party—a party which though only of a few years' growth, is daily adding to its numbers and increasing its power. This section of American politicians is made up of the most intelligent and energetic members of the legion of factions which have hitherto obtained in the Union, and who have begun to see that unless a stop be put to the progress of slavery, and the intolerent bearing of the slaveholders, the free institutions of the North will soon be swamped by the cursed system of Southern bondage.

Not the least significant 'sign of the times' is the fact that Mr. Helper's "*Impending Crisis of the South*" has reached a circulation of one hundred and forty-five thousand copies! The estimate in which the work is held by the Southern Oligarchy was made known at the commencement of the last Congress by the repeated defeat of Mr. Sherman, the Republican candidate for the speakership of the House of Representatives, and the necessity that gentleman's friends were under of withdrawing his name after a furious contest of over two months' duration: Mr. Sherman, prior to his nomination, having somewhere passed a high eulogium upon Mr. Helper's work, recommending at the same time that it be circulated broadcast through the length and breadth of the Union.

The book is written by a native of North Carolina, and is dedicated to the 'non-slaveholding whites of the South;' and the object of the author is to demonstrate the superiority of free over slave institutions in their influence upon the moral, political, commercial, and agricultural progress of the country, and to propound what he considers to be the most feasible plan for securing the

emancipation of the black population of the South. The style of the production is peculiarly American. Its language and ideas alike are often extravagant, and its allusions sometimes very personal. The statistics and other facts are well arranged and fully authenticated ; but the conclusions of the author are not always correct, and occasionally exhibit a want of practical political knowledge.

The case is different with the second work placed at the head of this article. Mr. Olmsted's arguments are based upon facts derived from the same sources as those of Mr. Helper, but his conclusions are more logical, and his opinions less extreme. He views slavery and its effects with the eye of a practical agriculturist, and though he arrives at the same conclusions as Mr. Helper with respect to the unprofitableness of the institution, he is more moderate in his language, conciliatory towards the South, and more practical in his remedial suggestions. In point of literary merit, "A Journey in the Back Country" is incomparably superior to "The Impending Crisis of the South."

So far as nature is concerned, the capabilities of the present Slave States are much superior to those of the Free States ; but in every respect the progress of the latter has far outstripped that of the former. The marked contrast exhibited between the condition of the Northern and Southern States has not failed to force itself upon the attention of all European visitors to the great Republic, and there seems to be no doubt that slavery is the cause, directly or indirectly, of the backward state of things in the Southern portion of the Union.

The population of the original thirteen States in 1790 was 3,639,005, of which 1,852,506 were inhabitants of the South, and 1,786,499 inhabitants of the North, showing a difference in favour of the Slave States of 66,007 persons. The geographical extent of the Free States was 124,380 square miles, and of the Slave States 212,685 square miles, exhibiting a balance in favour of the latter of 88,305 square miles. During the subsequent sixty years, whilst the population of the seven Northern States has added 5,943,063 persons to its numbers, or 332 per cent., the six Southern ones have added only 2,687,452 persons, or 145 per cent. ; the total loss to the South being 3,255,611 persons !

Since the date of the " Constitution" eighteen new States have been admitted into the Union, of which nine have allied themselves to the Free States, and nine to the Slave States ; but, though the number of States have been equally divided, slavery has succeeded in securing the largest extent of territory ; the gain to the North being only 488,217 square miles, against a Southern gain of 638,763 square miles. But in population, the

North, much to the annoyance of the slaveholders, has gained 3,821,946 persons; the number of inhabitants in 1850 being 13,431,922 in the Free States, but only 9,612,976 in the Slave States; for the former 21·91 to the square mile, but for the latter only 11·29.

Freedom abhors slavery, and hence it is that whilst the *native* population of the North has not perhaps increased in a greater ratio than that of the South, the former has had the entire benefit, or nearly so, of the immense and continuous European immigration. The natural tendency of immigration is to spread itself over the country; but the tide is as effectually turned back from the South, as if the margin of the Free States was on the Gulf of Mexico. Not only is the South suffering because of this negative effect of her evil ways, but her labour supply is thinned by the positive emigration of her own people.

According to the last census there were 609,223 natives of the Slave States residing in the North; whilst there were only 205,924 natives of the Free States residing in the South; giving a balance against the Slave States of 403,299 persons! Dr. Duffner, of Virginia, drew the attention of his countrymen to this state of things some ten or twelve years ago, remarking that the multitudes who shunned the regions of slavery and settled in the free countries of the West, were generally the most industrious and enterprising of their white citizens. Professor B. S. Hedrick, of North Carolina, who was recently deprived of his post in the university, and expelled his native State, because of his anti-slavery notions, has testified that more than one half of his friends and neighbours have left the State during the period of his recollection, "knowing as they did that free and slave labour could not both exist and prosper in the same community."

This state of things will continue so long as the idea of labour is so degraded as it is by being associated with slavery. When any species of labour is once performed by slaves, it is entirely deprived of that dignity and honour which of right belongs to it; and so we find that in the Southern States of America the white man "disdains to work like a nigger;" "no kind of labour is free or respectable," but is "low and unfit for freedom;" and no matter how moral, or intelligent, or well-to-do in the world a man may be, he is "accounted as nobody," in either social or political circles, unless he is the owner of a few negroes.

A man's standing, influence, or respectability is conventionally estimated by the number of pounds sterling he can command in England or dollars in North America; but by the number of slaves he holds in the Southern States. The most insignificant white man will live in the most penurious style in order to save money for investment in the favourite "property;" for such a

movement raises him from the condition of "white trash" to the status and society of Southern gentlemen.

Governor Hammond, of South Carolina, has declared, that out of the 300,000 whites of his native State, there are not more than 50,000 whose industry is adequate to procure for them honestly such support as every white person feels himself entitled to. Similar testimony is borne by Wm. Gregg, who states that slavery monopolizes the whole of the capital, enterprise, and intelligence of the State, and that a large portion of the white population "are wholly neglected, and suffered to while away an existence in a state but one step in advance of the Indian of the forest;" and the Hon. J. H. Lumpkin speaks of the poor whites of Georgia as "degraded, half-fed, half-clothed, and ignorant;" uneducated and minus any just appreciation of character.

But we are told that the climate of the Southern States is uncongenial to the European races, and that it is especially adapted to the constitution of the negro. This notion is almost as current in England as it is in America, but no statement is more untrue, for the testimony of travellers and the facts obtained by the census prove the contrary. On the average of years the proportion of deaths to the number of persons living is positively more in the Northern than in the Southern States. For instance, the mortality in 1850 in the seven original Free States was 1 in 68·78 persons living, but in the six old Slave States only 1 in 78·62! The highest average in the Free States being 1 in 81·63 in Pennsylvania, and the highest in the Slave States 1 in 91·93 in Virginia! Taking the whole of the present States, inclusive of Vermont and Wisconsin, where the average mortality was 1 in 100·13 and 1 in 105·82 respectively, the figures are 72·91 North and 71·82 South. Dr. Nott, of Charleston, ascertained, from personal observations and inquiries, that for six years the average mortality in that city, for all ages, was 1 in 51; and that whilst the deaths amongst the whites averaged only 1 in 58, those amongst the blacks reached 1 in 44! We often hear it said that the white man cannot labour at any out-door employment in the Slave States owing to the excessive heat and unhealthiness of the climate; but we find that in 1850, out of a white population of 6,184,477 persons of all ages, there were 1,019,020, *males over 15 years of age engaged in out-door labour*, of which 803,052 were employed in agricultural pursuits. Some of the best qualities of the great staple cotton are produced upon plantations worked by German settlers in Texas—the most southern of the Slave States. Mr. Olmsted repudiates the

"Common and popular opinion that the necessary labour of cotton tillage is too severe for white men in the cotton-growing climate. As I have said before, I do not find the slightest weight of fact to sustain

this opinion. The necessary labour and causes of fatigue and vital exhaustion attending any part or all of the processes of cotton culture does not compare with that of our July harvesting ; it is not greater than attends the cultivation of Indian corn in the usual New England method."

Throughout the South the heavy work connected with the construction of railways, street paving, building, &c., is performed by white people. One third of the total slave population is employed in the cultivation of cotton, and there are but few planters who maintain that the occupation would be too fatiguing for the white man. The only articles about which there is any doubt are sugar and rice ; but the production of both these growths has greatly fallen off of late, and it would be no very serious loss to the Union if their cultivation was abandoned. The value of the rice exported in 1851 was 2,634,127 dols., but in 1858 only 1,870,578 dols. ; of sugar, 690,744 dols. in 1854, but only 575,786 dols. in 1858 ; and of molasses, 130,920 dols. in the former year, and 105,893 dols. in the latter. We conclude, therefore, that the slaveholders must find some other reason than that of climate for the backward state of their land, and the degraded condition of their free population.

Despotism and knowledge are antagonistic. Slavedom consequently takes care that its white citizens do not become too intelligent. The number of actual slaveholders according to the last census was only 347,525, and of these more than one half held *under fire* slaves each. It seems strange, therefore, that the six and a half millions of free whites should be so completely under the control of so small a clique. The great secret is the power which the slaveocracy has in interdicting all knowledge and in keeping the poor whites in a state of ignorance of the political movements going on. All the information the white population receives comes either in the shape of harangues from the slaveholders themselves, or through the tainted medium of Southern newspapers ; for Northern political publications unless of the right odour are prohibited from entering the Slave States, and the seizure of newspapers, and sometimes letters, from the Free States, by the post-office authorities, is a thing of weekly occurrence.

To speak of a free press in the South is a misnomer, for "free" opinions of any shade are not tolerated. A considerable portion of Mr. Helper's book was written in Baltimore, but a legal provision against the "making, printing, &c.," of any paper, "having a tendency to excite discontent or stir up insurrection amongst the people of colour of this State, &c.," rendered it impossible for the author to publish in Maryland. The effect of this system of tyranny is seen in the census tables relating to literature and

education. The number of newspapers and periodicals in the Free States is 1790, and their annual circulation 334,146,281 copies ; whilst in the Slave States there are only 704 publications, with a circulation of only 81,038,693 copies. If we leave out the slaves, we find that the above figures give nearly 25 newspapers, &c., to each inhabitant of the North, but only about $12\frac{1}{2}$ to each inhabitant of the South ! Again, the number of public libraries in the Free States is 11,911 ; in the Slave States, 695 ! the number of volumes in the former, 3,888,234, and in the latter, 649,577 ! Once more, the number of schools in the North in 1850 was 62,433, or one for every 215 persons, but in the South only 18,507, or one for every 346 persons, exclusive of 3,200,000 slaves ; the number of teachers, 72,621 in the North, against 19,307 in the South ; the number of pupils in the former, 2,769,901, but only 581,801 in the latter ! No wonder, therefore, that 8.37 per cent. of the free population of the South over 20 years of age are incapable of reading or writing against only 2.40 per cent. in the North ! In New York State the percentage is 1.87, but in proud Virginia 19.90 !

Any attempt to improve the condition and prospects of the poor white is met with either covert or open opposition from the predominant power. Many of the more liberal minded of the Southerners have advocated the encouragement of native manufactures in the Slave States, for the double purpose of giving employment to the white population, and rendering the people at large less dependent upon the dear produce of the North. The great aim of slavery is to prevent the concentration of the white inhabitants. The oligarchy dreads the effect which would be produced by the existence of large communities of intelligent freemen such as exist in the North, and therefore southern manufactures are discouraged.

“There is in some quarters a natural jealousy of the slightest innovation upon established habits ; and because an effort has been made to collect the poor and unemployed population into our new factories, fears have arisen that some evil would grow out of the introduction of such establishments amongst us. The poor man has a vote as well as the rich man, and in our State the number of the former will largely over-balance the latter. So long as these poor but industrious people can see no mode of living except by a degrading operation of work with the negro upon the plantation, they will be content to endure life in its most discouraging forms, satisfied that they are *above* the slave, though faring often worse than he.”*

In 1850, the number of persons engaged in manufacturing pursuits in the South was only 161,733, and the capital invested

* “Manufactures in South Carolina,” by J. H. Taylor.

about 19,800,000*l.*; whilst in the North there were 780,576 persons, and 89,600,000*l.* so employed. Hence, as Mr. Helper remarks in his characteristic style:—

“It is a fact well known to every intelligent Southerner that we are compelled to go to the North for almost every article of utility and adornment; that almost everything produced at the North meets with ready sale, while at the same time there is no demand, even amongst our own citizens, for the produce of Southern industry.” “The North is the Mecca of our merchants, and to it they must and do make two pilgrimages per annum—one in the spring, and one in the fall. We want Bibles, brooms, buckets, and boots, and we go to the North; we want pens, ink, paper, wafers, and envelopes, and we go to the North; we want shoes, hats, handkerchiefs, umbrellas, and pocket-knives, and we go to the North; we want toys, primers, schoolbooks, fashionable apparel, machinery, medicines, tombstones, and a thousand other things, and we go to the North for them all.” “In infancy we are swaddled in Northern muslin; in childhood we are humoured with Northern gewgaws; in youth we are instructed in Northern books; at the age of maturity we sow our ‘wild oats’ on Northern soil; in middle life we exhaust our wealth, energies, and talents in the dishonourable vocation of entailing our dependence upon our children and our children’s children, and, to the neglect of our own interest and the interest of those around us, in giving aid and succour to every department of Northern power; in the decline of life we remedy our eyesight with Northern spectacles, and support our infirmities with Northern canes; in old age we are drugged with Northern physic; and finally, when we die, our inanimate bodies, shrouded in Northern cambric, are stretched upon the bier, borne to the grave in a Northern carriage, entombed with a Northern spade, and memorized with a Northern slab!”

As it is with manufactures so it is with public works. Railways, canals, and river navigation are necessary agents in the proper development of the natural resources of any country, and in giving a healthy impetus to manufactures and commerce; besides which, their construction and maintenance gives permanent employment to a large number of officials and labourers. The Free States appreciate the utility of these agencies, and accordingly we find that in 1854 they had 3682 miles of canals, and in 1857, 17,855 miles of railways; whilst the Slave States possessed only 1110 miles of canals, and 6859 miles of railways in the same years! With these facts before us, we are not astonished to find that whilst the receipts at the Post Offices of the Free States *exceeded* the disbursements by 2,062,430 dols., the receipts in the Slave States *fell short* of the cost of the mail service to the extent of 832,755 dols.!

“But we are not a manufacturing community,” says the Southerner, “our forte is agriculture. In this respect, at all events,

the North is far behind us. Cotton is king!" In 1858, just after the great panic of 1857 had blown over, Governor Hammond, of South Carolina, delivered an oration on the benefit which the South had conferred upon the world in general, but Great Britain and Yankcedom in particular. The stoppage of cotton planting for three successive years could be borne, he said, without any very great inconvenience by the South; but such a movement would be the ruin of Old England and the whole civilized world! The panic of 1857 was a terrible catastrophe, but would have been much worse in its effects had not the planters sold their cotton crop for 35,000,000 dols. less than it was worth! And so forth. But figures refuse to support this bombast, and so far from cotton being "king," one article alone of Northern produce exceeds in value that of the six principal growths of the South, cotton included. Hay is king! Here are the facts:—

Hay Crop in the Free States, 1850.

12,690,982 tons, at \$11 20 c. per ton \$142,138,998

Sundry Products of the Slave States, 1850.

Cotton	. 2,445,779 bales,	at \$32 00 c.	\$78,264,928
Tobacco	. 185,023,906 lb.	„ 0 10	18,502,390
Rice(rough)	215,313,497 „	„ 0 04	8,612,539
Hay	. 1,137,784 tons	„ 11 20	12,743,180
Hemp	. 34,673 „	„ 112 00	3,883,376
Cane Sugar	237,233,000 lb.	„ 0 07	16,599,310
			138,605,723

Balance in favour of the Free States (731,099*l*.) . . \$3,533,275

If we take the *total* animal and agricultural products, the result is 103,981,742 dols., or 21,662,863*l*. against the Slave States.

These figures disprove the idea, which is very prevalent at the South, that the soil of the North is sterile and unproductive, and that the Free States are mainly dependent upon slave produce for their breadstuffs and other provisions. The fact is, that Northern agricultural produce may be seen exposed for sale in almost every town and village of the South.

If from the deficit of 21,662,863*l*. on the part of the South, we deduct the produce of the extra 2,755,169 acres under cultivation in the Free States—viz., 5,635 299*l*., we have a nett balance against the South of 16,029,654*l*. : the average value per acre of produce being 9·80 dols. in the North, but only 8·40 dols. in the South.

Of the whole territory comprised in the Southern States, only 10 per cent. is improved, against nearly 15 per cent. in the Northern States; and whilst the land thus occupied is worth only, on the average, 6 dols. per acre in the Slave States, it is worth 19 dols. per acre in the Free States! The average size of the farms in

the South is much larger than the average extent of Northern farms; but the value of the implements and machinery upon each farm averages only 36 cents in the former, against 77 cents in the latter! This fact is a most important phase of the subject. It is notorious that slavery and the laws which prohibit the mental culture of the Negro have so degraded his nature as to render the introduction of improved agricultural practice and machinery impossible. The tendency of the slave system is to render the labourer indolent, and wasteful of both time and materials. The negro is perfectly mindless, and altogether incapable of receiving instruction in the higher branches of scientific farming. It was so in the West Indies prior to emancipation, and it is so in the Southern States of America now, and hence we do not wonder at the facts exhibited in the following table compiled by Mr. Helper from the Census returns.

Actual Crops per Acre, on the average.

		Free States.	Slave States.
Wheat . .	bushels per acre . . .	12 . . .	9
Oats . .	ditto . . .	27 . . .	17
Rye . .	ditto . . .	18 . . .	11
Indian corn	ditto . . .	31 . . .	20
Irish potatoes	ditto . . .	125 . . .	113

Were it not for the constant calling in of new territory, the South would cut a still poorer figure than the above statement represents, for though the average product of wheat in the whole of the Slave States is 9 bushels per acre, that in Virginia, Georgia, and North and South Carolina, reaches only 7 bushels! It is from this cause that the old Slave States find it more profitable to breed negroes for the New States farther South and West, than employing them in the cultivation of their own soil, and also accounts for the strenuous efforts of the slaveholders to increase the extent of their dominions. For it is only by the transfer of their slaves from the impoverished soils of the North and East, to the virgin lands of the South and West, that the Southerners are at all enabled to approach the North, and even then the latter is far ahead. The following table furnishes particulars of the produce of the two principal growths of the twenty-seven States which existed in 1840, compared with the produce of the same States in 1850:—

WHEAT.				
	1840. Bushels.	Per cent. of whole.	1850. Bushels.	Per cent. of whole.
Free States .	54,413,502	. . 65	66,358,811	. . 70
Slave States .	30,042,549	. . 35	27,861,050	. . 30
Total . . .	84,456,051	100	94,219,861	. . 100

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INDIAN CORN.				
	1840. Bushels.	Per cent. of whole.	1850. Bushels.	Per cent. of whole.
Free States .	123,342,958	. . 33	233,036,102	. . 41
Slave States .	251,504,343	. . 67	340,966,597	. . 59
Total . . .	374,847,301	. . 100	574,002,699	. . 100

Here it will be perceived that the Slave States in 1840 produced 35 per cent. of the total yield of wheat, but only 30 per cent. in 1850 ; and that during the ten years, whilst the crops of the Free States exhibit an *increase* of about 22 per cent., those of the Slave States show a *decrease* of 7 per cent. ! In 1840, the latter produced 67 per cent. of the total crop of Indian corn, but only 59 per cent. in 1850 : the increase in the North being about 88 per cent., but in the South only about 35 per cent. What becomes then of the boasting of Southern agriculturists ? The only growth about which they have any room for exultation is cotton, but it is clear that if that fibre could be grown in the North, the result would speedily render the cultivation of the plant in the South, or at all events in the older States, unprofitable.

So, then, we find that in whatever respect we compare the condition and progress of the two great sections of the American Union, the superiority of freedom is made clear and unmistakeable. Statistics prove slavery to be synonymous with idleness and waste ; the fosterer of poverty, and ignorance, and crime ; the enemy of social and religious progress, and the retarder of political advancement. Northern population increases over 3 per cent. per annum faster than Southern, and its present density is 100 per cent. greater. The Free States have 50 per cent. more of improved lands, and though their soil is less fertile than that of the Slave States, the yield per acre of product common to both is 50 to 75 per cent. greater ; and the total agricultural and manufactured products of the North are 60 per cent. above the value of those of the South.

So apparent and startling have these truths become, that they have already begun to occupy the attention of the more intelligent slaveholders and non-slaveholders of the South, and at the present time there is far from being that unity of Southern politicians which has hitherto been the great characteristic of slavery. The discordant elements of opposition brought to bear against the Republican candidate for the Presidency at the late election were evidence of Democratic or pro-slavery disunion. Southern agriculturists are becoming better acquainted with the superior farming of the North, and have traced that superiority to the independence and mental cultivation of the labourers, whose freedom carries with it social and other responsibilities unknown to the slave, and far more stimulating

than the lash. They also perceive that whilst the slave cares little for either the quantity or the quality of the work which he performs, the self-interest of the freeman prompts him to accomplish the greatest results in the least possible time and the best possible manner. From this cause there are many Southerners who are heartily tired of their position, and who would willingly give their support to any measures calculated to relieve them.

There are great obstacles, however, in the path of reform, and the magnitude of the difficulties to be encountered, has and does prevent many citizens of the South from speaking their minds on the subject. "Something must be done," has become a stereotyped phrase, and "what is to be done?" a hackneyed query. All sorts of theories, practical and impractical, have been suggested. Amongst the latter is Mr. Helper's "How to meet it." When he advocates thorough organization on the part of Southern non-slaveholders, the discontinuance of the practice adopted by many of them of *hiring* slave instead of free labour; and advises the greatest possible encouragement to free white labour, he is wise and reasonable. But when he recommends the advocates of liberty to have no social or religious fellowship with slaveholders; no patronage of them as merchants, or lawyers, or physicians; and no recognition of them "except as ruffians, outlaws, and criminals," he is intolerant as well as irrational, and lowers himself in the estimation of all soberminded men. His suggestion that the slaveowners should be compelled to liberate their slaves, not only without compensation, but forced to pay for "their transportation to Liberia, or their colonization in Central or South America, or their comfortable settlement within the boundaries of the United States," forms the foundation of the most utopian theory of enfranchisement we have met with, and we cannot feel surprised that the promulgation of such a scheme has called forth the indignation which it has in the South, for it requires no great depth of knowledge or political sagacity to demonstrate its utter absurdity and entire impracticability.

Mr. Olmsted's views on this question are moderate and constitutional. He abhors slavery, proves it to be a great drawback to Southern progress, but at the same time points out the almost insuperable difficulties which stand in the way of emancipation. Still he is not without hope as to the future.

"It seems to me," he says, "to be possible that a method of finally emancipating the slaves and of immediately remedying many of the evils of slavery, without an annihilation of that which the State has made property, or conceded to be held as property, may be eventually based on these accepted facts: That a negro's capacities, like a horse's, or a dog's, or a white man's, for all industrial purposes, including cotton-growing and cotton-picking, must be enlarged by a voluntary, self-

restrained, self-urged, and self-directed exercise of those capacities. That a safely-conducted cultivation and education of the capacities of the slaves will, of necessity, increase the value of the slaves, and that the slaves may thus be made to pay, year by year, for their own gradual emancipation."

No scheme of emancipation can or will be entertained by even the least conservative of the Slave States which does not *in some way* provide for the compensation of the masters. The negro is the principal species of 'property' of the Southerners. The census of 1850 placed the average value per head of the slave population at 500 dols., or about 104*l.*; since then the 'article' has been considerably enhanced in price owing to the growing scarcity of labour in the Cotton States, and 750 dols. or about 165*l.* is now considered to be a fair average. At this rate, and estimating the numbers of slaves at 4,165,000, their money value is 647,000,000*l.*! Total and immediate emancipation without compensation, therefore, is impossible.

But, independently of the monetary crisis which would be the result of the adoption of such a measure, there would be the further difficulty of dealing with a mass of beings in a state of comparative barbarism—the negroes, *from no fault of their own*, but owing to the prohibitory laws and pernicious influence of slavery—being wholly uneducated, and altogether without any notion of responsibility. The slaves must be educated, civilized, and Christianized, before they are sent into the world to seek their own livelihood; otherwise, freedom would be the ruin of the South, and a curse to the slaves themselves.

"The field-hand negro is, on an average, a very poor and very bad creature, much worse than I had supposed before I had seen him and grown familiar with his stupidity, indolence, duplicity, and sensuality. He seems to be but an imperfect man, incapable of taking care of himself in a civilized manner, and his presence in large numbers must be considered a dangerous circumstance to a civilized people. A civilized people, within which a large number of such creatures has been placed by any means not within its own control, has claims upon the charity, the aid, if necessary, of all other civilized peoples in its endeavours to relieve itself from the danger which must be apprehended from their brutal propensities, from the incompleteness of their human sympathies—their inhumanity, from their natural love of ease, and the barbaric want of forethought and providence which would often induce desperate want among them. Evidently the people thus burthened would have need to provide systematically for the physical wants of these poor creatures, else the latter would be liable to prey with great waste upon their substance."—*Olmsted*.

A wholesale expatriation, which is the suggested remedy of some writers, would be impossible, and if possible would be im-

politic. The negroes are there, and there they will have to remain for two very potent reasons; first, that the majority would object to removal, and secondly, that their labour is required for the cultivation of the land. With gradual emancipation, the prejudices of caste would be overcome by degrees—the lowest types of the African would die out, and the remainder, through the mulatto population which is now numbered by hundreds of thousands, would in time disappear by admixture with the white races.

Again, neither would any plan of manumission be successful which did not provide for the prospective liberation of the present generation of slaves. The Northern States mostly procured the freedom of their negroes by declaring all born after a specified date to be free, but the carrying out of the same idea in the present Slave States would be impracticable. When the Free States introduced their emancipatory measures, the amount of their slave population was a mere fraction compared with that of the South at the present time. The total number of slaves in the North in 1790 did not reach 50,000, and they were spread over a large extent of territory; but the Southerner has to deal with 4,165,000, so concentrated as to outnumber the white population in some districts. It is clear, then, that abolitionists to be successful must provide not only for the freedom of the future progeny of the slaves, but must likewise make provision for the liberation of the negroes now in bondage. It is evident from the frequent occurrence of insurrections in all parts of the South, that the Government experiences considerable difficulty in its endeavours to preserve the peace. The slaves, there can be no doubt, are hoping and waiting for a favourable opportunity to shake off their chains, and spend the remainder of their days as free men. To tell them, therefore, that they must be content to remain in bondage all their lives, but that their children shall be free, would only tend to exasperate the character of their position, and render them more miserable than ever. They would not be slow in perceiving that they were held as slaves, not by right, but by might. Hitherto supported by hope, they have borne their bonds with wonderful patience, but now deserted by that ‘anchor of the soul,’ they would be driven to distraction, and, by their unrestrained feelings, forced into a terrible rebellion: a rebellion of such a magnitude and determined a character, as could only be carried on by men having everything to gain and nothing to lose.

We believe that slavery is bad; a sin against “the laws of God and the dictates of nature,” but still a sin for which the *present* generation of slaveholders cannot be held entirely responsible. It should not be forgotten that the institution is an en-

tailed one ; that many of the present inheritors of property in negroes would rather have had their money invested in some other and more safe security ; that though some "sell out," all cannot do so. It should also be remembered that it is a prevailing opinion, and even religious belief, that slavery is a divine institution ; ministers of the Gospel preach this doctrine, and ethnologists are found who declare it to be in accordance with the laws of nature, and though many professing Christians denounce the buying and selling of negroes, they do not consider the *holding* of slaves to be any infringement of the spirit of Christianity. Even in the Free State of New York, at a late ministerial convention, a motion declaring the *holding* of negroes to be equally as criminal as the traffic in slaves, was rejected on the grounds that the passing of such a resolution might give offence to the Southern brethren !

That the negro has no right to be *held* even in bondage, we believe to be a cardinal truth ; but still, in the present condition of things, the attempt to enforce that truth by means of extreme abolition measures would be futile ; the whole South, slave-holding and non-slaveholding, would oppose the movement. In fact the attempt *never will* be made by the Slave States themselves, and *never can* be made by either the Federal Government or any other external agency ; for each State is supreme in the management of its own internal affairs, and any infringement of the "States' rights" principle, no matter for how laudable an object, would be indignantly resented.

The accomplishment of emancipation, it will be seen then, is no easy matter. But still the object can be attained if the proper means be adopted. We have no exclusively infallible panacea to offer to our American friends, but there are a few points which are worthy of consideration, and which, if properly attended to, would have no small influence in bringing about the "consummation devoutly to be wished."

To a considerable extent the South will have to work out its own redemption, but still the assistance of the North and the Federal Government will be indispensable. Though the National Congress cannot interfere with slavery as it *is*, it can prevent any further spread of the evil by securing freedom to the various territories of the Union, and by refusing to admit any future State into the Confederation, with other than free institutions. Slavery, limited, would be more easily dealt with than slavery unlimited. Had the politicians of the North done their duty in times past, the "institution" would now have been confined to the old States ; it is the diffusion of the system which has made it so formidable.

The restriction of the territory of "niggerdom" would be a fatal

blow to the internal slave-trade, and an important step towards its entire abolition. It is this domestic commerce which is the life of slavery. The old States are the producers ; the new States the consumers of negroes. Without the traffic, slave labour would be unremunerative in both sections of the South. The breeding-pens of Virginia, North Carolina, &c., would be closed for ever, and slavery, already unprofitable for agricultural purposes, would speedily die out.

In the Cotton States the advance in the price of labour has been so rapid of late as to have made considerable encroachments upon the profits of the planters ; and were it not for the great fertility of the soil, and the recent high price of the staple, the production of the fibre would have been much curtailed.

The closing of the Northern negro marts would deprive the Cotton States of a labour supply equal to 30,000 slaves annually ! The effect may be easily imagined. The slaveholders would begin to see the hopelessness of their position, and in the majority of cases would no longer oppose emancipation as an idea, but be willing to assist in the introduction of ameliorative measures.

The path of reform would now be clear, and if difficult, would have the advantage of being straight. The first step towards the removal of the evil should be the total prohibition of slave-dealing in any and all of its phases. No slave should be sold except with the consent of the negro interested, who, there is no doubt, might turn a transfer of his person considerably to his own advantage, either by agreeing with his new master for a limited instead of a life-period of servitude, or by receiving a money bounty to be invested towards purchasing his entire emancipation.

The erroneous and odious principle which treats the negro as "property" must be eradicated. No man has a right to hold "property" in the person of his fellow man. The negro is a man, not a thing. His labour may be the subject of barter—not himself. "He is not a product of industry, but himself a producer." Henceforward the use of the term "slave" should be discontinued, and the negro denominated, in the phraseology of the "Constitution," as a "person held to hire," "held to labour," &c. ; having their conduct ruled by the same laws which touch the condition of apprentices. This would raise the status of the black, and be the means of rendering labour in general more honourable in the estimation of the white population.

The obligations between masters and servants should be no longer one-sided and arbitrary, but mutual ; the negro rendering service to the farmer or planter in return for protection, comfortable board and lodging, and education, religious and secular. Instead of the present forcing system, a scale of piece-work should

be adopted ; the servant to be paid for any extra exertion, the money to be appropriated by himself towards the purchase of his liberty. By the introduction of some such a plan as this, the most intelligent of the slaves would become free in a very short space of time ; whilst the least intelligent and most indolent would probably continue in a state of apprenticeship throughout their lives ; and the difficulty of dealing with a multitude of half-civilized Africans, which would arise if they were liberated *en masse*, would be obviated.

Under the code suggested, both the contracting parties should be amenable to the State authorities. The law should be ordered so as to secure the master his full due, but at the same time to see that the rights of the negro be respected. Anything in the shape of cruelty to the servant should be severely punished,—in extreme or oft-repeated cases, by the emancipation of the victim. The domestic relations amongst the negroes must be respected, and any offence in this direction be met by the same penalties provided for the protection of the white man.

In the meantime, the North must lay aside its prejudice, give up its extreme abolition opinions, and be more temperate and less personal when speaking of the slaveholders. To prove their sympathy with Southern reform, the Free States must see that their own coloured people are more respected than they are or have been. All political, civil, and social disabilities must be removed. The prejudice against the African is much stronger in the North than in the South. Everything is done that can be done to keep the negro in ignorance and subjection. He is shut out from every employment except the most menial. His children must not associate with the children of white men. He is refused admittance to "white" churches. He is excluded from the theatre, and other places of amusement attended by white people. Every indignity is offered to him. In fact, to such an extent is this intolerant bearing of the white man carried, that there are instances on record of negroes going South and choosing slavery as the happier mode of existence. So long as the disabilities of the negro in the Free States are so many and so great, the abolition preaching of the North will be looked upon as so much solemn irony. But let the position of the coloured man be respected ; let him be treated as a man and a brother, and the South would have some grounds for believing the North to be sincere in its denunciations of slavery. Such an union of the States would then take place as has never yet been experienced, and the efforts of the South to relieve itself of its domestic troubles would be ably and successfully assisted by the Federal Government.

Since the above was written, Abraham Lincoln, the Republican candidate, has been elected President of the United States. The result, though long anticipated on both sides of the Atlantic, has caused unprecedented excitement throughout the American confederacy, especially in the Slave States: the avowed anti-slavery platform of the Republican party having created considerable distrust in the South. During the Presidential canvass, the slaveholders endeavoured to terrify the North into submission by the threat of disunion. The cry was an old one, and had formerly been most successful; but this time it fell dead upon the ears of the Free States: right has triumphed, and freedom has proved victorious. But the Democracy abhors defeat, and is now more unmanageable than ever. Led by a band of fanatical demagogues smarting under the pain caused by the deprivation of political prestige and patronage, a few, and only a few, of the Southern States continue to exhibit demonstrations of treason to the Union. South Carolina, long discontented, has commenced the preliminaries of dissolution. The Federal banner has been degraded, and the Palmetto flag now flaunts in its stead. The nucleus of a revolutionary army has been formed; and the State Government has announced its intention of withdrawing from the Union. Other States have been sounded as to their willingness to join the insurgent community: and it has not been difficult to find a few of their leading politicians ready to associate themselves with the rival confederacy. But, alas for Democracy! the South is no more united now than it was before the election of Lincoln. The same elements of discord which broke up the Charleston and Baltimore conventions, and brought forth three candidates to oppose the Republican nominee, still exist; and though there may be some approach to unanimity in South Carolina, the case is far otherwise in the majority of the Slave States. While out of the total electoral vote of 183, the North gave Lincoln 169, and only 7 each to Bell and Douglas, the South divided its 119 votes in the proportion of 33 to Bell and the Union, and 87 to Breckinridge and ultra-pro-slavery; and besides this large element of dissent from extreme democracy, there is a considerable undercurrent of moderation existing even in those States which have declared for Breckinridge. The general opinion seems to be, that the storm will blow over in a month or two; and, were it not for the prejudicial effect which the excitement has had upon monetary and commercial affairs for the time being, the matter would not be thought much of. Nothing, so far, has occurred which calls for the action of the Washington executive; and the Government will not interfere so long as the malcontents keep from appropriating the Federal revenue; but any attempt to collect the national duties for the purpose of applying the proceeds to

State purposes, would demand the immediate attention of the President, and, if necessary, the whole army and navy of the United States could be brought to bear upon the revolting State. But let us hope that circumstances will not arrive at such a juncture.

When the news of Lincoln's election first reached Washington, the effect was electric on the host of office-holders resident in the city. They became most infuriated, and declared for secession forthwith, some of them going so far as to affirm their readiness to resist by force the inauguration of the successful candidate. But on the following day there was a complete calm, if not reaction ; and we hear that numbers of the Government officials at Washington and elsewhere have already petitioned Lincoln for places under his administration ! The correspondent of the *New York Herald* (a Democratic organ), writing on the 8th November, remarks :—

“In the really influential political circles of Washington all is calmness and composure. The election of Lincoln has been regarded as certain for some time past. The excitement is confined to the political clubs and committees, and to hotels, and has scarcely penetrated the inner circle of good society at the West End. Two or three ardent young fellows, connected with some of the departments, appeared in the neighbourhood of the General Post Office with disunion cockades in their hats, but were laughed at for their pains, and quickly disappeared.”

The same writer also corroborates the prevailing opinion that at heart the disunited States, whatever they may say, or however they may bluster, do not mean to secede. The strong common sense of the people will not allow things to come to a crisis ; and the excesses of the “fierce Democracy” will ultimately disgust the influential portion of Southern society. “The love of the Union is still proved to be a deep-seated and irradicable sentiment in the hearts of the people, even of the seceding States. Letters from every one of them attest this fact. Disunion is looked on with abhorrence, apart from all considerations of its absolute impracticability.” The mercantile and moneyed interests throughout the South are adverse to disunion ; even in Charleston, says the *Herald's* correspondent on the 15th November, “The business men, and artisans, and mechanics, and all the professional classes, are decidedly opposed to secession.” President Buchanan, it is said, is determined to maintain the Union, if necessary, by force ; and he is supported by the majority of his cabinet, who are of the opinion that secession would be unconstitutional, whilst at the same time it would rather lessen than add to the stability of the “peculiar institution.” Southern conservatives are urging upon South Carolina to stay her proceedings, and

wait the result of Lincoln's inauguration. It will be time enough, they say, to move when the rights of the slaveholders are positively infringed upon; and such a thing is not likely to be done by the new Government.

It has been suggested by some that a full declaration of his principles by the President-elect would restore confidence. But his views are already before the world, though it is possible and highly probable that they have been exaggerated by secessionist orators of the South. Mr. Lincoln's opinions are essentially moderate. The great principle of the Republican party with regard to slavery as it at present exists, is non-intervention—slave restriction, not prohibition. The new administration will not, because it cannot, interfere with the institution as established in the various Slave States. What it intends to do is to prevent the admission of any further Slave States, and vigorously to put down the external traffic which has been simply winked at by the present Government. The tendency of such a policy will certainly be gradually to eradicate the evil; but the effect will be eminently beneficial to the Slave States and the general welfare of the Union.

But supposing all obstacles to be removed, would the South gain by secession? The new nation would require funds to start on its own account, but the South has not got the needful. She will borrow. Good; but from whom? What security could be given by a community one half of whose money is invested in human chattels, who compose nearly two-fifths of its population, and who are waiting for a favourable opportunity to walk off? The revolution of the white population would be the signal for insurrection amongst the negroes. Would the former of themselves be able to keep down the latter? Again, if the slaves fled to the North, could the South obtain their recovery? In the event of war between the rival confederacies, which would be victorious? It is not difficult to answer these questions, for it is easy to perceive that slavery would be vanquished. In men, money, and the sinews of war generally, the North could bring two to one into the field against the South, as well as having the good wishes of the civilized world. With internal mutiny and external war, the case of the slaveholders would be utterly hopeless. But let the South remain true to the Union, and it will have the assistance and sympathy of the Free States in the management of its servile population; let the reverse be the case, and the sympathy and assistance would be given to the negro. Union, therefore, is strength and prosperity to the South—disunion, weakness and adversity.

ART. VII.—CAVOUR AND GARIBALDI.

1. *Annales des Deux Mondes*. 1850—1859. Paris.
2. *Zobi. Cronaca degli Avvenimenti d'Italia nel 1859*. Florence. 1859.
3. *Correspondence on Affairs of Italy, presented to Parliament*. 1859—1860.
4. *The Times*. 1860.

THOROUGHLY subordinated to the national as all the political and social questions of the Italian revolution have been, it would be a mistake to deny their existence ; or to overlook in the spectacle of union two distinct parties with different aims, methods, and ideas. In reality the movement has been social no less than national. Political problems have been solved as much as international questions. More than once a crisis has occurred which has called out from the depths of society all those powers which rest upon opposite political, social, and religious theories ; and we have seen, face to face, those parties which have existed since society and politics began. Impersonated under the great names and the marked characters of Cavour and Garibaldi, there stand confronted the two principles of policy, the aristocratic and the popular, the legal and the revolutionary ; and the two great parties of order and of movement. Just as the French revolution was, though principally social, yet in a great degree national ; so indeed the Italian, though originally national, is in no small degree social. The former commenced in the effort to substitute one form of society for another, but it ended in a struggle for existence with its neighbours. The latter commenced a struggle for national existence, which it cannot carry to its issue without calling into action many of those elements out of which states are compacted, and facing at least some of the difficulties which disturb the union and harmony of orders, classes, and institutions.

On the one side we have seen the action of the Government, or rather of one pre-eminent statesman, moulding the material and political strength of a small state into one compact power, and divergent parties and purposes welded into a definite national policy. Next, the action of an established and strong system has been extended to foreign powers, and the whole machinery of international statecraft has been moved and guided by one strong and practised hand. At last, by a consummate stroke of daring and ingenuity, an auxiliary of overwhelming strength has been invoked to be used, watched, and eventually resisted. Beside

which, a variety of local revolutions needed to be tempered and guided under legal forms and in the presence of retrograde parties; and a work of internecine struggle carried out under the jealous eyes of European Governments. The power which could do this must above all things have possessed patience, tenacity, self-command, experience, and practical sagacity, and no small share of those solid qualities out of which grow the orderly consolidations of states. Such an element existed in the rich and educated classes of Upper Italy amongst the nobility, the landowners, the professions, and the trades of the towns; men who, sometimes pedantic and often overcautious, in the main retained the respect and confidence of the people, and to a man were ennobled by the national sentiment and zeal for order and rational government. Such men, whose services are too much depreciated because far from brilliant, formed in reality the strong conservative element by which alone the hot passions of the time have been mastered and guided; and they found in Cavour an exponent and chief who as far surpassed them all in his instinct towards systematic and orderly organization, as in his power of grasping and controlling the more vigorous forces of the revolutionary element.

On the other side we have seen the conception of national existence matured and upheld through dreary years of suffering by a few brilliant intellects, gradually growing up as the religion of the finer minds, until it at last spread to be the passion of all that is generous in the national character. With them it became a principle too sacred to be tampered with, too vital to suffer excuse or delay, which demanded every sacrifice and was capable of every achievement. These ardent spirits addressed and found response in the hearts of the people; they repudiated the course of diplomatic intrigue as much as that of cautious legality. Believing more in enthusiasm than in organization, and in self-devotion than in ability, they are impatient of the delays and scruples of the party of order. Devoted to their principle of national regeneration, they condemn those social influences which unless in moments of extraordinary excitement virtually dominate and represent every society. They thus quite misconceive and undervalue the weight bearing upon the future of their country from the will or policy of foreign states, as well as that of the rich, educated, or powerful individuals at home. With feelings which in every great crisis do indeed make the life of national movements, they had neither the patience nor the judgment necessary for sustained preparation, or for handling complicated situations and rival parties. Besides which, they have so little sympathy for those sentiments, interests, or habits, upon which the order and obedience of masses of men repose, that they force their own enthusiastic ideas upon populations quite incapable of adopting them,

and govern alternately with untimely violence and fatal negligence. In a word they possess, though in a modified degree, all those good and bad qualities which mark all strictly revolutionary bodies; which make them, it is true, essential in moments of national effort, but render them incapable of permanent organization. The "party of action," monarchists, republicans, or federalists have the real characteristics of the party which produced and carried out the English and the French Revolutions; they possess indeed their genius, their sincerity, and their enthusiasm; but they have some share at least of their fanaticism, want of sense, and self-command; and have all their unfitness for consolidating their own work, and the same antagonism to the bulk of their own people. At the same time, though unable to consolidate, they have the creative capacity; and however powerless to govern, it must never be forgotten that they are essential to inspire a national revolution.

Such are the elements which have been at work during the whole of this recent Italian movement, occasionally acting harmoniously as one, then separately but in common, at times in open hostility; but both indispensable and both inevitable. Cavour and Garibaldi, the leaders of these two parties, are not, however, their simple representatives. To all the habitual self-restraint, the knowledge and patient training of the Conservative classes, Cavour adds the full power of conceiving and using the enthusiasm of popular feeling. But with all his superiority to his own order and party, he does not and cannot inspire in others that passionate love of national existence, that moral elevation of character, that unflinching self-devotion and perfect simplicity, which seem to beam from the countenance of the great popular hero. With his admirable versatility, sagacity, and knowledge of mankind, the great minister has been able to conduct with consummate skill an undertaking as great and difficult as ever fell to the lot of a statesman. But the very ability of his combinations and devices, the very brilliancy of his achievements, has proved in no small degree fatal to the moral strength of his position. He has mixed himself up in compromises and intrigues, and in deceptions which, however excusable in a politician, are fatal to the honour of a great national regenerator.

The services of Cavour to his country have been indeed indispensable; without him neither the first possibility of life, nor the actual maintenance of existence, would have been practicable; but he is not all, and he needed a very different colleague. All that is wanting in Cavour is supplied in Garibaldi. Utterly incapable of civil administration as the noble soldier has proved, he has inspired in the heart of every Italian emotions which no Government orator or diplomatist could awaken. When a ministry had

completed a bargain which nothing but necessity (yet unproved) could excuse, the voice of the bravest of the brave was heard in the council of the nation choked with shame and indignation. That broken protest sunk deep into the hearts of the people ; it taught them to rely on their own sense of dignity, and not on the hired favours of strangers. Again, when the enthusiasm of the nation was sinking under the chilling process of consolidation and diplomatic manœuvring, the same voice aroused them to a sense of the task still before them, and awoke the stifled cry of national reunion. By him the sense of public honour and pride, wounded to the quick by a humiliating sacrifice, was again called into activity. By him also the desire of national existence has been raised from a line of policy into a sacred duty, and patriotism has been elevated into a religion by which interest, habit, and personal ambition are to be transformed and disappear. Lastly, it was the Dictator alone who could give to the regeneration of Italy that character of brotherly reunion, of moral purification, of popular simplicity and intensity, which were little dreamt of in the Cabinet, the Court, or the Parliament.

Their country needed both. Each had his own great part to bear in the contest. It has not fallen to the lot of Italy to unite in one party, as in our own Revolution, the most fiery enthusiasm with the sternest discipline, or to create a leader who, like Cromwell, could be at once the devotee of a sacred cause and the consummate politician. With them, principle and policy have had a separate representative, and the claims of neither one nor the other should be exaggerated or undervalued. The passion of the soldier has been curbed by the providence of the statesman, whilst the skill of the minister has been ennobled by the energy of a hero. Without Garibaldi, the intensity no less than the character of the popular feeling was in danger of being lost ; had he been master, it would have been ruined in futile enterprises. As in every regular act, heart and mind must concur, the one to suggest, the other to control ; so it has been the duty of the hero to inspire, of the statesman to guide the popular effort. That which the one felt, the other thought ; the instinct of one has been matured by the experience of the other. The one has made his country respected, the other has made it honoured ; the one has increased its power, the other has elevated its character. Arm and head, heart and brain, feeling and intelligence, may be contrasted, but cannot be separated without danger. It may not be possible, or even desirable, exactly to decide the share which each may have had in a common work ; but it would be a profound mistake to exalt one service at the expense of the other, when both are indispensable.

In estimating the qualities of Count Cavour, we are chiefly

impressed by that in which he surpasses all modern statesmen—the faculty of prevision. In this, pre-eminently the first duty of a politician, the present century has shown no example at all comparable. In him alone shall we find anything like a systematic and patient elaboration of a great national object. There, at least, we have an instance of a Government far ahead of its people, creating and directing an active public opinion towards one object, and subjecting the whole of its action to the slow work of preparing for a distant and gigantic enterprise. For ten years now the whole public action of Piedmont—material, political, and moral, in foreign as well as domestic policy; in Parliament as in Cabinet, from one end to the other of the public service—has been centred in the effort to prepare for that part which she has lately been called on to perform. It was from the joint action of all these means—by diplomacy, by public opinion, by material organization, by attention to the finances, the army, the railways, the schools, the ecclesiastical bodies, and the civil service of the nation, that Count Cavour has looked for the success of his undertaking. Indeed, the history of his administration affords a complete instance of a statesman who works out a profound policy with unfailing sagacity and determination. The details of management have been no less admirable than the scheme itself. The perfect publicity and distinctness of the object sought, and the harmony with which all developments of national activity fell into the grand purpose, is the best proof of the soundness and vitality of the policy. No other could afford any basis for sustained and combined action. Such a type of Government belongs, indeed, more to the past times in which States have been created, than to these latter days, in which they are feebly or carelessly governed. It contains nothing of that irregular and incoherent movement which, since the French Revolution, has marked more or less the European ministries. To carry a few popular measures, to provide for the wants or dangers of the present, to undertake or surrender a course of action under the sway of public opinion, to assume in Europe that position which for the moment seemed most conducive to the national prestige, has been the crown of the aims of any modern ministry. The work accomplished by Count Cavour belongs rather to that order of statesmanship which has created nations, changed the future history of Europe, and consolidated new eras of social and political life. For the true parallels or rivals to him, we must look, not amongst the Palmerstons or Talleyrands, or even the Peels or Guizots of our day, but amongst the company of William of Orange, of Frederick II., and George Washington. Not that he in any great degree resembles any of these great men; he may not equal some of them in moral elevation of character, though undoubtedly his mental

capacities are not wholly unequal to theirs. But it is to the class of great creative statesmen, and not to that of able administrators or consummate diplomatists, that he belongs. It is not from such men that we can look for the organization of all the conflicting principles and forces in a highly cultivated nation, and the formation of a great living whole out of the scattered fragments of an oppressed race. It is a peculiar genius for government which can grasp as a central idea that one principle of action which can alone give cohesion and vitality to disorganized communities, can make it practical enough for the most unenlightened, and broad enough for the most aspiring; and at the same time develop it in action under all the restraints imposed by prescription and the sluggishness which timidity and selfishness impose on large classes of mankind. The conception of national unity is indeed primarily due to those impassioned thinkers of all schools who upheld the sacred tradition of the Italian race, and in perhaps the highest degree to that unhappy genius who was himself the least capable of creating it. To Mazzini, it is true, as thinker, poet, preacher, or agitator—as indeed anything short of politician—is due in this generation the strength of that principle which is the very life of Italy at this day. But however we admit his claims as a teacher, which as a conspirator he has done so much to nullify, it is clear that had not Cavour found means to make that notion of Italian nationality patent to the mind of all Europe, and made it a practical and intelligible creed to all classes of Italians, forcing the principle forward under a constant shield of order and right, the very idea itself would long have remained in the breasts of the small circle of noble and intelligent spirits. It is not by eloquent appeals or by desperate self-sacrifice that the mass of the public can be penetrated. It has been the task of Count Cavour, by a long series of public acts, all within the sphere of sound and legal administration, to awaken in the minds of the great body of his countrymen a sense of national right, duty, and dignity, and to conciliate the spirit of freedom with that of subordination to one powerful will.

The difficulties which met Cavour on his first accession to power, were such as even now it is difficult thoroughly to estimate. The defeat of Novara had left the Piedmontese kingdom humiliated and weakened, and yet fatally implicated in the insurrectionary movement which each succeeding event in Europe contributed to discredit. There the Church, and a semi-feudal landed aristocracy possessed a strong traditional power. The whole of the administration of the little State was singularly backward and imperfect. Its legal and its commercial system, its municipal institutions, the organization of its army, of education, of the public service, and of religious bodies, its tariff, its roads, and system of com-

munication, and lastly, its own national unity, were below those of nearly every other State in the Peninsula, except the Roman itself. In the other provinces of Italy, monarchical sentiments had not begun to exist, and national greatness was known only in the language of insurrectionary appeals. All the sad honours of the late campaign had been won by the old municipal spirit, and Manin and Garibaldi had upheld the glory of historic republics. The strength with which upon the shattered efforts of the national uprising the old empire of the foreigner had been established, had crushed out all but the hope of feeble palliatives and evasions in the minds of the more cautious, and desperate conspiracies in those of the bolder. Parties were swaying between hopeless submission and hopeless rebellion, amidst a state of things in Europe which seemed at each step to be extinguishing the last embers of revolution. By degrees two distinct courses of action became visible, and two rival parties made their existence felt.

The constitutional or moderate party adopted one; the party of action or the national party the other. It has been the work of Cavour to vivify and fuse the two. On the one hand, the party which comprised the rich and noble classes, the more timid natures, and the bulk of the commercial public, bowed down by the great calamity of the last effort, preached against any new risk or immediate action, looked only for the future to the action of time and increased intelligence in the people, and hoped by patient conduct and ingenious management to alleviate rather than extinguish the national degradation whenever the circumstances of the day or the public opinion of Europe offered an opportunity. Violently denouncing all extreme measures, and resolute to expose themselves to no fresh disaster, they hoped to ameliorate the position of their country by legal resistance, and by the means of those liberal institutions which survived the wreck, by appealing to the public opinion and Governments of Europe, and in particular by the introduction of a parliamentary system. Opposed to this was the policy of the revolutionary party, who, having their head-quarters at Milan, possessed no insignificant strength both at Genoa and Turin. Under this head belong all those parties, whether republican or monarchist, who looked forward to *insurrection* as the means of restitution, and laboured by conspiracies, associations, and propagandism towards the freedom of the Italian race by a general explosion of revolutionary energy.

This party indeed was animated by a far deeper devotion to the common cause, and felt more deeply the miseries of the present, than the supporters of the more patient and cooler policy. They felt indeed the immense necessity for action, and unhesi-

tating confidence in the capacity of their race. They saw, moreover, the grand truth that all the patience and prudence of their rivals never would result in creating that deep national enthusiasm which alone could produce a restored nation ; and that the future of their country could no longer be left to ministerial ingenuity, but must be made the first and last of public duties.

Standing as we do upon the pedestal of past events, we can now discern that neither one policy nor the other had a chance of success. With all their efforts towards material and domestic advancement, with their old ideas of regular and peaceful efforts, the moderates could never have awakened the sentiment of national reunion, or forced upon Piedmont the danger and the glory of the national chieftainship. They possessed no means and little taste for reaching the popular sympathies, and were devoid of all conception of a social regeneration as bound up in the national revival. Nor could their doctrines attract the nobler spirits or the finer intellects, whilst they compromised with the great end of all political life. Under their system Piedmont might have gone on for years increasing in ignoble prosperity, distinguished from Belgium or Holland by a finer army or a nobler soil. Nor did the bare programme of the revolutionists offer a more fortunate career. The long series of disastrous insurrections into which the unhappy illusions of Mazzini led his generous but credulous followers, seems to prove beyond all doubt the impossibility of really organizing a national insurrection in a country so thoroughly shackled and occupied with the sanction of every Government in Europe. Their appeal to the spirit of their countrymen, whilst it does honour to the sincerity of their own devotion, shows but too sadly how much they had mistaken the vis inertie of the bulk of the people. And if to be always fancying a passion for national independence in masses of the country population to whom the very name of Italy was a word without meaning or sense were not enough to condemn them as politicians, it was a fatal delusion to be preaching insurrection to a people amongst whom the rich and the noble held the paramount social and political influence, classes who by the very conditions of their existence must resent with indignation any suggestion or attempt towards revolutionary or social convulsion. Had such a party succeeded in establishing their supremacy, the future of the Italian race would have sunk more hopelessly at each successive disaster which they had provoked. Outcasts at once from all the conservative elements of their nation, and hunted down by its oppressors, they would have served only to renew continual protests ever to be extinguished in blood. Discarding, it seems despising, that material strength and organization which they did not, and could not possess, and

attributing to the moral strength which they had an extent which was wholly delusive, they could do little but keep alive a sacred principle which they were incapable of making triumphant. Each insurrection would have ended in fresh physical suffering and deeper moral prostration. Had Italy possessed no sons but them, they might have been now wandering over Europe like the Poles, and showing us that Italian nationality existed only in the minds of the thoughtful and the ardent as a tradition or an aspiration.

It has been the task of Count Cavour to bring about the fusion of these two parties, each of which maintained an idea which was indispensable to real success. The party of order saw the necessity for regular and patient development of the national resources; the party of action the duty of rousing the popular energy. From the one he took their notion of the end, from the other their view of the method of national policy. With the one he adopted as his watchword the unity and independence of Italy, with the other he proclaimed as his policy the regular and public reorganization of the State. With the one he saw that no genuine progress was possible, unless by accepting the conditions of the political and social system existing; with the other he insisted that all political and material development must be animated by a leading principle, and subordinated to one paramount duty.

Seen from a distance, his Government presents itself to us as one series of sagacious yet aspiring enterprises. With every fresh success he has risen in audacity and vigour, until we have seen at last the revolutionary energy of the outlaw matched by that of the responsible minister. He has shown, indeed, that a great revolution can be carried out without a reckless use of convulsive measures, but not without rising to a true conception of all the forces in society which underlie its external forms and laws. He has carried out the work of Italian nationality by repudiating, on the one hand, the desperate aid of mere insurrection, but on the other not without boldly advancing on the path of organic revolution.

The career of Count Cavour exhibits the somewhat unusual case of a politician who grew less and not more conservative by experience. His progress has been one from unobtrusive administrative and economic studies to the conduct of astounding revolutionary movements. First he is the industrious writer on financial operations, then the minister of material and political reforms, lastly the leader of a nation in a struggle for existence. There was little in his early life to foreshadow the formidable character in which he now appears.

Almost the first act which it fell to his duty to carry out, the

commercial treaty with France, was an emblem of his whole subsequent system. By that treaty, indeed, Piedmont surrendered far more advantages than she obtained ; but she obtained from it the priceless gain of the foundation of a French alliance. In the words in which the minister defended his policy in Parliament we have indeed the key of his whole career, a reorganization of the whole strength of the country to be combined with foreign alliances as the basis of a national war. "To this treaty," said he, "we are moved by considerations superior to any economical or administrative interest. A crisis may yet, and probably will soon arise in which Sardinia might need, if not the material, at least the moral support of France. This treaty may not give us all the financial advantages which we have a right to expect, but it will strengthen that precious union which ought to exist between the free people of the west of Europe." It was the same idea to which belong all those commercial treaties which marked the year 1851, with Belgium, England, Switzerland, Greece, the Zollverein, and Holland. By them, together with the second convention with France, an entire revolution was introduced in the fiscal system of the kingdom, and Piedmont took her place as a Free Trade State in a manner to which no other continental power could pretend. The sagacity of these measures has indeed been amply proved by an increased and increasing revenue ; by the stimulus given to production, and the development of material prosperity.

But it is to take a very narrow view of his policy to suppose that it was as a free-trader, or economist, that Count Cavour carried out these measures. They are political no less than commercial measures. Their prime object was to introduce Sardinia as the equal of the enlightened and progressive States of Europe, to insure the moral support, if not the actual alliance, of France and England, to raise the country up out of the catalogue of obscure or satellite kingdoms, and invest her in the eyes of her citizens and of all Italians with a European dignity and importance.

Nor was this idea less conspicuous in any of those administrative reforms under which the whole organization of the country has so marvellously expanded. That system of railways which is now the completest which any Continental State can show, if not quite so thickly set as the Belgian or the English, possesses a symmetry and a common design which show the work of a dominant purpose directing their whole extent. There is something quite strategic in their plan, and we see them laid out as in the array of an army with a first and second line of defence ; a double communication between the strong stations, and a general concentration of the whole. And the providence and

value of this work was abundantly manifested in the recent campaign, where we saw Turin saved from invasion, and gigantic manœuvres executed by the sole agency of this new engine of war. It is again to the same general policy that so many of the other labours of that ministry belong: the postal conventions with the other States of Italy, by means of which Piedmontese journals and information penetrated the Peninsula; the reconstruction and reorganization of the mercantile and naval ports, the reform of the finances, of the banks, the reassessment of the land-tax. Finally came that by which the ministerial policy was to find its weapon—the entire reorganization of the army, and the systematic armament of the fortresses which formed the key of the internal defence. It was by this series of administrative reforms, and the energy and sagacity displayed in such repeated instances of sound practical statesmanship, that the great bulk of the nation gradually came to place its confidence in a minister who had so strikingly increased the prosperity and activity of the country. But if the policy of Count Cavour had rested there, he might have been the organ of the Conservative classes, without ever becoming the chief of the active energy of the progressive. It was necessary to assume an attitude which could arrest the imagination and appeal to the heart of the bulk of the nation, Italian as well as Piedmontese. He must proclaim a principle which could really enlist that smouldering but irresistible force of resistance, and unite in one battle-cry the unguided will of thousands of ardent spirits. To satisfy and to restrain the passionate hopes of men to whom fear and despair were unknown, and soothe the heaving agitation of over-goaded populations, needed some more powerful engine than financial arrangements or amended tariffs.

To exist, Piedmont must head the revolution. It was this which none of the leading men of the country seemed adequately to conceive. It was this which has been the basis of Cavour's policy. Slowly he began to announce a more energetic system.

The diplomatic struggle with Austria in defence of the Lombard exiles whose property had been sequestered, first exhibited him in the arena of European politics, and gave its true stamp to his policy. Then Italians for the first time saw the audacity and skill with which the minister could meet the high-handed violence of the great Empire. When after the failure (at least outwardly) of the most powerful appeals and protests to Austria, the Sardinian envoy was withdrawn from Vienna, the full significance of the struggle became manifest. It was a great step thus to have met the common enemy with a defiance, and to have pronounced before the public opinion of Europe a crushing indictment, and carried off the approval of the Governments of England and France.

But there was an enemy at home yet nearer than the Austrian

whom it was necessary to humble and defy. Whilst the Papal Church retained its prestige and organization, the union and independence of Italy were alike impossible.

Rome yet possessed the strength to impede every step towards national greatness, and the strength of Rome lay in the monastic orders. It is a singular fact that during the provisional régime in Tuscany and the Duchies of Central Italy, the feelings of the clergy, and with them of the rural populations, were seen to vary exactly in proportion to the numbers and power of the monastic bodies. To strike down and shatter this priestly army was the object achieved with entire success by the conventual legislation by which all orders not engaged in preaching, teaching, or healing were suppressed. By this measure the Papacy was humiliated and its strength crippled. The rapidity, firmness, and moderation with which this great social change was effected (unattended by any of those evils which have too often followed upon such an act), showed the minister superintending without a single failure a real revolution in society, and conciliating the strict claims of law, property, and order with a scheme involving a most organic change and kindling opposite passions.

Neither the fury of the Catholic party nor the excitement of their extreme opponents could shake the Government from its policy of long-matured advance. The part which this measure alone has played in the recent agitation towards annexation to Sardinia is very remarkable. Both sides feel its significance, and the resolution and boldness displayed in it by the ministry as much added to their strength as the senile anathemas of the Vatican exposed and degraded the Catholic party.

The material strength of the country having been thus raised to the highest efficiency, and the domestic enemies effectually subdued, Count Cavour was prepared to enter upon that branch of his policy which involved the active co-operation of the European powers. The war against Russia offered the means, and even made necessary immediate action. The opportunity was given of at once entering into the circle of the European States, whilst the late outbreak at Milan, and the evident excitement of the republican party, proved the danger of a policy of inaction. Count Cavour accordingly offered to the allies the vigorous co-operation of the Sardinian State, and dispatched a force which nearly equalled and at one time exceeded that of the British army. By this enterprise the ambition and self-reliance of the army were awakened, great impulse was given to its organization and strength, the disaster of Novara was blotted out, and the credit of Piedmont again placed beyond a rival in Italy. But it was by its indirect rather than by its direct consequences that this measure must be judged. The alliance with England and

France, by which the Sardinian territories were actually guaranteed during the war, and which promised for many years the closest relations, at once raised the little kingdom into a European Power. The moral effect of the protest, uttered at the Congress of Paris, formed a real step in the history of Italy; nor was the language of the minister in the Parliament other than was justified by facts: "From henceforth the Italian question has entered on the order of European questions. The cause of Italy has been maintained, ~~not~~ by demagogues and revolutionaries, but by the plenipotentiaries of France and England. From the Congress it has passed to the tribunal of public opinion. The struggle will be long, and need prudence and calmness; but our cause will triumph."

Indeed the state papers which that occasion drew forth before the public attention of Europe, were such as possessed no ordinary significance. That presented to the allied powers in April, 1856, by the vigour of its attack by its unanswerable logic, and still more by the perfect moderation of its tone, could not fail to place the Italian question in a new light, and force upon the most conservative minds in Europe the necessity for acquiescing in important change. The conflict waged in the field as well as that in the council sank deeply into the minds of the whole Italian race, the former chiefly into that of the people, the latter into the convictions of thinking men. And if in the recent elevation of Sardinia to the chieftainship of the nation, we see the influence of the glory of the Crimean campaign, we see in it no less the impression caused on the more vigorous of the older parties by the attitude which the kingdom had assumed in the councils of Europe. This it was that gave the minister the support of the republican and purely revolutionary chiefs. Now they saw opening to them a real prospect of achieving by some not distant effort the entire emancipation of the country with the sanction and even the co-operation of some of the European powers. Then they began to see the real drift of a policy which looked forward to national independence, not by setting up Piedmont as a fortunate model for imitation or an example of prudent resignation, but by training her whole energies for the hour of national struggle, and preparing the way for success by a hearty co-operation of parties and long-sighted combination of European policy.

With regard to this participation of Piedmont in the Crimean war very opposite judgments have been formed. It may be said with much force that to declare war with a friendly power which menaced no possible right or interest of the State, to burden the struggling resources of the country with a new and indefinite weight, to have rushed unprovoked into the midst of a gigantic struggle; in a word, to have undertaken a distant war for the

sole purpose of deriving therefrom glory and alliances, was an act of very doubtful prudence, and of hardly doubtful morality.

Right or wrong, the war resulted almost as a necessity from the part which Sardinia had undertaken. To maintain her very existence and tranquillity she was forced to show herself prepared for a speedy struggle with the Austrian—to enter upon that struggle with a chance of success she needed at least the moral support of the Western Powers—and that support she could not hope to obtain unless by boldly identifying herself with their foreign European policy. The Lombard campaign was only possible after the Congress of Paris, and admission to the Congress would have been impossible had it not been for the victory on the Tchernaiia. It may be that the task of national regeneration is one which after all the sword is not competent to effect; but so far as force or policy could effect it, the work has been most thoroughly successful, and if the Crimean expedition was one which by itself has no adequate justification of right, it has been at least gilded over by amazing results, and received a certain consecration from the cause which it has so incalculably served.

But the work hitherto had been one only of preparation for the struggle. The time was come for the actual effort. The aid of France was sought, and obtained. Nothing could be a greater mistake than to regard the interference of France as the result of an individual impulse of the Emperor, or any special manœuvre of the minister. It is bound up with the whole system of Count Cavour's policy, of which it forms the crown. By it that policy must stand or fall. With reference to that his public acts must be explained and judged. Imminent as that French intervention was in 1848, with the whole course of events leading up to it over a period of ten years, popular as the object of the war was in France, it must be looked on even more as the issue of the situation of affairs in Europe than of any individual will, however powerful and apparently capricious, and as having justified the sagacity of Lord Palmerston, who wrote in November, 1848, "The glory of delivering Italy to the Alps from the Austrian yoke will compensate, in the eyes of the French people, many sacrifices and great efforts. The opportunity for invoking French intervention in Italy will not long be wanting. The Lombards would be ready to furnish it directly they knew that the Government and people of France were disposed to answer the call. It is hardly possible to imagine that an Austrian army could resist a numerous and powerful French army, seconded and supported by a general rising of the Italians." In any case, such an alliance was the consummation of the policy of Count Cavour. Under his hands Piedmont had undertaken to solve the national difficulty. She was, indeed, impelled to it by a fatal necessity

to preserve at once her independence, her tranquillity, and her throne. Had not, indeed, the upper classes under their noble chief placed themselves at the head of the national movement, their power would in a few years have been wrenched from them by the party of the revolution to renew the policy and disaster of Novara. What, then, were the means by which the end was to be obtained?

The last campaign has proved how utterly powerless would have been the most desperate efforts of Sardinia alone against the entire force of Austria. Nor were we to add to these efforts, as the revolutionary party insist, the insurrection throughout Italy; it is not easy to assert that it would have improved the chances of national success. This could not escape the eye of the man who had evoked and weighed the resources of his country, whilst he repudiates, and perhaps undervalues, the power of insurrection. He was forced then to look for some external assistance; nor is it conceivable that he could have persisted in a long course of provocation and defiance of the common enemy with the ultimate intention of commencing war with no forces but the compact army of the king, and the desultory fury of unarmed populations. Such an idea is as much contradicted by the character of the man, as by the whole history of his acts. Some external aid was indispensable. It presented itself only in two forms. He might meet Austria either with the assistance of one or more of the Western Powers, or might wait until she was herself a prey to the mortal throes of revolution within. Even now, as we witness the slow dissolution of that tenacious power struggling so long after a death-wound, we cannot fail to see that to have waited for that crisis might have been to wait until safety, honour, and self-respect had been lost at home. Each fresh act of provocation thrust Sardinia nearer to the inevitable conflict, and necessitated a still bolder act to confirm and extend the prestige of the last. Sardinia was forced by an irresistible power to advance incessantly upon a path where success was only possible at the price of invoking the assistance of the foreigner. To have relied, as the revolutionary party insist, upon the unaided strength of Italy, means simply to have submitted to an internal revolution as a preparation, and to have established a democratic republic upon the ruins of all those conservative elements of the country, and of the consolidation of the social system, out of which alone, as we conceive, permanent success was possible. *Italia farà da se* was the watchword of Mazzini at the opening of the war. But the very weapon with which, as he conceives, she ought to fight—the insurrection after the model of the year '93—involves the previous suppression of the whole force of the upper classes, to whom such a weapon is abhorrent and self-destructive.

To the Western Powers, then, or more distinctly to France, Count Cavour directed his hopes. Hazardous as the cast was, it cannot be proved to have been desperate. All those advantages which it seemed to offer have been obtained from it; and very few of the evils which were foretold have come to pass. He cannot be said to have conjured a spirit which he was unable to control or to resist; nor can any reasonable mind assert that the loss of Nice counterbalances the creation of Italy. It may be that the recent war has not adequately solved the difficulty. The assistance of France may have produced a moral injury to the future of Italy. But all such evils were involved in any possible course of active effort. No conceivable policy, in such a case, could have been without its own inherent defect. It may be that the European statesman, or even the Italian patriot, might deplore the intervention of France; but it would be preposterous to condemn a great practical politician from seizing the only available engine of acting on the immediate destinies of his country.

The assistance of the foreigner having been decided upon, the task before Count Cavour was to direct the Italian revolution by means of conservative authorities, and with the least possible risk of political or social convulsion, and at the same time to call out the whole warlike energy of the nation. It must be admitted that he succeeded far better in the former than in the latter portion of his duty. The liberated populations exhibited indeed far more sagacity than energy, and finally achieved their freedom by a fortunate deficiency of vehemence and excitement. It cannot be doubted that an almost suspicious reliance was placed upon order and diplomacy. The fact is that the whole conduct of the movement had been placed in the hands of the recognised heads of the social system, and was left to the upper classes to direct by skill without any admixture of revolutionary convulsion. This was especially obvious in Tuscany (which was but a type of the other provisional Governments), where the entire guidance was placed in the hands of a real aristocracy of birth and wealth, of men possessing the leading territorial and social influence in the country, full of the conservative instincts of an educated and historic order, and united by long study, and an almost pedantic trust in the machinery of orderly and systematic government. Such as the Tuscan rulers were, such were the Parmesan, the Modenese, and the Bolognese, in a greater or less degree; and the whole of these governments were created under the influence, and in most cases by the direct act, of Count Cavour, and were even after his fall inspired mainly by his counsels, and held together by the National Society which was the organ and promoter of his peculiar views and policy. The exigencies of the situation

had all been foreseen and provided for by the minister, and he relied for the success of the revolution to be accomplished under the shield of France exclusively to the strength, authority, and ability of the conservative and wealthy classes, assisted by all the educated intelligence which they could command. It is true that but for a bolder and less far-sighted effort, the population of Central Italy might have sunk from want of military energy and enthusiasm; but it is not the less true that the whole attitude, sobriety, and pertinacity of the resistance they made to the Peace of Villafranca, was directly due to the sagacity of the statesman who had placed the direction of a revolution in the hands of men who belonged to the party of order by instinct, position, and education.

More recent events have shown Count Cavour assuming a bolder attitude, and earning almost the name of a revolutionary leader. The connivance in the attempt of Garibaldi, and the invasion and annexation of the Papal and Neapolitan territories, belong wholly to the policy of a man who had risen to a full sense of a critical situation. The manner in which he has used, aided, and then controlled Garibaldi; the skill with which the republican energy has been let loose, to be at the very moment of destruction reined in and pacified; the audacity with which a startling onslaught was made upon the Head of the National Church, and a friendly monarch attacked and besieged, without on the one hand calling forth revolutionary passions, or on the other the hostility of jealous foreign powers, is undoubtedly a proof of political aptitude, such as makes the turning-point in the destinies of a nation. In these later enterprises the true force of the statesman's capacity is seen, for they exhibit him as the chief of a revolution of which he has hitherto appeared mainly as the controller. Schemes such as these belong to those exceptional crises in which a statesman must rise above the rules of prudence, legality, and moderation, or be irretrievably lost, and act, if he acts at all, in a full consciousness that the safety of the people is above all law. It is by such acts throughout history that the existence of nations has been preserved by men who have broken through at once all the habits, traditions, and laws of society, under the overwhelming duty of the salvation of the nation. Men will always be found to object to Cromwell violations of the constitution; to Danton suppression of law; to William the silent duplicity and intrigue: but politicians must be judged by their power of commanding the crisis in which they are placed, and the average of their good and evil must be struck by the practical necessities of their task. On any politician who dares to violate constitutions, laws, or treaties, the heaviest responsibility must weigh, to be removed alone by the

verdict of history and the conscientious sanction of public opinion.

Beneath the faultless logic of pedants and fanatics, the public instinct feels that the law of nations in no true sense could apply between the provincial States of Italy, or govern relations which rest on a condition of virtual revolution and war. When the Sardinian armies invaded the Marches and Umbria they invaded the States of a power with whom they had long been waging a deadly but informal war. When they hunted the Neapolitan pretender to his last retreat, they were only crushing an outcast tyrant and driving forth an incendiary partisan. Legal pedantry and hypocritical formalism apart, it is true that Count Cavour has the right to say "We are Italy! we act in her name." The judgment of free nations has welcomed that which does indeed bear the outward form of the triumph of might over right, and the hopes of order and national independence have been raised high by these acts of violent invasion. Yet not the less must we feel admiration for the sagacity and courage of a policy which so far transcends the regions in which ordinary statesmen dwell, and belongs to the extraordinary efforts of decisive emergencies.

Count Cavour is a politician of that high order that unites the most opposite qualities, and resumes in himself the various forces of an era. He embodies the cause of monarchy, order, and constitution, whilst working out a revolution and founding a new nation. At once the sagacious economist, the consummate minister, and the dictator of a crisis, he is by turns laborious and energetic, subtle and impetuous, ingenious and audacious, practical and profound. Now it is his task to calm the agitation of a nation, then to call it to a struggle for life; now he imposes on it his own strong will, then addresses and instructs its judgment; sometimes convincing in the Parliament, sometimes stirring the public heart, sometimes guiding unseen the machinery of diplomacy and parties. In a word, he has the true vein of a statesman. His whole action is practical, relative, and instinctive. His policy rests upon principle; yet he is never the slave of his theories. He can rise to the grandeur of ideas, yet is never carried away by illusions. An inflexible purpose may bow before necessity and storms; and out of every emergency still grasp the true clue upwards. No modern politician insists so firmly upon theory; none so consistently develops it into action; and none is so little cramped by it in practice. His love of order never stiffens into oppression; legality with him stops short of formalism; his mastery of logic is forgotten when logic has ceased to be of use. With a turn for diplomacy worthy of Talleyrand, his art is restrained to its due place and function. A master of party politics, he is never greater than when he has ceased to be a

parliamentary leader. Conservative by nature, he knows the value of institutions ; in the hour of crisis he sees in them nothing but forms. He has gauged popular emotion ; he neither mistakes its strength nor forgets its fickleness. With an appetite for power like Richelieu, he loves to rest upon public opinion ; and being a real dictator, he acts in the spirit of a responsible minister. With a native insight into character, there are no men and no parties whom he hesitates to use ; fanaticism or industry, authority or enthusiasm, craft or heroism, are instruments which he employs and controls. He can lay deep plans without being tortuous ; be politic without falsehood ; and strike an unexpected blow without treachery. In the State he grasps a concentration of power, which he wields without selfishness, and which is yielded without jealousy. In Parliament he can solicit the support of a majority without stooping to party triumphs. In the tribune he seeks to convince, not to confute ; to win confidence, not votes. He never perorates, but argues ; generally careless in language, always keen in logic, sometimes rising into moving eloquence, sometimes overcoming by inherent energy.

In the Cabinet he is master of diplomatic fence, yet his logic is ever drawn from public right and plain principle. The exquisite skill with which he crushes his opponent's case is only equalled by the substantial justice of his own cause. His State-papers would be models of art if they were not standards of historic fact. With all his instinctive love of order and law, he sees that these are not ends but means. In a crisis he can rise superior to any notion but that of public safety and duty. To habitual industry in preparation he unites an impetuous rapidity of execution ; and however careful in husbanding his resources, he is prodigal of them in action. His most daring schemes are all within the limits of reasonable safety ; if he oversteps legality, he remains true to right. In a word, he is in our day the single example of a ruler who governs by native superiority and that willing homage which ennobles the giver and the receiver. He shows us how power can be gathered into one hand, yet be but the expression of national will. Nor less is he an instance of a politician who conserves whilst he changes ; who conciliates order and movement, tradition and expansion, the past and the present ; who innovates without convulsion, and modifies without destruction. Thus he is to us the type of the real popular dictator, and the statesman of true conservative progress.

Such are the characteristics of Count Cavour, and they are those essentially of the statesman. But they represent but one element of the Italian movement alone. The sagacity, self-restraint, and perseverance which have marked it are amply exhibited in him, but for all that has given it life, poetry, and moral

grandeur, we must find a very different representative. The virtues, aspirations, and powers which we attribute to Garibaldi belong not either to the minister himself, or to the classes of whom he is the chief. There exists beneath the surface an intensely popular element in this Italian revolution, showing in reality nearly all the features which have distinguished the effervescence of new ideas in the mind of the whole people, and recalling in the strength of its enthusiasm, in the electric contagion of its ideas, and in its influence on the moral sentiments, the spirit which can be seen to move through nations in great crises of their history. Unlike in all external marks as this recent movement is to that of the great French Revolution, to enter into the fulness of its character we must bear in mind the peculiar features which belong to the early days of that, and without drawing a comparison between two periods so inherently different, we can see certain leading ideas which belong to both. With the history of the first period of the new era in France before our eyes, we shall better conceive the religious quality of that patriotism which has sustained the exile for thirty years, and carried the army of Garibaldi through incredible sufferings and dangers. We can thus best understand the heaving and agitation of the mass of the people, a new idea sweeping over them like an epidemic, kindling in the hearts of man and woman a fanatical enthusiasm, moving man to man and class to class, elevating debased populations into momentary impulses of dignity and virtue, and inspiring the finer tempers with unwonted fires of self-sacrifice and daring. Thus it was that in silent cities the people has sprung forth as under some sudden frenzy, that armies have laid down their arms at the magical influence of a name or a voice, that men of wealth, position, and refinement have hastened to stand shoulder to shoulder with the peasant on bloody battle-fields or more deadly camps, and have given up every earthly interest, and even the convictions of their whole lives, in defence of a sacred cause. We are far too apt in presence of the discipline which has been submitted to, and of the manifest inferiority of the Southern population, to underrate the extent as well as the intensity of the enthusiasm of the people of the North. The immense depopulation of Venetia, the 100,000 men who since the beginning of the war have volunteered into the different armies, the sacrifices borne, and the heroism shown by whole classes of men, and the resolution and patriotism of the bulk of the people of the North, cannot be effaced by any tales of failure and indifference in detail, or the worthlessness of the demoralized cities or barbarous peasantry of the South.

It is the army of Garibaldi, and their leader himself, who most worthily represents all this element of the movement. With all

their dexterity and experience the supporters of the statesman do not adequately embody the vitality and elevation of the popular instinct. The heroic soldier and his men belong not to the men who can guide and administer a State, but they are of those who fought with Manin the desperate defence of Venice, and maintained the honour of their capital against the treacherous insolence of France,—of men who, like the Bandiera, Bassi, or Ciceroacchio, have been murdered in cold blood, who have spent their lives in prison and exile, and lived a long martyrdom for their cause. Without the spirit which sustained these men in the dungeon or on the scaffold, it would have been impossible that the sacred tradition could have kept its purity and strength. These are the men, and the party to which they belonged, who have taught the youth of Italy to feel the holiness of their cause, who have clothed it with an irradiating splendour, and required from its supporters a devotion and a moral elevation unsurpassed. To them it is due that the expulsion of the stranger means a real national regeneration, and that the future of Italy is made to rest upon the individual worth of the citizens. They are the men who first saw and preached the duty of absolute unity, of the consolidation of States, and the fraternity of classes and orders, and who upheld the singleness and directness of purpose to the one great end. To them is due chiefly that which gives moral dignity to the Italian people, and but for them the sagacity or energy of the statesmen would have dealt only with untutored masses and a lifeless, passionless multitude.

It is quite consistent with this view to disbelieve most strongly in the capacity of such men for government or direction. With the most emphatic conviction of the utter hopelessness of any revolution attempted under the control of such men, it is impossible to refuse to the revolutionary parties, whether under the name of Republican or National, Mazzinist or Garibaldian, the credit of having set in motion an action of which others were the more fortunate directors. Mazzini, Garibaldi, Guerrazzi, or Bertani have abundantly manifested, on one occasion after another, their incapacity for civil organization and rule, and the public instinct is quite justified in looking upon their ascendancy with unconquerable aversion. But as agitators their influence has been indispensable. It is true that in '48 they led the national cause to ruin, but it is equally clear that their principles prepared it for triumph in '60. More and more we are forced to see how powerfully the abortive struggle of '48 acted upon the national mind, and led up to the success we have lately witnessed. The Lombard and Venetian insurrections, the popular votes of annexation in the Duchies, the heroism of the defence of Rome, had educated the masses with a sense of their duty and an instinct towards union.

The effort of '48 was crushed by force, but not the less was it a moral triumph. It awakened the national conscience, and penetrated the depressed multitude. It planted the standard of the nation, and taught the creed of unity and the religion of patriotism. The task of the statesmen of Piedmont was but to moderate, guide, and organize the irrepressible spirit of freedom, which was the outgrowth of the rising of '18. More and more do we see in '60, under happier and wiser guidance, the noble enthusiasm and aspirations of '48. But that effort was made notoriously under the auspices and direction of the Republicans. If we measure out to them our condemnation of the unwisdom which brought them to ruin, we should no less give them credit for the spirit which at least they succeeded in inspiring. With no stain upon its honour, with no possible charge against it but that of misfortune and misconception, the effort of '48 cannot be stigmatized as the work of incendiaries or demagogues. The great agitator to whom that movement owes at once its energy and its unsucccess, may indeed have been the victim of desperate illusions, but wilful ignorance only can charge him with baseness, or downright malice only represent him as a sanguinary fanatic. Whatever faults may have been committed by the Republican Governments in Italy during '48, no single charge of violence or selfishness has ever been established against them. And those who have really had any knowledge of these leaders know them to possess a singleness of purpose, a strength of principle, and a touching love of their country and their countrymen, which surpasses in depth and purity anything that their rivals or their maligners can show.

But whatever may be the judgment passed upon this party and the true character of its members, certain it is that Garibaldi himself is its truest and fullest representative. It is mere self-deception to deny that he really belongs to that body with whom his whole life has been passed, and all his ideas derived. It is much the fashion to revile all the revolutionary leaders amongst men, who forget that they thereby are discrediting the whole previous history of their favourite hero, and must wilfully distort the plainest evidence of his acts. In spite of the most convincing proofs that he looks on Mazzini still with friendship and trust, that all his friends belong to the old Republican parties, and all his acts are dictated by the old doctrines of insurrection, the mere fact of his allegiance to the king is supposed to place him in the constitutional party. The fact is, that he belongs to the revolutionary classes, by his whole nature, habits, history, and situation. He shares with them his greatness of heart, and draws from them the false theories of his political creed. He amplifies and exalts their virtues, but he is not the less involved in their illusions and defects. The highest political virtues are not

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incompatible with great political incompetence, and the noblest elevation of character cannot exclude fatal intellectual errors. It is by his character and not by his intellect that Garibaldi holds his sway. It is not by what he directly does that he acts, but by the mysterious influence of his spirit and life. In his story, the humblest and most ignorant can feel instinctively the worth of a life unstained by one selfish act or worldly motive; the simple majesty of a man to whose eye his fellow-men are seen as man to man, stripped of every circumstance of accident or rank, and in whose soul burns nothing but the fire which makes martyrs and heroes. It is this power which gives him a moral influence, which neither king or minister can approach. Not merely through his own country does this influence extend. It spreads strangely through the extent of civilized Europe. We ourselves witness that his name inspires a something more than passing sympathy, and is mixed with convictions of unusual tenacity. Strange stories are told of artisans in Berlin, worshipping in the streets at a shrine of St. Garibaldi, and how his name stirred the blood of the Faubourg St. Antoine in Paris. To the workmen of Glasgow or Lyons, as much as of Naples or Milan, he represents the claims of their own order, and from Poland to Spain, and from Scotland to Sicily, his course has kindled the interest of the democracy of Europe. He has, indeed, in every fibre, the nature of the people and embodies their craving for a nobler future to be won by their innate energy. He has their strength and their weakness; their generous instincts and their incoherent doctrines; and his career, in which both have been signally exhibited, has awakened a motion of that spirit which runs through each State in Europe when revolution begins in one. He feels himself to belong not only to Italy, but to the cause of liberty through Europe. When he fought in the Republics of America, when he promises his sword to Hungary, or expresses his sympathy with the people in England or France, it is because he feels instinctively the brotherhood of people with people, and the bonds which unite their future destinies in one. Nor does he ever fail to show that he belongs little to the actual political systems, but to a new and possible order of things. To him, the forms, constitutions, and ceremonials of the day are vanity and expedients. He feels intensely with the heart of the nation, and believes it will rise into a higher life. His perfect simplicity of existence, his contempt for dignities, wealth or power, his gentleness and guilelessness of heart belong indeed to a period when public life shall have risen to a purer atmosphere. That he does not understand it as it is, that he is ignorant of its tortuous mechanism, is more to his honour than to his discredit. He has left the task for which he has neither ability nor heart, to others. He has gone

back to his own simple world. He has left behind him the memory of an unsullied character, a sense of duty, and a love of truth, of which his age can see but half the worth and beauty.

But whilst Garibaldi retains the idea and habits of those with whom he has acted through life, his fine character enables him to see and avoid the errors which are peculiar to them. It is this instinct which has gathered up all his faculties with native sincerity round the standard of Savoy, and has made as the centre of his creed loyalty to King Victor Emmanuel. But this adherence to the king is very far from being with him a political dogma. It is nothing but an instinctive conception of the necessity of the case and the practical sense of a man of action. His whole mind, however, is essentially republican, and there is something preposterous in supposing that such a man can have any leaning towards monarchy as a system. But he loves and honours the soldier king in his heart, and he has idealized in him the national life. To this beautiful fiction in the mind of Garibaldi is perhaps due more than to any other single cause the welcome which the staunchest republicans have given to the once hated House of Savoy. He, the man to whom peasant or prince appear each in their native worth as men, to whom all the trappings of social life are contemptible, and the whole political system of which the monarchy is but the head is alien, to whom laws, tradition, or custom, weigh nothing in the balance against the safety of the people and the honour of the nation, gives hearty allegiance to the king, in whom he sees personified the destinies of his country, and who is pointed out by fate as its natural dictator and chief. Under such an influence only could a nation in whom the bare notion of monarchy has never been fairly implanted, and in whom in this age no dogmas of a constitutional aristocracy are ever likely to implant it, receive with enthusiastic submission the monarch who was indispensable as a centre of union and of action. It was through this personal trust of Garibaldi that, in moments of great danger, fatal mistakes were avoided, when after the armistice of Villafranca, on the several proposed invasions of the Papal territories or the liberation of Sicily and Naples, it required the whole force of an influence like his to restrain the fiercest tempers and most earnest republicans collected round his standard from raising a separate standard, and at once commencing a career of insurrection.

It is this idea which forms the principal link between two very opposite parties—in a word, between the two distinct schools of policy of Italy—the constitutional and revolutionary. Nothing but a practical compromise in the person of a beloved leader could reconcile two parties who so thoroughly misunderstand and dislike

each other. More than anything else, the example of Garibaldi has contributed to this end. At his word the most inveterate Republicans have consented to forego their principles, and the high sense of Cavour has not feared to use their indispensable services. It was the name of Garibaldi which finally decided the adherence of the old party throughout Italy in '59, and has retained them true to their allegiance under the most trying circumstances. But it is no less clear that he is heart and soul with them. The revolutionary engine—the *levée en masse*—war carried on by insurrection—trust alone in native valour without discipline, organization, or ceremony, is the only weapon which he knows. Diplomatic measures, foreign assistance, unless simply of volunteers, material equipment, and even military science are to him as irksome and worthless as golden trappings or braided uniforms. He appeals to the heart of the people alone, and trusts in their innate honour, energy, and heroism. It is this which makes at once his strength and his weakness. He typifies and he evokes the life which alone can make a nation free or strong, but he discards at once all the institutions by which its strength is disciplined and directed. Himself and his followers feel in them no small measure of that unquenchable fire which in '93 preserved and created France; they will not see how far the condition of their country and their countrymen is removed from that era of convulsive excitement. Yet no little of the religious zeal of those French Republicans may be seen in his army and in him. To him the cause and its defenders are alike sacred and dear. He can hardly understand that one who has laboured and suffered for Italy is unworthy of responsibility and confidence. In his eyes, one who has bled on the field or pined in a dungeon is a martyr to whom honour, influence, and trust are due without stint or hesitation. He who has endured the longest exile or the heaviest irons, or he who is most hateful to the common enemy, must of all men be most capable and worthy to serve the common country. He who has shown most his love for her must be best fitted to protect her. He who in the darkest hour uttered the most inspiring protest is the truest guide in the hour of relief. Devotion must imply capacity, and unbounded faith is the best proof of a patriotic heart.

Such is the spirit in which the simple-hearted soldier clings to his old friends and their views, upholds Mazzini, Crispi, Mordini, Mario, and Cattaneo, and thrusts, as rulers, upon the bewildered Neapolitans and Sicilians men who have learnt their creed of politics and system of action in conspiracies, in exile, and in dungeons. With him they hold such a place as the "people of God" held in the heart of Cromwell. Those who have given all for the cause are sanctified in his eyes. He feels for them as members

of a sort of religious brotherhood, of whose rectitude and zeal no doubt can be permitted. These are the spirits, as he believes, the country needs. It wants nothing but sincerity and vigour. They who love it most serve it best. The intrigues and artifices of professional politicians discredit and pervert the national honour. Compromises, arrangements, and prevarications belong to their trade. The moral sense is lowered by their specious precautions, and the keenness of self-reliance is blunted by their diplomacy. Innate energy and daring are nobler and surer weapons; the generous hearts of the people will do the rest. Brotherly affection and frank forbearance must soothe the antipathies of party. Unity of purpose and genuine zeal will preserve the public security and order. Generosity will supply the necessaries of life. Mutual trust must stand for discipline; the service of the country is above any earthly reward; its true leaders need no formal commissions or solemn election. Heroic valour supplies the place of armies, and simple manhood and its own great heart will create a nation worthy of freedom.

But whilst believing this in all sincerity and fervour, he is a slave to no system, and is not deluded by any narrow dogma. The same love for his country which he perceives in Mazzini, he recognises in Victor Emmanuel. He, too, and his soldiers and generals, have fought and laboured for the cause; and the very ministers and politicians and official servants of the State have, as he sees, after their fashion, a genuine sense of the common duty. Hence, throwing aside all logic, his fine instinct unites both parties in one. Full of loyalty to the king, he yet holds by all the friends of his old days; devoted to the principles of Mazzini, he submits to the will of the king and his ministers. Thus are two rival and hostile parties reunited and reconciled. The Garibaldians dare not repudiate a king whom their beloved chief delights to honour and obey. The monarchists are forced to be forbearing with a party to whose head they owe an incomparable service. The one have come to feel that from the ranks of the revolution has come forth the noblest son of Italy; the others, with their leader, can say, "We are Republicans still, but our republic is Victor Emmanuel."

This sense of duty to the king, in whom he sees personified the union and the honour of the country, at last, after many struggles, induced him to surrender the dictatorship of the South, in spite of his deepest convictions and an intense repugnance to the ministry of Cavour. Full of the purest ideas of the insurrectionary party, still smarting under the shameful sacrifice of Nice, and cherishing an inextinguishable hatred of Napoleon, Garibaldi was bent on retaining the power in South Italy, and rushing with blind heroism to the rescue of Venice and Rome. It needed the

whole strength of his unalloyed trust in the king to restrain him from this fatal delirium. With many struggles he recovered his reason ; his instinctive good sense returned. Almost heart-broken by the sacrifice, he gave up, in the presence of an overpowering sense of duty, all that he holds most dear and most true. He consented to look on upon the prolonged slavery of his brethren ; to yield to the will of a degrading oppressor ; to sacrifice his oldest friends and most trusted followers. And last trial of all, he consented to place the work of his own hands and the people he had fought for into the keeping of men to whom he bears the keenest antipathy, to whose policy his whole life is a protest, and who have but recently degraded the nation and bartered its very principle of life. Such was the temper in which the Dictator, much loth, accepted the annexation and its consequences.

It needed some overpowering sense of duty to counterbalance his ingrained convictions. Had he not acted so, it is plain that he was going on the road to ruin. Not only must his attack have been infallibly crushed in the field (even it would seem by the arms of Sardinia herself), but the internal state of the country would have shortly resulted in irredeemable chaos. It may indeed now be assumed that the Garibaldian régime would have ended in Naples in the most complete dissolution and anarchy, and almost the rupture of society itself. It needs little argument in the face of incontestable facts. Not indeed that the rulers appointed were in themselves incompetent or untrustworthy, but because they were wholly incompatible with the people whom they had to govern. Full of the notions of insurrection and revolution, they were applying their own extreme and incoherent system in a society quite unprepared for it, and to circumstances in which it was an anachronism. In a half-barbarous and debased population it was necessary not to inflame, but to calm ; not to impel, but to restrain. They needed the strong hand of a regular and orderly Government, not the exciting stimulus of insurrectionary committees, and the whole apparatus of revolutionary action. Such a population could be controlled only by the accustomed weight of recognised Government. The Dictator was full of trust that they could be aroused to the due point of insurgent energy. But a blunder so fatal as this does not conclusively prove his incapacity for civil government under more favourable circumstances. It only shows that he had thoroughly mistaken the situation and the real necessities of the case, and was only able to shake himself free from the notions and habits of his whole previous life by an effort of the most splendid abnegation, and by withdrawing altogether and abruptly from a post the duties of which he profoundly misconceived.

The sacrifice of principle once made, the retirement to Caprera

was a necessary and subordinate incident. Much has been said of this act by men who little understand his character. It was neither the result of mortification, or impulse, or vanity, much less of a morose or factious temper. With him to retire to his position as a simple yeoman was a natural consequence of no public task needing him. The self-sacrifice is seen in the surrender of his principles and friends, not in his love of the happiness of private life. Garibaldi, if not the leader of a revolution, is nothing. To head an army of heroes, to awaken the enthusiasm of a population, to initiate a new order of ideas and acts, is his only duty. To organize, to govern, and to compromise, to prepare by patient forethought, or devise by dexterous management, is above or below his power. He cannot make the laborious official, or the sagacious minister, or the rigid disciplinarian. His character is too lofty for the petty necessities of these duties. He belongs wholly to a purer atmosphere. When no unusual effort is required, there is little in which he can serve his country. He retires in the calmer moments of ordinary life to the simplicity of the life of the humblest citizen. Yet natural and voluntary as his retirement has been, it is not the less melancholy. For a character of such strength the surrender of such hopes and purposes gives a profound shock. Though feeling the necessity of the case, he could scarcely comprehend all the reasons which made his mere presence a danger. Yet his retirement to his island is, perhaps, the most instructive, as it is certainly the most honourable act of his life. By it his party have learnt to yield, however reluctantly, to the true interests of their country; and the name of an Italian has been placed before the eyes of Europe as the symbol of the purest self-devotion, and a religious sense of public duty.

Garibaldi thus gives to the national movement a character which was essential, and could come from no other. The creation of a nation needs more than victories, treaties, institutions, or administration. Success in the field or the council may furnish it with opportunities. True national life needs real public regeneration. It is right, then, that Garibaldi should be felt to be the popular hero. In a prolonged struggle, requiring so much from skill, circumstances, and foreign aid, it needed the contact of one great heart to keep alive the sense of dignity and honour. Whilst ministers were engaged in diplomacy, intrigue, or compromise (essential as they too were), it was well that a hero should be found to speak of nothing but truth and duty. Italian nationality means more than independence and freedom, or it means little. To show its true destiny, it needed one splendid example of public duty without blemish or alloy. Henceforth for all Italians the memory of freedom is for ever bound up with the

ideal of perfect social virtue. In years to come, in the strife of public life they may learn from him higher aims and nobler acts. Nor was it less essential that in a deadly struggle with a foreigner they should be headed by one who knows the true brotherhood of nations: and that a war of hatred should be tempered by one who has a woman's gentleness and mercy. Thus the Italian has fought without the brutalizing hate of race; and no single instance of ferocity has stained his chivalry: for their chief loves all brave men, and can pity even the oppressor. Nor has this re-consecration of war brought back its barbarous traditions, or its retrograde instincts. He, who for the last time has made war noble in Europe, has cried aloud to it with almost fanatic aspiration for universal peace. The noblest soldier of our day tramples on the pomp and pride of war with native loathing and contempt. So too, it was right that the popular heroism which lay burning beneath the action of state policy should have its due place and task. If all the power in this national struggle has gone to the great and noble, it was well that the true halo should rest round one who is of and with the people. In the midst of convulsion and strife, there rises up an image of mildness, simplicity, and tenderness, a gentle spirit calming passions, jealousies, and hatreds, disarming treachery, and putting selfishness to shame. Men have seen in his look the traditional image of goodness, and have not scrupled to call him the Apostle and Messiah of their race, as at once the deliverer from oppression and the teacher of a moral regeneration.

Of all the comparisons which have been made for him there are none which are not very wide of the reality. He has, indeed, none of the qualities of statesman, dictator, or commander. That which belongs to him exclusively is a species of popular inspiration and influence as by electric contagion of emotions. More than to warriors or politicians he belongs to the order of religious enthusiasts. It is a character infusing itself through a nation. One story there is in history which in some moments recalls the features of his. One character there has been with whom his has some traits of likeness. Utterly unlike, as in many respects it is (and without instituting a purely fanciful comparison), there is something in the great Liberator of the spirit of the Maid of Orleans. Sprung like her from the depths of the people with whom he is identified in every fibre of his heart, he, too, in the extreme need of his country, has upraised it by an almost miraculous career. As in hers, the destinies of his country are bound up in his mind with the will of Providence, from whom deliverance is looked for by a faith truly religious. She, the simplest and purest of spirits, went forth from her peasant home rapt almost in a trance through her deep "pity for the

realm of France," and intense belief in the greatness of her people, and carrying daring and devotion to the verge of fanaticism, awoke in the very depths of society the heart of the nation out of the midst of despair, until by the sheer strength of native worth, the overwrought people had vindicated for themselves their honour and salvation, in spite of every human obstacle, and in defiance of every recognised means or aid. A spirit not absolutely of another kind burns also in him. He, goaded almost to madness at the sight of his country's degradation, and called forth by the consciousness of a nobler destiny, has given up his every thought, act, and wish as to a sacred cause; and touching the inmost heart of his brothers, and calling them round a king in whom the nation itself is idealized before his eyes, has led them on to incredible success, and inspired them with unconquerable faith. She who breathed life into France, her work once done, was a peasant girl again. So, too, the rock of Caprera lives in the hearts of millions of Italians as the emblem of perfect worth, of moral dignity, and of faith unwavering.



ART. VIII.—DANTE AND HIS ENGLISH TRANSLATORS.

1. *The Divine Comedy translated into English verse.* By Rev. H. BOYD, A.M. London. 1802.
2. *The Comedy of Dante Alighieri. Inferno, Cantos 1—10.* Translated by ODOARDO VOLPI. Dublin. 1836.
3. *Plain and direct Translation of the Inferno of Dante, Cantos 1—4.* By C. HINDLEY. London. 1842.
4. *The Inferno of Dante, translated in the terza rima of the original.* By JOHN DAYMAN, A.M. London. 1843.
5. *Translation of Canto 5 of the Inferno, and the Narrative of Hugolino.* By H. C. JENNINGS.
6. *Ten Cantos of the Inferno of Dante, newly translated in English verse.* By T. W. PARSONS. Boston, U.S. 1843.
7. *Dante translated.* By J. C. WRIGHT, M.A. London. 1845.
8. *Dante's Inferno, Literal Prose translation.* By JOHN A. CARLYLE, M.D. London. 1849.
9. *The Vision of Dante Alighieri.* Translated by Rev. H. F. CARY, M.A. London. 1847.

10. *The Comedy of Dante, translated.* By PATRICK BANNERMAN. Edinburgh. 1850.
11. *Translation of the Divina Commedia.* By Rev. E. O'DONNELL. London. 1852.
12. *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri, rendered into English.* By F. POLLOCK. London. 1854.
13. *Dante's Divine Comedy.* Translated into the metre of the original. By THOMAS BROOKSBANK, M.A. London. 1854.
14. *The Trilogy, or Dante's Three Visions.* Translated by Rev. J. W. THOMAS. London. 1859.
15. *Dante's Divine Comedy.* Translated in the original ternary rhyme. By C. B. CAYLEY. London. 1854.
16. *A Free Translation in verse of the Inferno of Dante.* By BRUCE WHYTE. London. 1859.

THERE are several points in which it has been usual to contrast classical and mediæval poetry. They are often said to have adopted a different standard of excellence, and, necessarily, to have aimed at attaining it by very different methods. We are apt to think of classical verse as furnishing models, indeed, in which the most exquisite taste can find nothing to offend—as the perfection of refined and faultless beauty; but inferior to mediæval poetry in spirit and vigour, as much as it stands superior to it in finished elegance. We think, in a word, that the perfect type of the former would be rightly conceived as the calmness of Divine repose, the perfect type of the latter as the creative energy of Divine life.

We shall see, however, if we examine with care the best writers of each period, that this view is imperfect at least, though not wholly incorrect. There is no such marked distinction as it implies between ancient and modern literature. We may find, in each of them, writers of elegance with little vigour, and of vigour with little elegance. Petrarch must be conceded as a type of the former class; and Lucretius, with equal justice, of the latter. The notion has obtained credit, in great measure, from the readiness with which a few of the best known Augustan writers are admitted as complete specimens of the literature before the Christian era; while the literature of the Middle Ages is even less generally known, and the early English songs and ballads, and the Latin hymns of the monks, are accepted as indicating, with sufficient accuracy, the nature and limits of the perfection which it attained and desired. The boldness, too, with which the

technicalities of ancient art have been disregarded by modern poets has given some countenance to a theory which seemed to indicate, with such nicety, the distinction between those who never erred, and those to whose genius many errors could be forgiven. But to whatever extent the received opinion must be rejected or modified, it implies at least this amount of truth—that the excellences which it assigns to different periods are, in some degree, opposed to one another, and are rarely found combined in the same individual. Virgil and Horace, and, in later times, Petrarch and Sannazaro, have left us little to desire that classical elegance can supply. The writers of our own miracle-plays and early ballads have furnished us with sufficiently remarkable products of the vigour of an uncultivated genius; and it would be no very difficult task to place in the one or in the other list the greater number of ancient and of modern poets. But there have been few indeed, either in ancient or modern times, who have united in themselves the perfection of these opposite characteristics. These only have done so, or rather some only of those, who stand among the very first of the world's poets; and first among these, by the testimony of his own and of every other land, must be ranked the name of Dante.

The "*Divina Commedia*," like all poetry of the highest order, if it is to be properly appreciated at all, must be read in the language in which it was first written. The number of its translators, however, many of them good and careful scholars, is such as to allow the reader considerable latitude of choice, and to enable him to form a notion of the poem more complete and accurate than would be possible from any single version; and the more so, since they have written, as their introductions tell us, from a great variety of aims and motives, which we ought to bear in mind in endeavouring to estimate their success. The most legitimate of any, as well as the most attainable, appears to be the wish to supply a tolerable version for those only who are unable to read the original. There are very few translators of a foreign poet who can venture to express their intention of aiming at any higher standard. Such rare masterpieces as we find in some of '*Chaucer's Tales*,' or in '*Frere's Aristophanes*,' may, indeed, be read with pleasure by Greek or Italian scholars, but it does not often happen that a translation is worth reading by those to whom the original is accessible; so that the office of the translator is in general a humble one, and he is obliged, by the nature of his work, to be contented with a very partial success, and to provoke a comparison in which he can show to no advantage. Surely, with greater justice than even lexicographers, may such men be termed "the pioneers or slaves of literature," condemned as they are to a drudgery in which few have ever succeeded at

all, and which has for its object, if success be indeed attained, the spread of another's fame rather than of their own. Good poets are indeed rare enough, and are proverbially liable to pass unhonoured during their lifetime; but still more rare, and more liable to neglect, are even pretty good translators. It is no wonder, that of the few men in each age who are really qualified to write in verse at all, it should seldom happen that any is willing to devote himself, on such hard terms, to a labour so unprofitable, and that the task of translating should in consequence be handed over mainly to those who are prepared to set about it mechanically, by a diligent use of their dictionaries to teach them what they ought to say, and of their fingers to assure them that they have expressed it in the correct number of syllables. Such a standard may appear low, and unworthy of a *soi-disant* poet, but there are few whose verses, thus doubly fettered, can bear to be judged by a reference to any higher. We must take things therefore for what they are, and admire them as we can; it is of no use to complain that crows are not eagles, and that geese are not swans.

Mr. Cary's translation has been too long before the public, and is too well known, to require the length of notice it would otherwise deserve. It is written with scrupulous exactness, and reproduces the matter of the original better than any other we have seen. The metre chosen, the ordinary ten-syllable blank verse, is certainly inadequate to render the force and expression of Dante's own versification, but on the other hand it makes fewer demands than any other upon the author's ingenuity, and allows him to translate literally without compelling him so often to twist his sentences into an unnatural form, and to amplify and alter the text so as to meet the *trinoda necessitas* of rhyme. The general effect of Mr. Cary's version is different, it is true, from that which Dante himself produces; there is too sustained a gravity of manner, even in the lighter passages, while many of the sublimer parts of the poem are so rendered as to pass almost unnoticed in the translation; there are many evidences too of imperfect Italian scholarship. These are faults, however, which those only who are acquainted with the original are in any position to detect, and it is hardly fair to rely exclusively upon their judgment in testing the merit of a translation. Those who can read Dante in no other form will always read Mr. Cary's poem with intense pleasure, and will derive from his learned and valuable notes an amount of information which will amply furnish all that they can require in the way of comment or illustration.

Mr. Carlyle's translation of the "Inferno" is a work too of very rare merit, though we are inclined to acquiesce in Mr. Cayley's estimate of it, as reminding the reader, in its manner of expres-

sion, less of Dante than of the author's celebrated brother. The introductory preface, in particular, is open to this criticism, and conveys, so far, an erroneous impression about the nature and object of the poem. The scholarship is first-rate throughout, and the translation (a prose one,) so scrupulously literal, that those who have only the very slightest knowledge of Italian may enjoy by its assistance the treat of reading the original. The text, we may add, is printed page for page with the English version, so that the volume furnishes the student with very ample means of commencing an acquaintance with Dante.

Mr. Cayley has endeavoured in his version to produce a more exact imitation of Dante by adopting the *terza rima* of the original. He has fairly carried through what must have been a task of considerable labour, but his poem, though sometimes very good, and always readable, is written in too familiar a style. He complains with justice that Mr. Cary is too grave, but he goes himself a little too far in the opposite direction, and offends the reader's taste by the introduction of absolute slang. We regret the defect the more as his translation has few other positive faults, and is evidently the work of a thorough Italian scholar.

Mr. Wright has substituted, for Dante's regularly recurring rhymes, a kind of fancy system of his own, but not, we think, very happily. The fault, of course, runs through the entire work, and damages as far as it can an otherwise excellent version. He has subjoined to the text some very sensible criticisms on the original, and some notes, which, although short, are clear and readable. He speaks very justly in his preface of the extent to which we may regard Dante as a reformer. If Mr. Thomas is ever fortunate enough to read it, it will probably induce him either to alter or to burn his own.

Mr. Dayman, in his translation of the "Inferno," has followed Dante's system of verse, and has produced a work, not very literal, but very easy and natural in manner, and, on the whole, decidedly good. He fails, however, very often in detail, and misses both the sense and spirit of the Italian.

The best verse translation which we have seen is that of the first ten Cantos of the "Inferno" by Signer Odoardo Volpi. It is certainly a work of first-class merit, and reproduces, better than any other, both the form and spirit of Dante. His preface contains, along with a good deal of commonplace matter, some valuable critical remarks; but he is far too severe and too flippant in his strictures on Mr. Cary. The entire poem, we are given to understand, exists in manuscript; we are surprised and sorry to find that the ten specimen Cantos have not been received with sufficient favour to justify the publication of the others.

Mr. Brooksbank has produced a very fair translation of the

"Inferno," into the original *terza rima*. It improves as it goes on, and the concluding Cantos form decidedly the best part of it. The requirements of the metre which he has chosen, have compelled him, however, to bolster up a great many of his lines in an artificial manner which can scarcely fail to give offence to those who are acquainted with the Italian.

Mr. Parsons' translation of the first ten Cantos is another of which we are unwilling to speak strongly in terms of either praise or blame. The metre he has adopted divides the poem, which should be continuous, into quasi stanzas, of four lines each, with alternate rhymes; and we must add to this fault, an occasional absence both of force and simplicity. He has appended some very sensible observations on Dante in a short essay, entitled, "A Word more with the Reader." He would have done well, however, to have omitted, at the commencement, a somewhat spasmodic ode intended to be in Dante's praise.

Mr. Pollock's work, in blank verse, presents, in spite of occasional grave inaccuracies, a pretty literal version of Dante. He has preserved the matter, however, at the expense of a total loss of the form of the original. The illustrations, as far as they relate to the spiritual world, are mere blots upon the page, and had far better be omitted.

Mr. Bruce Whyte's "free translation" is readable in some parts, though perhaps scarcely worthy of being read. He has added and left out and spoiled a great portion of the original, so that the work is in pretty strict accordance with the title he has selected. He should scarcely have ventured, we think, to use such strong language in his preface in condemning those who have held that Dante intended under the name of Beatrice to personify Divine wisdom. The notion, he tells us, is absurd, and destroys the interest of the character; but it is certainly warranted by Dante himself, as he might have learned by reading the "Convito."

Mr. Thomas's translation, though by no means meritorious, is certainly better than either his notes or preface. He tells us that his aim has been "to give the sense correctly, and, by uniting the form, beauty, and spirit of the original, to do justice to Dante." This would be an arrogant assumption in the mouth of the most successful translator, and we think Mr. Thomas would have done well if he had asked some candid friend whether he was at all justified in making use of it. His comments, which he says represent the labour of a life, consist chiefly of imperfect and misplaced classical and biblical knowledge, the former part of which might have been, and probably was, derived from Lempriere's Dictionary. He is very zealous, moreover, for the Lord God, and corrects Dante's errors of doctrine, in his valuable notes, with kind but unsparing orthodoxy. He is very learned too, himself,

on the future state of the wicked, and tells us, gravely, apropos of the scenes in the Malebolge, that there is no reason to apprehend that the Devil and his angels will be permitted to amuse themselves with tormenting us, should we be unfortunate enough to descend into their company. We shall not escape, it is true, but the devils will suffer with us, and the holy angels will be our appointed executioners. Mr. Thomas's readers must be strangely constituted if they are to derive comfort from this intelligence.

There is a story told of an old grammarian, at Alexandria, who inserted a pentameter between every two lines of the *Iliad*. The result was of course valueless, except so far as it gave proof of a certain mean kind of ingenuity which might have been much better employed. There are a good many verse translations of Dante, which it is scarcely possible to open without being reminded of the labours of the old grammarian. We ask naturally what is gained by the metre: why such platitudes of language should have been distorted from their native prose. Is Dante's genius so usual a gift that every versifier can soar with safety where Dante has been before him? Are great poems so common that it is a small offence to disgust men with the very greatest? or so rare that it is necessary to select the "*Divina Commedia*" for the travesty of incompetent translation? There is really less of excuse than of condemnation in the plea that they know not what they do; the traces of blundering unconscious ignorance raise less of pity than of disgust.

Of the few versions which remain to be considered, we scarcely know to which we ought to assign the bad pre-eminence of being the very worst of any. Mr. Bannerman, if, as we presume, he is a Caledonian, has of course the same prescriptive right to be dull that a crow has to be black, or an adder deaf; but his nationality is no excuse at all for the presumption of undertaking to translate from a language of which he can really know nothing. His work, both as a translator and a poet, is as nearly worthless as anything we have seen.

Of Mr. Jennings' competence to translate Dante, we may judge in some measure from the remarks which he has prefixed to his little volume. He tells us that Dante's poem is "equal to anything that could reasonably be expected from so grating a subject," and goes on to say, what is more strictly true of the translation, that "it is a painful task to read it regularly through." He informs us, too, that it was totally indifferent to him in what metre he wrote, this being literally his first attempt at any poetry whatever. It is almost needless after this to add that the version is execrably bad throughout.

Mr. Boyd's labours have been those of a paraphrast rather than a translator. His work has no other claim to be called

poetry than such as may result from the free use of what Wordsworth has happily characterized as *poetic diction*, and from the constant introduction of adjectives, *metri causâ*, which add nothing to his force or meaning, and which would never have been employed in prose.

With Mr. Hindley's and Mr. O'Donnell's prose versions we may complete the list of those "*ove non è che luca*." They display so few evidences of either spirit or accuracy, that we will not rashly undertake to decide between their respective merits. We have certainly detected the graver errors and inaccuracies in Mr. O'Donnell's; but his translation extends over the whole poem, and has thus afforded him more opportunity of distinguishing himself; whereas Mr. Hindley has more prudently confined himself to the rendering of four Cantos.

But it is no easy task that a translator sets himself, who ventures, whether in prose or verse, on rendering any of Dante's poem. We must be contented, in such a case, to judge by a very humble standard, and most gladly welcome mediocrity, where mediocrity alone is possible.

Dante was indeed a poet in whose verse we find, combined, qualities the most varied and opposite. He is best known, perhaps, for the force and terseness of his language, for his power of short and exact description, and for the wonderful aptness and copiousness of his numerous similes. But it is more especially in the awful calmness of his most sublime passages that he stands without a rival, and far beyond all limits of praise. He had seen, as it were in a vision, the truth and reality of all that he relates; the torments and miseries of the abode of lost spirits; the lesser or rather the less enduring pains, which were to purge and purify, and not only to punish; and, last of all, the blessed inhabitants of the heavenly city, the saints, and angels, and martyrs, who, each in their own station, and order of felicity, stood under or surrounded the throne of the Eternal King. And all this he has described with no effort after originality, or labour of ingenious invention; he has told us only, with quiet confidence, the things which he had himself witnessed; but he had had more revealed to him than has been revealed to any other before or after; and yet he stands alone and above the rest not more for the things which he saw, than for the tones of the language in which he uttered them. And with all this is combined and blended the most exquisite beauty of thought and tenderness of passion. He could feel hate—few perhaps more strongly; but the depths of his nature are most truly revealed in his powers of sympathy and love.

It is not easy, in criticising a long poem, to illustrate our re-

marks by referring to detached passages. If the poem is a good one, the parts of it must derive much of their beauty from the relation in which they stand to the whole and to one another; and, the better the work, the more certainly will this rule apply. In the "*Divina Commedia*," or (as Mr. Cary prefers to call it) "*The Vision*," so entirely does it hold true, that it is not possible to appreciate fully any one division of it apart from the two others; much less can a judgment of each separate passage be formed without a sense of its connexion with all that goes before and follows it. It may be worth while, however, even at the risk of partial failure, to select some passages which would appear to suffer least by standing apart from the rest of the poem; and in this way to illustrate, at least better than by any merely general remarks, the force and variety of the poet's genius.

It has been observed by Mr. Gladstone, in his work on "*Homer and the Homeric Age*," that Homer, Shakespeare, and Dante have succeeded, as none others have done, in expressing fully, by the flow and rhythm of their verse, the nature of the thoughts they intended to convey, and this without any straining after effect, or unnatural distortion of language, indeed without leaving a trace to show that the effect produced has been in any way the result of care and labour. No reader, ungifted with the ears of King Midas, can take up the "*Divina Commedia*" without perceiving how amply, as far as it relates to our present subject, the remark in question is borne out. We shall find, in the endeavour to illustrate it, that we are introduced to other beauties besides the one of which we are in search. A translation would here be of no service; the nature of the case compels us to quote from the original.

At the end of Piccarda's speech, in the third canto of the "*Paradiso*," there is a very perfect instance of this adaptation of sound to sense.

Così parlommi; e poi cominciò Ave
Maria cantando; e cantando vanìo,
Come per acqua cupa cosa grave.

"Thus spake she to me: and then began singing Ave Maria, and while singing vanished, as a heavy body vanishes in deep water." It is to the second of these verses that we desire the reader's careful attention. He should observe how exactly and beautifully the flow of the line accords with and bears out the meaning. The verse and Piccarda seem, as it were, to vanish together—the one to withdraw from the ear, just as we are to conceive the other withdrawing from the sight. This effect, if we analyse it, is produced by the weak sound of the open "i" in

vanò, and the pause on the first *cantando*, standing in immediate contrast with the absence of any pause on the second.

Again, in the seventh canto, the following lines describe the departure of Justinian and the accompanying spirits.

Ed essa, e l' altre mossero a sua danza,
E quasi velocissime faville
Mi si velar di subita distanza.

“And it and the others commenced their dance, and, like sparks of swiftest light, hid themselves from me by the distance which they immediately reached.” The swiftness of the motion is well expressed by the rhythm of the last two verses; the want of any pause in the first part of the second verse compels us to read it rapidly; the marked *cæsura* after the pause on the second syllable of *velar* forces upon our minds the width of the distance which the spirits had reached so suddenly. Again in the twenty-third canto, the song of the Angel Gabriel while he is crowning the Blessed Virgin is introduced by these exquisite lines:—

Qualunque melodia più dolce suona
Quaggiù, ed a se più l'anima tira,
Parrebbe nube, che squarciata tuona,
Comparata al sonar di quella lira,
Onde s' incoronava il bel zaffiro
Del quale il ciel più chiaro s' inzaffira.

“Whatever melody sounds most sweetly here below, and most draws the soul to it would appear like a cloud which is rent and thunders, if it be compared with the tones of that harp with which the fair sapphire was crowned, whose presence sheds in heaven a greater brightness of sapphire light.” We may here observe the sudden roughness of the third line, and the precise manner in which the sound of its last two words expresses the cloud rent asunder and the succeeding thunder-clap, and this none the less truly because the theory which it implies happens to be totally incorrect. Then follow the three lines, in all their sweetness and melody, in which Dante passes on to describe the music no longer of earth but of angels.

It would not be difficult to multiply instances to the same effect. They lie on almost every page, and peculiarly characterize the finer passages throughout the poem. We will add only one more before quitting this branch of our subject. In the twenty-seventh canto of the “*Purgatorio*” when Dante's guide, Virgil, has used the name of Beatrice to induce him to enter the gulf of fire which was to purify him from the stains of earthly love, and fit him for his lady's presence, its effect upon him, when

almost lifeless with the terror of this new torment, is described as that of Thisbe's name upon the dying Pyramus ;—

Come al nome di Tisbe aperse il ciglio
Piramo in su la morte e riguardolla,—
Così, &c.

“As at the name of Thisbe Pyramus unclosed his eye just before he died, and gazed upon her, so, &c.” In these verses the softness of the vowel sounds, the substitution of the trochee for the iambus, and the consequent absence of the regular marked pauses, followed by the pause upon the long full word at the end, express with wonderful delicacy the faint swoon in which Pyramus was lying, and the earnestness of his gaze when he opened his dying eyes and fixed them on Thisbe. It would not be easy to find a passage anywhere more exquisitely melodious, or one in which a succession and complex beauty of thoughts was rendered so accurately to the ear by language.

It is common to regard Dante as one of the sternest of poets. He could be very stern ; he often was ; but these extracts may show that he could also be very tender. If further proof were needed, we might find it in the story of Francesca di Rimini ;* in the account of Beatrice's first appearance in the terrestrial paradise ;† or in the simile by which he describes her waiting and watching for the glory of Christ's triumph.‡ We may see, too, in these cantos, with what a simple, manly force he could describe intense passion ; not over-mastered, and carried away, as it were, with what he relates, but standing above it all, not unmoved, but most strictly undisturbed. For vigour of poetic narrative we know nothing that surpasses the lines in which Justinian speaks of the conquests of the Roman eagle :§ for grandeur and sublimity nothing like the coming of the mighty angel, the touch of whose wand threw open the gates of the infernal city.|| We may feel, as we read the passage, how immense a loss we have sustained by the shipwreck of the sketches which Michael Angelo drew to illustrate the “*Divina Commedia*.”

It is a matter of curious inquiry how far Dante has been indebted, in the construction of his poem, to the labours of any of his predecessors. He himself professes the most unbounded obligations to Virgil, and states¶ expressly that Virgil was his master in poetry, and that from him his style had been imitated. “These obligations” (Mr. Hallam observes) “few of his readers will be

* Inferno, v. 73 to the end.

† Par. xxiii. 1-11.

‡ Inf. ix. 64-105.

† Purg. xxx. 28-48.

§ Par. vi. 37-81.

¶ Inf. i. 85-87.

willing to allow." We find here and there a thought, or phrase, or simile which is derived without doubt from some passage in the *Æneid*, but so altered and amplified that it can scarcely be said with any truth to have been copied. In Virgil's own style there is a graveness and often a sustained majesty which must have suited well with Dante's sober habits of thought and language; the verses of both are exquisitely musical, but Dante's is the music of an instrument of wider range, and of greater and more varied powers of expression. We feel, with Mr. Hallam, how impossible it is to allow that Virgil was in any real sense Dante's master. The leading idea of the poem, the journey through the world of spirits, was no doubt derived in part from the descent of *Æneas* in search of his father, in part from the ecstatic vision of St. Paul;* but we shall adduce some reasons presently which may serve to show that when Dante addresses Virgil as the poet from whom his style is imitated, he is alluding not so much to the "*Divina Commedia*," as to some of his earlier, and, particularly, his Latin, poems. It is obvious, too, to remark that, at the time when the words in question were used, the "*Divina Commedia*" had not yet been written—the vision which was the subject of it had not yet been witnessed.

An attempt has frequently been made to trace a resemblance between parts of the "*Divina Commedia*" and fragments, many of which are still extant, of monkish legends on the same subject. The vision† of the monk Alberico has been selected as the one to which it is most probable that Dante was indebted. Alberico was born at the beginning of the twelfth century. When he was nine years old, he was attacked by an apparently mortal illness, and lay, as it were, in a trance, without motion or sense, for nine whole days. But it was during these days that he saw a vision that was to influence his whole future life. It seemed to him that a dove bore him up, and that the Apostle Peter and two angels, became his guides, and conducted him through the three abodes of the departed. When the vision left him, and his spirit returned to his body, he was for some time so bewildered that he could not (to use his very words) recognise his own mother. Shortly after his recovery he entered the monastery of Monte Casino, and led thenceforth a life of holiness and self-denial, such as (in his chronicler's words) would have proved, even had his tongue been silent, the reality of the things he had witnessed. The fame of this vision was soon

* That Dante had both these in his mind is clear from *Inf. ii. 13-33*.

† This vision is given at length in the 5th vol. of Lombardi's edition, together with some interesting correspondence upon the question stated above.

spread about, and various accounts given of it, more or less false and incorrect. At length the abbot of the monastery desired Alberico himself to write down in full his own story. This was done, and it is a question in dispute whether or not the manuscript was seen and copied by Dante. The resemblance which several passages in the "*Divina Commedia*" bear to it are too close and too numerous to have been the result of mere accident. If Dante copied nothing from Alberico's vision, we can explain them only by supposing that both he and Alberico were alike indebted to the revelations of some earlier writer on the same subject.

The number of these had, beyond all doubt, been considerable. The vision of Alberico is a specimen of one only among many similar stories. There can be no question that the subject of the "*Divina Commedia*" had been frequently handled before Dante's time, and a great variety of legends written about it. It was a subject, too, which painters and sculptors had often chosen to illustrate, and which, in the representations of miracle plays, must often have been brought before the spectators. Nothing indeed could have been better suited to the purpose of the ecclesiastics; nothing could have given a more truthful and vivid sense of the reality of the spiritual world:—

Segnius irritant animum demissa per aures,
Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.

The accounts therefore brought back to earth by those who professed to have seen it, whether expressed in verse or legend, or sculpture or painting, would have been wisely encouraged, as likely to impress the people for their good, and give them a just sense of the importance of living for the life to come. And in this way there must have arisen, and in fact did arise, a vast mass of traditions, which no subsequent writer could altogether neglect; to which indeed, if he did not wish to outrage his readers, he must in great measure have conformed. Some, however, of Dante's commentators have resented, as an attack upon the poet's originality, what is in fact an account of the natural and necessary course he found himself compelled to follow. If Dryden had carried out his intention of writing the story of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table, he must have proceeded in the same way, and have met with the same, not necessarily adverse, criticism. The "*Mort d'Arthur*" and the "*Idylls of the King*" are not less truly Tennyson's own, because their main plot, and many of their points of detail and incident, have been borrowed from previous sources. Originality is scarcely more shown in inventing, than in adapting the thoughts of others. When every allowance has been made that the most exacting critic could

demand, when every borrowed thought or expression has been restored to its first owner, nothing will have been done to detract from Dante's praise as the most original of poets.

It is probable that Dante was much indebted, though in a different way, to Brunetto Latini and Guido Guinizello. These writers were living at the same time with himself, his contemporaries, but considerably his elders. His debt to them would have been rather that they supplied examples and models of versification than actual matter or incident. Of Guido, in particular, he speaks in terms of the strongest affection and respect; he calls* him his father, and the father of others, too, better than he was, who wrote the sweet verses of love. It was Guido, too, who introduced the custom of writing in verse, and in the modern dialect, upon subjects of philosophy and metaphysics. From his example, this manner of writing became fashionable, and he was imitated in it by Guido Cavalcanti among others, and by Dante himself. The reader of the "Paradiso" will wish heartily that the obligation had never been incurred; but we ought to remember how inevitable it was that the greatest men of those times should indulge in such speculations. The questions started had, to them, a real meaning, and an interest beyond all others. They conceived that in the endeavour to answer them, they had found the highest and most worthy employment of the human faculties. Theology and metaphysics combined to prove what is and what is not the cause of the dark spots on the moon's surface; reasons of a similar kind to show how it happens that a good father can beget a vicious son;—reasons why the Jews deserved punishment for putting Christ to death, since Christ's death was, owing to man's wickedness, in a certain manner just;—how it is that the divine nature can be immutable, and yet the origin of creation and change—when these and other questions of the sort are asked, and the subjects treated gravely, and with a length and fulness of detail which leaves no side of the difficulty unanswered, we feel an impatience and weariness which no reverence for Dante's name can quite overcome. These passages, however, which we read, only because to omit them would be to lose an essential feature of their age, were probably considered, at the time when they were written, as the most valuable of the whole poem. We ought not now to complain of their presence. If the habits of thought which produced them, absurd as they are, had not once existed, the rest of the "*Divina Commedia*" could never have been written.†

* Par. xxvi. 97-99.

† There is an observation of M. Comte's, partly on this subject, which seems here to require notice. "The characteristics of the age," he says, "appear in

A great deal has been said about the meaning of the name "Commedia," which is of Dante's own bestowing.* We find among his "Opere Minori" a letter, dedicating the *Paradiso* to his patron and friend S. Can Grande della Scala, which, whether genuine or not, appears to contain the true explanation. A *commedia* is there stated to be a poem with a happy ending, just as the name tragedy was used for any story which commenced happily, and ended in misery and ruin. The dramatic form was equally unnecessary for either. The manner and language, too, suitable to a comedy, are there opposed to the loftiness of tragic diction; and whatever we may think of the grandeur of Dante's language, it is certain that he considered Italian, "*questa moderna favella*,"† as he contemptuously calls it, as far inferior to Latin. Virgil's *Æneid* is called a tragedy;‡ Virgil's verses are "*gli alti versi*"§ but Dante was compelled by custom to write in rhyme, and to use the lower language of his own age and country.|| We may assume therefore, as we said above, that in spite of all that may be said truly of his intense reverence for Virgil, he could not in such a poem regard him as his guide and master. The style of it was not imitated from Virgil, but stands in marked opposition to Virgil's style, however contrary

Dante's poem, especially in the critical tendency, guided by metaphysics highly unfavourable to the Catholic spirit. It is not only that the work contains severe attacks upon the popes and the clergy; its whole conception is in a manner sacrilegious, usurping, as it does, the power of apotheosis and damnation in a way which would have been out of the question during the full ascendancy of Catholicism two centuries earlier." Now Alberico's vision, written just two centuries earlier, and others earlier still, appear to differ from Dante's in this point in degree rather than in kind. Alberico professes to have received just as precise information about the spiritual world, and the nature and extent of its rewards and punishments. He indicates a knowledge, too, about the destinies of individuals, although he is not permitted to reveal them. Again, metaphysics may be said with truth to be unfavourable to the Catholic spirit, and their existence may indicate a tendency which subsequently developed into opposition to it; but it must surely be allowed that in Dante himself they were strictly subordinate to Catholicism. They are employed to establish and defend the Church's dogmas, not to oppose them; though of course, in themselves, equally available for either side of that or of any other question.

* *Inf.* xvi. 128.

† *Par.* xvi. 33.

‡ *Inf.* xx. 113.

§ *Inf.* xxvi. 82, so, too, *Par.* xv. 26.

|| The following incident will illustrate the feeling which induced Dante to wish to write in Latin, the necessity under which he found himself of writing in Italian, and the advantages of adopting a style which made the moderns his rivals, and not the ancients. Ariosto had applied to Cardinal Bembo for direction (or the Cardinal had offered it unasked) about the metre in which his poem was to be written. "'Put your romance,' was the Cardinal's grave advice, 'into good Latin hexameters, and you will immortalize your name.' 'I have no wish,' was Ariosto's reply, 'to be a second-rate writer in Latin, while I may be one of the first in Italian.'"—Stebbing's "*Lives of the Italian Poets*."

this may have been to its author's own wishes. For we may remember that Dante had intended at first to write his vision in Latin ; but he was compelled, by the decreasing knowledge of that language among the people, and even among the educated, to abandon his original purpose, and condescend to use the vernacular. A few lines have been preserved of the commencement of the original poem :—

Ultima regna canam fluido contermina mundo,
Spiritus quæ lata patent, et præmia solvunt
Pro meritis cujusque suis data lege Tonantis.

We will leave it to the reader to determine how far the possession of a Tragedy such as this would have been an equivalent to the world for the loss of the “*Divina Commedia*.”

The age of Dante and the other *trecentisti* has been celebrated by later writers as *il secolo d'oro*—the golden age of the Italian language. It was not (says Salvini) so much for the merit of the authors who then lived, that this name was given it, as for the language itself in which men talked and wrote. The custom, however, as we have seen, of writing in Italian had only recently been adopted ; it had long been a spoken language, but authors had not discontinued the customary use of Latin. The Sicilian poets appear have been the first to use the popular dialect, and after them the Tuscans, and the greater number of the rest who were Dante's predecessors and contemporaries. The only praise which the Sicilians receive is for their boldness in having originated the new custom ; what they wrote appears to have been of very little value ; but of the writers on the mainland of Italy, and particularly of the Tuscan writers, we have received a considerable list of illustrious names, who had already formed a school of poetry before Dante's time.

But whatever later critics may think of the language of the fourteenth century, it is certain that no high opinion of it was entertained by those who used it. It was esteemed quite unworthy to be employed in the treatment of noble subjects, and was used only in condescension to the people's ignorance. There had been in fact a separation for a very long time past between the written and spoken language of Italy. The former, which was employed by men of learning, was, or at least aimed at being, pure classical Latin ; the latter, the people's language, the *volgare linguaggio*, was at first a corrupt idiom, whose peculiarities were developed as men dropped gradually the inflected forms of the Latin nouns, and altered those of the verbs, introducing, too, new uses of the auxiliary verbs ; as they changed the terminations of words, and in many instances the letters in the middle ; and as they followed the manner of speech

introduced from time to time by the successive races who had invaded* and had ruled in Italy. While this change was in progress the separation between the written and spoken language became of course continually wider, until the latter at length took place of the former altogether, and the language of Italy was recognised as *la lingua Toscana*,—Italian and not Latin. But the old feeling was at work, then as now, which makes men think the present inferior to the past. The *trecentisti* spoke and wrote in Italian, but all their reverence was for Latin. We have seen above what Dante felt about this; and what he felt was pretty closely repeated by others, at least down to the time of Petrarch and Boccaccio, both of whom follow, but not without a certain tone of apology, the example their predecessors had set them.

It may be a question of some difficulty to determine whether or not the “*Divina Commedia*” should be called an epic poem. The name “epic” is applied so loosely, and with so great a variety of meanings, that it appears impossible absolutely to exclude it here; but an epic, in its most ordinary sense, Dante’s poem certainly is not. Viewed as such, it would seem destitute of all unity of action; its persons appear and disappear, and change in every canto; there is no continuity in the story, and, except the author himself, no hero. We ought to regard it rather as what Dante tells us it was—as the story of the course of meditation† which his thoughts followed in the search after repose and peace, and as the message which he believed‡ himself charged to deliver against the wickedness of the men and cities around him. He is guided in it first by human and then by Divine wisdom: first by Virgil and then by Beatrice. *Per aver pace* is the professed object of the journey which he supposes himself to undertake, and he finds peace at last, when his wanderings are concluded, and he is admitted to the Court of Heaven, and to the sight of the beatific Vision. It appears beyond doubt that the poem had been commenced before Dante’s banishment from Florence, although much, even of the earliest parts, must have been added afterwards.

* A very curious instance of the formation of a new language has occurred in the present century. While the allied troops were in Paris, a dialect came into use, formed out of the various words and phrases which the soldiers of different nations used in their intercourse with one another. It perished, of course, when the occasion for its use came to an end; but if the occupation had been permanent, the dialect might have become so too. We find another instance of a similar kind in what is known as *Canton English*.

† Purg. v. 61-63. See too, Inf. i. particularly the end of the canto.

‡ Par. xvii. 124-135.

"Looking down," says Boccaccio, "from his high place as ruler of his city, and seeing the nature of man's life, the blind wanderings of the multitude, and the sudden and unforeseen accidents to which it is exposed, there came thus into his mind the conception of the '*Divina Commedia*.'"

And from this point of view we may regard the poem as intended to present us with the truth of things instead of their appearances, stripping from them their false show, and the glitter of their fairy tinsel, and holding up to it, as it were, a mirror, which will reflect no disguises, and will display human life and actions, not as men see them, but as God and the holy angels.

"There is no shuffling; there the action lies
In his true nature; and we ourselves compelled,
Even to the teeth and forehead of our faults,
To give in evidence."

And thus it is not only the world beyond the grave which is disclosed to us; we look too with additional knowledge upon the world around us, and see, in the light of the infinite future, the reality of things present.

The spirit of the work throughout is strictly Catholic; the world, with Dante, had existed only that the Church of God might be founded, and that its centre might be in the Eternal City, and that its saints might pass from it to the glories of the Church triumphant. For this the creation of the universe had been accomplished, to this tended the entire course of the past, it was this alone which gave any meaning or reality to the shifting scenes of history.

"Ecco le schiere
*Del trionfo di Cristo, e tutto il frutto
Ricolto del girar di queste spere,"

is the cry of the enraptured Beatrice. The heavens and earth exist, and the stars roll on their courses, only that Christ may triumph.

But Dante could distinguish the Papacy from the Pope, the divine Church from her corrupt human governors. How great soever his reverence for the former, the latter he never spares, but regards their vices and weaknesses as magnified many times by the grandeur of the seat which they occupied thus unworthily.†

"Dante," says Mr. Hallam, "is among the very few who have created the national poetry of their country. Of all writers he is the most unquestionably original."

* Par. xxiii. 19-21.

† *Inferno* passim, but particularly Canto xix.

We have seen above with what limitation both these remarks must be received. He then continues, in one of those passages of wonderful eloquence which lie here and there upon his pages:—

“His appearance made an epoch in the intellectual history of modern nations, and banished the discouraging suspicion, which long ages of lethargy tended to excite, that nature had exhausted her fertility in the great poets of Greece and Rome. It was as if, at some of the ancient games, a stranger had appeared upon the plain, and had thrown his quoit among the marks of former casts which tradition had ascribed to the demigods.”

It may fairly excite our wonder that so much excellence should have been so suddenly attained, and that the progress of Italian poetry should not have been, as most progress is, slow and gradual. If we look however at the circumstances of his own age, and of that which preceded him, we may derive some considerations which will tend in some degree to lessen our surprise.

We must remember, in the first place, that Dante was not the earliest writer to whom we are indebted for the revival of literature in Europe. There had been, as we have seen, many among his own countrymen whose names are still honoured, but the lead had hitherto been taken by France and the French poets. The fame of their success stimulated others beyond the limits within which the French tongue was spoken, and that Dante was among those whom they influenced is certain, both from the terms in which he speaks of Arnaldo or Arnault, and from his own declaration that he desired to prove by his sonnets that the Italian was not inferior to the Provençal dialect. It was a circumstance in some respects very favourable to the growth of Italian art, that the chief examples it had before it were written in a kindred, but still a foreign, language. French and Latin authors could furnish models for Italians to imitate, but could never be their true rivals, for they could never furnish the Italian people with a native literature. The field was thus clear for all, and their paths, however closely parallel, need never lap over or intersect. In this matter a man's foes are those of his own household, a man's rivals are those who have written in the same language as himself.

We ought not, therefore, to consider that Dante was entirely at a disadvantage by living at so early a period. An early poet will receive always a better encouragement than his successors.

* *Purg.* xxvi. Strictly, it is Guinicelli who is here speaking, but the sentiment, put into his mouth, is evidently Dante's own.

† *Convito*.

The field of labour is large enough indeed for all ; those who complain that there is no subject left for poetry, prove only, what they wish to excuse, their own want of inventive power. But when much good poetry exists already, the avenues to public favour are, in a way, closed up ; the taste of men is satisfied with what they possess. The aspirant for fame will meet therefore with very scant encouragement, and will win his laurels, if at all, against a host of competitors, who have won theirs when there were fewer rivals to be dreaded, and when even a moderate degree of merit could ensure favour and success. The existence of a large body of good literature, however favourable it may be to the formation of correct taste, is an immense discouragement to every modern author. His power of writing well may be somewhat increased by it, but it diminishes very sensibly the stimulus he has to write at all. Clearly as he will perceive his own faults and shortcomings, he will find that others are still more aware of them than himself, and he will thus be likely to leave a task unattempted in which his first endeavours will so probably disappoint his hopes. His attention will thus be turned aside to another subject before his powers have had time and opportunity to develope, and he will produce nothing great, because at the time when he was incapable of great things he met with no encouragement.

It is a point too of no little consequence that the words which the early poet finds in use, have not yet lost the freshness of their first meaning ; the images which express the sensations from which they are derived, have not been dulled by long use, and diverted gradually from their original force and import. Poetry, as far as it is concerned with description, deals with the outside of things, with the appearance which they present to us, not with their truth and reality. And he is likely to succeed best in copying their appearances in words, who finds his tools, as it were, made ready to his hand ; and a vocabulary and habits of thought and expression, derived from the senses, existing already to supply the sensuous necessities of art. The forms of the world around us are best painted in phrases drawn directly from the observation of the things themselves, and unchanged by elaborate reasoning upon their nature and the laws of their action. The impressions of which the mind is sensible are described better by the poet who has only felt them, than by the analytical psychologist who can ticket them with names and reduce them under the fewest headings. And there is thus in poetry, no less than in painting, a kind of perspective to be observed, the laws of which depend upon very similar conditions. A flat coloured surface is all that the eye can perceive in vision, the rest is the product of touch, and reason, and experience.

The first conditions therefore of the painter's success in colouring must be that he shall practically divest himself of the results of this experience, that he shall ignore the rules by which he has learned, as other men have, the real size and shape of bodies, and shall regard only the nature of the impression they make, not upon the mind, but upon the retina. Very similar to this is the perspective with which poetry is concerned. It describes very much by colour, for it is upon distinctions of colour that all knowledge of form is grounded; and so, passing through the whole range of the senses and feelings, it will employ those terms of description which shall most realize the thing described, and remind the reader of the object by repeating to his mind the very process by which the object itself is known to him. The concrete, not the abstract, is that which poetry ever loves, and the concrete itself it loves best in its simplest and most original form. In the earlier ages, when men's thoughts about science were those of children, their language would retain much which it has now lost of the power of its original significancy, and these conditions, the most adverse to the philosopher, would be, above all others, the most favourable to the poet.

Thus, when Dante says that at sunrise "the fear was a little calmed which he had felt all night in the lake of his heart,"* he is employing a literal metaphor (if we may be excused the apparent contradiction,) to express the exact feeling which he had experienced. The words are poetry because they accurately reproduce the sensation, and describe the very thing which Dante felt; they do not reason about it, or investigate its formal cause.

Again, when he wishes to tell us how the bright image of his ancestor, Cacciaguida, glided down in form of a star to the foot of the cross in which he was stationed with countless other glorified spirits, he says that it was—

Quale per li seren tranquilli e puri
Discorre ad ora ad or subito fuoco,
Movendo gli occhi che stavan sicuri,
E pare stella che tramuti loco,
Se non che dalla parte, onde s'accende,
Nulla sen perde ed esso dura poco.†

"As oft along the still and pure serene,
At nightfall, glides a sudden trail of fire,
Attracting with involuntary heed
The eye to follow it, erewhile at rest;
And seems some star that shifted place in heaven,
Only that, whence it kindles, none is lost,
And it is soon extinct."‡

* *Inf.* i. 19-21.† *Par.* xv. 13-18.

‡ Mr. Cary's Translation.

Now it is just this kind of writing in which, as all experience shows us, an early poet is the most likely to succeed. There is an easy truthfulness about it which seldom characterizes a later and more thoughtful age. The image is represented to the mind just as it would really occur to the senses, and the impressions of the whole scene are reproduced with a power, which yet evinces no trace of effort, no wish to do more than barely to record with accuracy. It is to descriptive art just what a story in Herodotus is to narrative. Each might appear to have really nothing in it, and yet we feel that there is everything in that very nothingness. Each speaks to us of common things in the language of common life, but it binds the attention with a spell more potent than that of reason or analysis.

Again, when Dante had torn a twig off from a tree in the grove of the suicides, and the branch from which it was torn bled, and sent forth a voice through its bleeding wound, he says that the sound of it was as when one end of a green bough is burned, and, from the other end, wind comes hissing out through the dropping moisture.* Here we feel at once how exact a simile is presented to us, how well it assists the imagination to picture to itself the very thing which it is intended to illustrate. It enables us to realize the appearance of what Dante saw, and the very sound which he must have heard. It goes no further than this, if it did it would pass out of the domain of poetry.

These are some of the many instances of word-painting with which Dante's verses abound; they are reproductions of the precise manner in which a sensation had been felt, or a sight witnessed, and they derive their beauty and precision from laying hold, as they do, of the very points by which the mind or the senses received their impressions. They imply no subsequently acquired knowledge, but enable the reader, and indeed compel him, to place himself as nearly as possible in the position in which Dante was at the moment of which he speaks. The effect of such passages as these may be fairly said to resemble that of perspective in the delineation of form and colour. In each of them we find a successful endeavour to *re-present*, and the means employed in each are as nearly the same as the different method of the two arts will permit.

We will add one more instance, somewhat different from our former ones, but nearly to the same effect. When writers of the present age speak of the spirit of man, as something dwelling in the body, and capable of being separated from it and existing alone, they believe, no doubt, that what they say is true, but

* Inf. xiii. 40-43.

they are very far from distinctly realising its truth. The influence of custom and speculation has engendered among us a more or less conscious materialism. We may use the words "soul," or "spirit," but we think of them only as functions of the living body; when we attempt to speak of them as anything else we are employing phrases at variance with our real habits of thought, and the manner of our language will continually reveal its insincerity. It was not so in Dante's age; men's earliest and most obvious notions were then accepted as unquestioned truth. We will not argue from the entire plan of his poem, which presupposes a world of spirits, distinct from the world of matter. We will examine rather a few incidental, and, so to speak, unguarded expressions, in which his real conceptions will be sure to betray themselves. When Buonconte is describing the manner of his own death, he ends with "*Caddi e rimase la mia carne sola.*"* I fell, and there remained my flesh alone; or, as Mr. Cary translates it, "tenantless my flesh remained." Very similar to this is the language which Cacciaguida uses. He says that he was, by the hands of the infidels "*Disvillupato dal mondo fallace,*"† disentangled from the treacherous world. So too Dante himself prays of Beatrice that his spirit may find favour with her when "*dal corpo si disnodi;*"‡ literally, when it unknots or disentangles itself from the body. But perhaps the most remarkable passage of any is that in which he says, speaking of the general resurrection,—

"Quale i beati al novissimo bando
Surgeran presti, ognun di sua caverna,
La rivestita carne alleviando."§

"At the last audit, so
The blest shall rise, from forth his cavern each,
Uplifting lightly his new-vested flesh."||

Or, more literally, the flesh with which he is re-clothed. The body is as it were nothing: it is the soul within it which is the real person, the source of life and motion. And there is nothing figurative in this, no lurking suspicion in Dante's mind that the language he is using differs in any way from his real thought and meaning. But would it be possible to find, in modern literature, a parallel to its startling earnestness?

There is much, very much, in Dante's manner of thought and expression, which may remind us of the miracle-plays of our own country. We find in each the same vivid conception of the spiritual world, side by side with, yet distinct from, the

* *Purg.* v. 102.† *Par.* xv. 146.‡ *Par.* xxxi. 90.§ *Purg.* xxx. 13-15.

|| Mr. Cary's Translation.

world of matter ; the same strange union of Scripture with Pagan and legendary stories, and of the names of real men and women with the fanciful titles and personages of the angelic hierarchy of the upper and lower world. Dante does not indeed confuse history and geography with the unconscious recklessness of those with whom we are now comparing him ; but we find in both alike that the imagination is strong at the expense of the intellect, and that their respective provinces are still unsettled ; in other words, that the distinction between fact and fiction is really almost unknown. Our early miracle-plays have not as yet received the study and attention they deserve. They are well worth reading for their own sake, but still more for the light which they may be made to throw on Dante. Inferior as they are to him in everything except the power of *ποίησις*, of making something out of nothing, of distinctly realizing the creations of their own fancy, or of the fancy of others, and describing them with a marvellous air of truth and reality, they yet possess, in that one quality, Dante's own most peculiar characteristic. That the loss of this power has been more than made up to us by the possession of the scientific truths which have robbed us of it, it would be absurd to attempt to deny ; but it is surely worth while to pay some attention to the operation of a faculty which the world no longer now possesses.

That Dante was deficient in a sense of humour implies a charge which may be laid to so many great and honoured names, that we may well doubt whether it amounts to a charge at all ; nay, we may even suspect that a strong sense of the humorous is scarcely compatible with the very highest moral qualities. How great a difference of thought and character its presence would have implied, we may best see by the contrast presented to us in Shakspeare's life and writings ; we may compare instructively the evident sympathy which Shakspeare could feel, at least with one side of his nature, with the lovers of "cakes and ale," and of merriment quite beyond the bounds of reason, with Dante's unbending sternness in the presence of vice and folly.

We can all of us remember the way in which Shakspeare deals with Falstaff. He shows him to us with all his faults, an utterly debauched old fellow, boastful, lying, dishonest, sensual, and with all this he has clearly no little affection for him. He can throw himself fully into the character, and trace, with an evident satisfaction, the course of his villany when it succeeds, and the cleverness with which he out-lies or out-blusters what would be to any other man the most entire failure. We learn to laugh at Sir John, but the laugh is more often with him ; his vices amuse

but never disgust us ; and his very repentance, in all but one scene, is ridiculous.

Now with all this Dante could have had no sympathy whatever ; he would have met it with the precise feelings of the most rigid Puritan. His stern moral judgment would only have condemned, not only Falstaff's vices, but even the very buffooneries which Shakspeare seems to plead in mitigation of them. There had lived a citizen of Florence, in some points very like Falstaff, but (as far as we know) without any of Falstaff's grosser vices. Dante tells us only that he was a glutton ; we learn^{*} the same from others, with the addition that he was a man of great eloquence and refinement of manner, very funny, and gifted with most charming powers of conversation. Here was just the man in whom Shakspeare would especially have delighted, but let us see what treatment he receives from Dante. We find him in the third circle of Hell, lying for ever under a ceaseless storm of rain and snow, howling like a dog, flayed and torn continually by the teeth of the demon Cerberus. It will be worth our while to turn to the account which Dante gives of him and his fellow-sinners and fellow-sufferers.

“ They all along the earth extended lay,
Save one, that sudden raised himself to sit,
Soon as that way he saw us pass. ‘ O thou !’
He cried, ‘ who through the infernal shades art led,
Own if again thou know’st me. ‘ Thou wast framed
Or ere my frame was broken.’ I replied,
‘ The anguish thou endurest perchance so takes
Thy form from my remembrance that it seems
As if I saw thee never. But inform
Me who thou art, that in a place so sad
Art set, and in such torment, that although
Other be greater, none disgusteth more.’
He thus in answer to my words rejoined.
‘ Thy city, heaped with envy to the brim,
Aye, that the measure overflows its bounds,
Held me, in brighter days. Ye citizens
Were wont to name me Ciacco. For the sin
Of gluttony, damned vice, beneath this rain,
E’en as thou seest, I with fatigue am worn :
Nor I sole spirit in this woe : all these
Have by like crime incurr’d like punishment.’ ” †

Some questions are then asked and answered about the

* Boccacio, Dec. ix. 8. Landino. † Cary’s Dante, Canto vi. 36.
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future fate of Florence, and the condition of some of Dante's friends.

"This said, his fix'd eyes he turned askance,
A little eyed me, then bent down his head,
And 'midst his blind companions with it fell.
When thus my guide: 'No more his bed he leaves
Ere the last angel-trumpet blow. The Power,
Adverse to these, shall then in glory come;
Each one forthwith to his sad tomb repair,
Resume his fleshly vesture and his form,
And hear the eternal doom re-echoing rend
'The vault.'"

Here is startling change enough from Shakspeare's easy tolerance. We may judge in some degree to what lower depth of hell Falstaff would have been consigned, from the measure of punishment which Dante deals out to Ciaccio.

It would be difficult to find two very great men who should differ more entirely than Dante and Shakspeare differed in their lives, and characters, and writings. There was the grave Florentine, once the first citizen of a free republic, and then an exile; hating dependence, and yet compelled to eat another's bread, * however bitter,—to climb another's stairs, however wearisome the road. His enemies were triumphant, his country would not receive him, and his lady had long been dead. To read, and think, and write, are poor consolations, when they are all a man has to console him; when he is shut out from all associations that are dear to him, when he has nothing left to hope for, and no object on earth to love. And this was Dante's portion; and he has left the "*Divina Commedia*" as the record of his sorrows, and of their cure,—of all that he had lost, and all he had to suffer, and of the strong undying faith that bore him through all, and above all, and gave him rest and peace in his solitude, and made him, in his exile, a citizen of the city of God.

We find in Shakspeare's writings the impress of a different, and, we must add, a lower character. His powers of sympathy had indeed a wider range than Dante's, but chiefly because he could sympathize with much which Dante would have condemned and scorned. Instead of Dante's calm self-respect we find in Shakspeare an almost feminine easiness of temper, which shrank alike from asserting its own claims and from condemning others; instead of Dante's sternness of self-control, we find the passionate struggles of a weak erring spirit, and the vain utterances of a repentance, deep indeed, but consciously irresolute. It might seem, in truth, as if the wider range of sympathy, the

creative power of mind that can identify itself with all it sees, and think the true thoughts, and speak the language of others, could hardly co-exist with the grand repose of self-contained and self-reliant courage. It is essential for success in dramatic writing that the author's own personality shall never be intruded, that he shall forget himself and live only in his characters. Right and wrong, just and unjust, are no concern of his; he reflects, but he does not discriminate; he relates and describes, but he passes no sentence.

Very different from this was Dante's manner of portraying the men around him: he has stamped his own judgment on all he has told us. His relation of another world is, in fact, his sentence upon the present. A Catholic of the Catholics, he has never allowed his own sympathies to interfere with the Church's teaching. He has disregarded alike the tenderness of private friendship, and the love he bore to the grand old heathen world that had never known Christ. He could feel the deepest pity for many whom he saw condemned. He could feel that there was much in them that was worthy of love and honour. But the unbaptized, and the unrepentant, he saw only in the Inferno; he dared not assign the blessedness of Heaven to those to whom the Church told him it was denied.

The world on which Shakspeare looked was chequered, as Dante's was, with men's vices and errors. He has seen all, he has described all, but he has condemned nothing. We may discover indeed in his historical plays a genuine warmth of patriotism; but from his other dramas we learn nothing of himself, beyond what his very omissions teach us. The persons he brings before us are real human beings, human alike in their faults and excellences. We do not look *on* them, we rather live *in* them, as far as we understand his dramas. It is not so much that we see the working of their minds laid bare, the inner mechanism revealed and plain before us, as that we are compelled for the time to live their life, to think as they would have thought, to speak as they would have spoken. If we cannot feel this, Shakspeare is a closed book to us; and as far as we cannot feel it, we may be sure that we have never really understood him. But when Dante describes, we stand by and look on; we are spectators, but no longer actors. Scene after scene, and person after person, rise up and live before us, men's thoughts are disclosed to us, their words are repeated, their actions and motives are interpreted. But we never forget ourselves in reading the "*Divina Commedia*," as Dante never forgot himself in writing it. In a word, we should say, if we might venture the comparison, that Shakspeare's mind is like the God of the Pantheists, the soul of the universe, living in and animating alike all forms of

being. But if this be so, then Dante's is like the God of the Christian, creator of the world, and yet distinct from it ; with whom nothing unjust or unholy can find any favour, who is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity.

That Dante has exercised but little influence in England, that few writers have been affected by him, and that comparatively few readers have cared to study him, is a fact for which several causes may be assigned, in partial excuse of a neglect so little creditable to our taste or judgment. It would be most erroneous to suppose that we have always neglected or undervalued Italian poetry ; but it is certainly true that, during the period when it was most popular with us, Dante was not our favourite Italian poet. Little cared for at the time in his own country, he was not likely to be selected for especial attention by foreigners who were seeking instruction and guidance from Italy. So that the blame of our neglect falls with most justice on Dante's own countrymen ; it would be hard to insist that our unguided instincts should have chosen correctly in the face of others' judgment ; or that Petrarch and Tasso, who were read by Italians, and whose beauties we could perceive and enjoy, should have been laid aside for one for whom Italians cared nothing ; and whose writings, however well they may repay study, certainly require it. For there is in truth much in the very nature of Dante's poem which would seem likely enough to prevent it from becoming popular anywhere. Among his own countrymen he has formed no school, and found no imitators. Many have looked on and wondered, but none have been daring enough to attempt to follow in his steps. This circumstance by itself, though it justly adds to his reputation, would be likely in a very considerable degree to lessen his popularity. We ought to remember again, that the "*Divina Commedia*" is a long coherent poem, which has a unity of its own, as truly as a living individual body, and can as little bear to be dismembered. To read it in parts is, therefore, not to read it at all ; it is to lose, in fact, its whole meaning and spirit ; while to read and study it as a whole, is a work of no small time and labour. Very few readers are likely to take up as a serious occupation the study of a poem which demands little less than the love and labour of a 'life. Petrarch and Ariosto may be read in detail, and the parts read will lose little by being separated from what surrounds them ; and the same is true, though in a less degree, of Tasso. But with Dante we must read the whole, or the parts will be of little value. There have been and doubtless will be some who are willing to undergo the toil of such a study, and who are competent to enjoy the reward it offers them ; but their veneration and love are not what is ordinarily meant by popularity.

We must remember, too, that the Catholic spirit in which Dante wrote forms a stumbling-block to Englishmen, which it is not easy for them to surmount. Even where this may have given them no actual offence, it has certainly been a reason why they have failed to appreciate and enjoy his meaning. A nation, whose brightest history has been hitherto the record of the struggle against Rome and her adherents; which has acted in her foreign relations with something of a moral purpose just as far as she has sought to free herself and others from that intolerable bondage, may be excused if she is unable to comprehend the former beauty of that to which she now excusably stands opposed; or if she is unwilling to surrender her fancy to an impossible dream of a Church perfect in the future, which has written its character in letters of fire on her own past history: to a dream from which the noblest thought of Europe has long ago awoke.

It is possible, of course, to live in the present and for the future, and yet to do full justice to the lifeless notions of the past; but it is hardly possible for very sincere Protestants. Those who believe in individual development and in the right of private judgment are scarcely likely to appreciate, as it deserves, the magnificence of a system which rejected both alike when set in the scales against its own growth and influence. It is hardly possible that those can ever be in a position to enjoy Dante, who blaspheme not only against the forms but against the ideas which it was his nature to set up for worship.

It is true, that of late years there has been a change in many degrees for the better. Whether our religious zeal has somewhat abated, or our taste improved, it may not be very easy to determine; but Dante is certainly more studied now than he has been for very long. Translations, particularly of the "*Inferno*," as we have seen, are numerous and widely circulated; criticisms, some of them of a very high order, have occasionally appeared; and allusions to his writings may be detected not unfrequently in portions of our floating literature. But the change, whatever its cause may be, has been quite recent; it would hardly be untrue to say, that there is more of Dante's influence traceable in Chaucer's poems—more genuine evidence that Dante had been read and loved—than in the whole body of English literature (Milton's writings alone excepted) from Chaucer's time to our own.

If the hatred of Catholicism has been a cause, (and we feel sure it has been a principal cause,) why Dante has been so little read in England, we must allow that Mr. Thomas is doing good service by a bold endeavour to divert its virulence. Finding that Englishmen will not read Dante because he is so strictly and entirely a Catholic, he offers the suggestion that the notion has all along been erroneous, and that Dante, though born too soon in time,

was really a Protestant, just as the old Patriarchs are said to have been really Christians. It is difficult to characterize severely enough the amount of misapprehension which this view exhibits. Enough has perhaps been said already about the extent and nature of Dante's religious faith, about his veneration, local and traditional, for Rome, about his essential notion of the Church both militant and triumphant as one and indivisible, and about his strict and stern regard for the most external ordinances of Christianity, to prove that a writer who calls him even by anticipation a Protestant has failed totally to penetrate his meaning and spirit. The eye, proverbially, can seldom see more than it brings with it the wish of seeing. The warmth of Mr. Thomas' charity and the soundness of his own Protestant orthodoxy have forced him to ascribe new motives and views to Dante, which Dante himself would have been the very first to repudiate. It would be impossible, we believe, to exaggerate what would have been his hatred of the essentials of Protestantism, and of the peculiar characteristics of its author. Mahomet, as a schismatic, was seen in the "Inferno" split down the middle from the head to the groin, with his wounds, as they closed up, continually renewed : Farinata, as a believer in false doctrine, was laid for ever in a tomb of fire. Vanni Fucci of Pistoia, for blaspheming God, was plagued by serpents and hunted by the Centaur Cacus : Brutus and Cassius, as disturbers of the course of Rome's supremacy, were torn and flayed in the very mouths of Lucifer. We must leave it to the reader to imagine what combination and increase of these torments would have been devised as sufficient for Martin Luther.

A *subjective* poet (we use with some reluctance a word which has done such good service in metaphysics) is usually understood to mean one who displays in his poems his own character and his own belief and sentiments. The *objective* poet, on the contrary, tells us only of the world without him, while of the writer himself we learn nothing. If this division is adopted Dante must be placed in the former class ; a class generally assumed inferior to the latter, particularly in breadth of thought and universality of vision. We are by no means inclined to acquiesce in so sweeping a judgment ; of course if a poet's own nature is worthless, and his views of no value either moral or scientific, the less we see of either of them the better. The modern spasmodic writers, for example, who tell us chiefly that they know of no laws to which they are or wish to be subject, and that they are unable to control their passions, would do well to find some more valuable topics before they think it worth while to communicate their sentiments in verse. Impatient ignorance, and folly self-deified, are not attributes which we either respect or need ever wish to con-

temple. But when a man is wholly given up to the veneration of something beyond himself ; when he is subdued into obedience to a system or institution which has power to guide and regulate his intellect, and can command his entire love and reverence, all that he writes, as well as all that he thinks or does, must necessarily bear the mark of its influence. • His whole powers will lend themselves only to its expression ; and he will represent the world around him as he sees it, not through the changeful and fantastic medium of his own wilful fancy, but as he has been taught to regard it by a force greater than himself, by an object of worship to which he has surrendered his whole faculties. And such an object Dante found in the Church Catholic ; an object in which men's faith and love through centuries of European history had found a resting-place ; which had solved for them the hard questions of life to which they knew no other key ; and had left for them no void unfilled, no conscious want unsatisfied. The system and its followers have indeed no abiding-place among ourselves ; we have a right now to treat it as a creation of the past, which has vanished, as other creeds have, with the occasions and circumstances that gave it birth, except indeed as far as it still exerts an influence which has become confessedly provisional ; we have other wants, which it cannot satisfy, other difficulties, to which it can furnish no solution. But we do wrong if we judge in any way of its past might from the spectacle of its present weakness. It was once a necessity that the greatest men's highest thoughts and aims, should receive their direction only by submitting to its guidance. Dante, therefore, was a subjective poet ; not, as men are now, by the tyranny of an undisciplined will, but by an absolute submission to that which he recognised as greater than himself, and by the perfect liberty of obedience and love.

POSTSCRIPT TO ART. VI.

PRESIDENT BUCHANAN in his Message, delivered on the 4th December, while declaring secession to be unconstitutional, somewhat paradoxically states that Congress has no power to put down such revolutions; yet he remarks, that should the South Carolinians attempt to take possession of the forts, magazines, arsenals, and other property of the Union, the Federal officers have received orders to act on the defensive. Even on defensive grounds, in the event of secession being determined upon, it is clear that the national army would soon be brought into direct conflict with the insurgents. In such a case would the forces of the United States be unequal to the army of a single one? During the strife, would the slaves, who compose 57 per cent. of the whole population, be simple lookers on? The Palmetto State had better halt in its headlong career.

Mr. Buchanan dilates upon the insecurity which at present surrounds the family altar of the slaveholders, and the horrors which would be the result of a servile war, but the advice he offers, if followed, will rather tend to hasten than prevent the evil.

The remedy, says the President, lies with Congress, which has the power to amend the "Constitution;" and he suggests the following "explanatory amendments of the constitution on the subject of slavery:—"

1. An express recognition of the right of property in slaves, in the States where it now exists *or may hereafter exist*.

2. The duty of protecting this right in all the common territories throughout their territorial existence, and until they shall be admitted as States into the Union, with or without slavery, as their constitutions may prescribe.

3. A like recognition of the right of the master to have his slave, who has escaped from one State to another, restored and "delivered up" to him, and of the validity of the Fugitive Slave Law enacted for this purpose, together with a declaration that all State laws impairing or defeating this right are violations of the constitution, and are consequently null and void.

These concessions the North will not submit to. The Republican party would prefer to let South Carolina go peacefully out of the Union. The question is a grave one, and great uncertainty still surrounds its solution.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

DR. TISCHENDORF has acted considerably towards the literary world, in publishing a list of the manuscript treasures brought home by him from the peninsula of Sinai; and especially in giving a foretaste of what we are to expect from the Codex Sinaiticus,¹ which contains the greater part of the Old Testament (in Greek) and the whole of the New. This MS. appears to belong to the middle of the fourth century, and may be the oldest transcript of the Scriptures which we possess. It is designed to publish an edition of 300 copies of it in facsimile type, at the cost of the Emperor Alexander, which copies will be munificently presented to the principal European libraries. This work it is designed to accomplish in the year 1862. At the same time will be given to the general public, and at a very moderate price, an edition of the New Testament, in ordinary type, representing the Codex, to be published by Brockhaus at Leipsig, and which will be followed by the Old Testament in like manner. The Codex, which Tischendorf intends to designate by the note **Σ**, it need not be said is uncial, and without accents, notes or divisions of words. It has a general resemblance to that which is familiar to ourselves as the Alexandrian MS. of the British Museum; it contains on each page four columns, of forty-eight lines each, three words on an average in a line: 199 pages of the MS. belong to the Old Testament and Apocrypha; the earlier books of the former up to Chron. 1. are however wanting, as is part of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and three of the minor prophets. The order and contents of the New Testament are, four Gospels as usual, Rom: Cor: (2), Gal: Eph: Phil: Col: Thess: (2), Heb: Tim: (2), Tit: Philem: Acts, James, Pet: (2), John (3), Jude, Rev: to which are added the epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd. The occurrence of these two last in the Codex is the more observable as tending to fix its age to a period not later than the middle of the fourth century, since in the Canon of the Council of Laodicea those books were not included. We can only notice with respect to the readings of the MS., that they are in unison generally with those admitted or conjectured hitherto by the best critics. The text, 1 John v. 7, is of course absent, and those familiar with the evidence will be prepared in 1 Tim. iii. 16,

¹ "Notitia editionis Codicis Bibliorum Sinaitici auspiciis Imperatoris Alexandri II. susceptæ. Accedit Catalogus Codicum nuper ex Oriente Petropolim perlatorum. Item Origenis Scholia in Proverbia Salomonis partim nunc primum partim secundum atque emendatius edita." Edidit Aenoth. Frid. Const. Tischendorf, Th. et Ph. Doc., &c., &c. London: Williams and Norgate, 1860.

for *ὅς ἐφανερώθη*; John viii. 1, &c. is absent, as is the concluding passage in Mark xvi. verses 8—20, in accordance with the Vatican MS. The absence of these verses from the earliest MSS. is the more interesting, because we are thus enabled to peel off two superstitious accretions upon primitive Christianity; first, there disappears all authority for anathematizing unbelievers, as rested upon the supposition that Jesus himself ever used such words as, "he that believeth not shall be damned;" secondly, there disappears likewise the promise of continual miraculous power to believers, which some Churches have deceptively claimed, while others, aware that they did not possess it, have lamented its loss, and have thereupon fancied themselves defective. We may add perhaps that if ver. 19 ceases to belong to the Gospel, the record of the corporeal ascension is confined to the passages Luke xxiv. 51, Acts, i. 2, 9, and the Scriptural authority for an expression in Art. IV. of the Church of England, of "sitting at the right hand," &c. is brought to nothing.

As a supplemental volume to his life of Ulrich von Hutten,² Dr. Strauss issues a translation from the Latin of some of that Reformer's Dialogues. They remind us of the Colloquies of Erasmus, but with less of elegance, and they are directed generally to the same end—the exposure of monkery: in zeal and indignation Hutten reminds us of Luther himself, yet coming short of the leader of the Reformation in personal character and in the strength which belongs to personal worth. Hutten must have seriously damaged his own cause and that of his brother Reformers by an immoral life. The chief interest, however, of the present volume consists in the Preface, in which Strauss takes up a challenge which has often of late years been thrown down to him. It has been repeated contemptuously by the orthodox, that Strauss is obsolete, and that theological discussion has left far behind the "*Leben-Jesu*." If this be true, it is not so in the sense in which the opponents of Strauss would have it understood. He reminds them that his work was founded upon a criticism of the three Synoptics, and that the genuineness and authenticity of the fourth Gospel were left entirely untouched by him. He did not even invoke in support of his own conclusions the evident discrepancy in theological stand-point, in style and tone, and in the material of the narratives, between the three first Gospels and the fourth. If discussion has since been raised on these particulars, it cannot be said to have been closed by establishing that the fourth Gospel is St. John's, or even the production of an eye-witness, or that its composition approaches so nearly in date the events which it narrates as do the other Gospels. Hence, as the insufficiency of the external evidence to the genuineness and authenticity of the Gospel histories became more apparent, it was seen to affect with its own uncertainty all the inferences which can be drawn from them. And such a person as Schleiermacher—while in his pulpit discourses he dwelt on the spiritual and moral effects of the New Testament, drawing from its didactic portions freely and without misgiving, as from a fountain

² "*Gesprache von Ulrich von Hutten, übersetzt und erläutert von David Friedrich Strauss.*" Williams and Norgate, London: Edinburgh, 1860.

undefiled—would rather allegorise the miraculous narratives, and depicted the portrait of the Founder of Christianity with a tremulous hand.

Moreover, since the appearance of the “*Leben-Jesu*,” the progress of scientific investigation has rendered daily more and more obvious that the “*Rationalistic*” solution of the Gospel miracles is untenable; those portions of the work, therefore, which were specially addressed to that argument have become in a certain sense obsolete, because now superfluous to a largely increased number of educated persons. Herein is no source of triumph to the orthodox party; nor has Strauss any reason to be dismayed at the success which has attended such mediating attempts as those of Ewald. Ewald is seldom thorough. He will commence a critical examination of a supernatural narrative, and having carried it half way to a destructive conclusion will pass off to some moral application or some figurative meaning—for which there may be room in its proper place, only it should not be proposed as a solution. Strauss has not been damaged by such attempts as these. It would be desirable for the greater part of this Preface to be translated and published as a separate tract, in English.

Strauss, moreover, thinks the circumstances of the present time—which has witnessed an Austrian Concordat, and the resuscitation of a rampant Ultramontanism in France—render appropriate the reproducing the pungent Colloquies of Hutten, which were levelled at corruptions in the Papal Churches, only surpassing those of this day in a certain superficial grossness.

The free-thinkers of the last century did only part of a work, and that frequently in exceptionable taste. In directing the shafts of his irresistible ridicule against the superstitions with which he was surrounded, it must be allowed, even by his greatest admirers in the present day, that Voltaire very frequently wounded real religion and morals. Consequently, the superstitions have recovered their life, because the religion and morality could not be slain. Truly it may be necessary, with respect to a large portion of ancient beliefs, to abide permanently in a negative result, in which case the necessity for caution and delicacy of handling is the greater; but wherever it may be possible, it is demanded both in the interests of truth and of philanthropy, to point out what is unquestioned, or what may be substituted for that which is taken away—to give confidence to the less bold that they are not to be left without all spiritual sustaining—that the essentials of religion and morality will be undisturbed. This is the more requisite because the appeal in such discussions must now be made not merely to a few *esprits forts*, or *intelligences d'élite*, but to the generality of men. Formerly, theological conflicts were carried on solely by the learned, in a dead language, or at least in ponderous tomes which effectually concealed the issues from the less learned; the common soldiers had little to do with the real battle: the populations in spirituals as in temporals, followed the fortunes of their leaders. The populations will now have to give their verdict on religious questions, as well as their votes on political constitutions. It is essential for those who have the interest of the

citizens at heart in these matters, to place before them, in forms intelligible to the understanding of average men, the questions at issue, and the criticisms and arguments which bear upon them. This is what M. Patrice Larroque has efficiently done in his "Critical Examination of Christianity;"³ and his "Renovation of Religion."⁴

No one can deny that M. Larroque is competent to be a leader of the people in these matters, as far as the qualification of learning goes; and in the critical part of his work, that at least which concerns the interpretation of Scripture, however much opposed to current representations, no one can say that he is not a sufficient authority, or reasonably repudiate the conclusions to which he comes. He vindicates at the onset the sufficiency of reason as the instrument of inquiry into theological doctrines; for it would be absurd that God should give man reason, and then bid him to disregard its verdict; nor can the Christian doctrines be withdrawn from the province of reason, because of their being assumed to be mysteries. For there is a confusion in the controversial use of the word mystery; sometimes it signifies "that which is concealed," and we may believe that something is concealed, though we cannot believe *what*, until it be revealed: but in another sense, "mystery" is employed by Christian dogmatists to signify that which is contradictory in its terms, and we cannot believe that which cannot be presented to the understanding. M. Larroque truly observes that the dogmatical part of Christianity, as ecclesiastically delivered, reposes on the supposition of original sin; although he attributes too much of this doctrine to Gen. iii., where nothing is to be found even of Satan, much less of utter corruption, or of eternal punishment. These are subsequent developments. From the doctrine of original sin, M. Larroque passes on to those of the Trinity, Incarnation, and Atonement, bringing the dogmas at one time to the intellectual test—as of the inconceivableness of one Will in the three personalities of the Trinity, or of two Wills, the divine and human, united in the one personality of Jesus—at another, to the test of the moral sense, as in the case of the doctrines of vicarious satisfaction, imputation of merits and eternal punishment. Other doctrines which he examines are peculiar to the Roman church. In a second part, he subjects to a searching criticism the Scriptures themselves, on which these dogmatisms are founded, and shows that they cannot be considered infallible or consistent, either as historical documents, or as spiritual authorities. Having done this, M. Larroque thinks that he has demolished Christianity—in which respect we must express an opinion that he shows, to speak of nothing else, a deficiency in philosophic language, as will be understood by those who have read the first-rate Essay of M. E. Renan, in the "Révue des deux Mondes" (Oct. 1860), on "l'Avenir Religieux des Sociétés modernes."

³ "Examen Critique des Doctrines de la Religion Chrétienne," par Patrice Larroque, ancien Recteur de l'Académie de Lyon. 2ième édition. 2 tomes. London: D. Nutt, 1860.

⁴ "Rénovation Religieuse" par Patrice Larroque, ancien Recteur de l'Académie de Lyon. 2ième édition. London: D. Nutt, 1860.

Having swept away the whole of the Bible, not only as authority, but even as history and record, M. Larroque proceeds in the third volume to construct a religion of pure Theism, the creed of which he resumes: as a belief in God as Author and Governor of the universe by general laws, in the free-will of man as a moral agent, in the immortality of the soul, and a progressive future life.

Dr. Hessey has produced a series of Bampton Lectures,⁵ not so pretentious in their subject or their treatment as those of some of his predecessors, but characterized with great moderation as well as furnished with sufficient learning. He is very successful in the theoretical part of his undertaking. He puts aside, as in fact destitute of any satisfactory proof, on the one side, the Sabbatarian hypothesis, according to which the Christian Sunday would rest, with a change of the day, upon a Mosaic or supposed primeval institution; on the other side, an extreme Dominical hypothesis, which would represent it as deriving its sanction from an express and supernatural appointment by the Lord himself, or his Apostles. The abrogation of the Jewish Sabbath is distinctly laid down in the New Testament; nor is the religious observance of the first day of the week more than indicated, although it may be indicated. And Dr. Hessey adopts the view of its being of *ecclesiastical* origin; but ecclesiastical even in the Church of the Apostles; and though Apostolical in one sense, not Apostolical in the way of an appointment supernaturally dictated. The observance of the day arose spontaneously from the very first, from the wants and aspirations of the Christian society; *naturally*, but not on that account the less *divinely*. And when the Spirit of Christ working in the congregation threw forth freely this ordinance of a Lord's Day, it had respect, doubtless, by analogy, to the Sabbath of the Mosaic Law; but not in servile imitation, nor as copying from it the mode in which it should serve to holiness, nor resting upon it for authority. We should be very glad to see a like hypothesis employed, and with equal temper, to account for the institution and the early forms of the Christian Ministry. It would, we think, within a considerable range conciliate a variety of opinions now hostile or hopelessly divergent. Dr. Hessey's views are also distinguished by great practical good sense, when he comes to speak of the limits within which the action of the State is permissible relative to the Sunday in the present circumstances of our own country.

Whether a Bishop of the English Church goes out of his way to fulminate safely in a Charge against opinions which for a time may be unpopular or ill-understood, or whether he is stung into the much greater rashness of publishing a controversial pamphlet, he demonstrates to the extreme satisfaction of that portion of the general public which takes any note of such matters the very safe limits within which

⁵ "Sunday. Its Origin, History and Present Obligation, considered in Eight Lectures, Preached before the University of Oxford in the Year 1860, on the Foundation of the late Rev. John Bampton, M.A., Canon of Salisbury." By James Augustus Hessey, D.C.L., Head Master of Merchant Taylors' School; Preacher to the Honourable Society of Gray's Inn, &c., &c. London: Murray, 1860.

episcopal authority is in this country confined. A Bishop speaks, but all things continue as they were, except that the prestige of the Episcopal name is, to some extent, damaged. Those who are ever ready to call upon bishops to drive away heresy, should remember this before they stir up their ecclesiastical superiors to commit themselves. The Bishop of St. David's must feel little thankful to the "more than seventy beneficed clergymen" of his diocese, who brought before his notice the supposed heresies of Dr. Rowland Williams,⁶ and so entangled him ultimately in a controversy with a person at least his equal in learning, and, if not much better tempered than himself, evidently surpassing him in quickness of wit. At the same time, justice requires us to say in reviewing the steps of this controversy, that Dr. Williams expected originally too much of the Bishop. We put out of sight all private correspondence, which ought never to have been publicly referred to on either side; but the Charge of 1857 of which Dr. Williams complains, was really as favourable to him as he could have reasonably expected from any Episcopal nature. If it did not vindicate his views, it was not in parts without showing some sympathy with them, and gave no triumph, morally or materially, to his accusers. It was no small thing to stand his ground legally against the seventy mountaineers; and his ultimate justification towards the College of St. David's was to be seen in the continuance of its prosperity under his tuition. It would be impossible to follow these two learned divines in the citations and other hard sayings which they hurl at each other's heads. Only we may consider some such result as this to have been gained from the collision between two persons who still have so much in common; that views like those of Dr. Williams on Inspiration, on Prophecy, on Miracles, are not only tenable by Ministers of the English Church, but, in principle at least, may be supported by authorities to which the most orthodox defer; and that there is room, even under the existing formularies, for eliciting on those subjects many important conclusions consistent with a right reading of the Biblical records, and with right reason.

We have before expressed an opinion, that the theology of that most excellent and deservedly respected person, the Rev. F. D. Maurice, would prove extremely disappointing. We referred then to the obscurity which his metaphysics have imported into it. We have also had to notice a reactionary tendency occasioned, apparently, or shaped by the position taken by him in a recent controversy. But more disheartening to the friends of free thought than anything which has

⁶ "An Earnestly Respectful Letter to the Lord Bishop of St. David's, on the Difficulty of bringing Theological Questions to an Issue; with Special Reference to his Lordship's Charge of 1857, and his Forthcoming Charge of 1860." By Rowland Williams, D.D., Vice-Principal and Professor of Hebrew in St. David's College, Lampeter. Cambridge: Deighton. London: Bell and Daldy, 1860.

"A Letter to the Rev. Rowland Williams, D.D., Vice-Principal of St. David's College, Lampeter, in Answer to his 'Earnestly Respectful Letter,' &c.; with an Appendix, containing an Extract from the Bishop's Charge of 1857." By Connop Thirlwall, D.D., Bishop of St. David's. London: Rivingtons, 1860.

"A Critical Appendix upon the Lord Bishop of St. David's Reply." By the author of "An Earnestly Respectful Letter to his Lordship."

proceeded from his pen, is his publication on the subject of the Liturgy and Thirty-nine Articles.⁷ He had, of course, to make the usual subscriptions and declarations of assent on entering upon his benefice. It was an occasion on which he might have done something to forward the cause, if not of revision, of relaxation. Instead of a fulsome laudation of the Formularies, he might have said, that he made these subscriptions and declarations as the legal condition annexed to the possession of his preferment; but that he held, like Archdeacon Paley, he was not bound thereby to an approval of every rubric in the Prayer Book, or to every one of the six hundred propositions contained in the Articles. It is the more unfortunate that a person of Mr. Maurice's influence should affect to hug his chains, at a time when some within the Church are struggling to break them, and Nonconformists, many of them the spiritual descendants of the 2000 Church of England clergymen, who "went out" on the passing of the Act of Uniformity in 1662, are curiously watching the result. It must be very startling to Nonconformist ministers, it must have been very startling to many of Mr. Maurice's own Church of England congregation, to hear "I do not believe that we should dare to tell you that you *have* all a Heavenly Father, that you may verily and indeed call yourselves God's children, if we had not the Prayer-Book to direct us." (p. 10.) Moreover, there is a continual slurring over and keeping out of sight the real difficulties belonging to certain of the Anglican statements. Thus we are told (p. 19) that if we accept the teaching of the Baptismal Service, and of the Catechism, we must attribute to the Spirit of God "all the good thoughts of the child," "all its perceptions of an unrealised world," "its intuitions of a spiritual world," "its capacity of understanding and making itself understood," "the awakening of conscience in the boy," and the fitting of the youth "for the work of manhood." If we go to those formularies, we may certainly infer something like this concerning the *baptized*; but what of the *unbaptized*? Whence, according to the Church of England, come to the unbaptized their "perceptions," "intuitions," "capacities," and powers? Will Mr. Maurice, or any other clergyman, maintain that he can distinguish in infant, child, youth, or grown person, a difference in the "perceptions," the "intuitions," the "capacities," the "conscience," the moral powers, of the baptized and unbaptized? But that is what he should be able to do before he exalts the formularies of his Church, as if there were any really substantial ground for the views they give on these subjects. To read this vindication of subscription by Mr. Maurice, one would not suppose there was such an expression in the Catechism as "a child of wrath," or that the word "regenerate" occurred in the Baptismal and Confirmation Services.

In like manner with the Articles. On the first, he may well approve the foundation statement that God is "without body, parts, or pas-

⁷ 'The Faith of the Liturgy and the Doctrine of the Thirty-Nine Articles. Two Sermons, the substance of which was preached at St. Peter's, Vere Street, on Sunday, September 9th, 1860.' By the Rev. F. D. Maurice, M.A. Cambridge and London: Macmillan & Co., 1860.

sions;" but it is meagre if not miserable, and equally so to the Unitarian and Trinitarian, to shut up what follows in such a way as this:—"The Article goes on to speak of that name into which we are baptized; the name which compasses every child; *the Name which the Magdalen knows when she confesses her sins*; the name which expresses perfect Goodness, Wisdom, and Power; the name which is the ground for all dependence and trust." (p. 30.) There are many Magdalens, we apprehend, and who will be "in no wise cast out," who yet know nothing of "three Persons in one Godhead." The learned incumbent might even have explained to the ignorant of his congregation the word "Godhead;" and to the instructed it might not have been amiss to have said something about the word "Persons." The controversies supposed to be closed up in this Article, inasmuch as he says nothing of them, Mr. Maurice may consider to have been founded on logical subtleties, or on an exploded metaphysic, or on a narrow interpretation of Scriptural texts; but they are not without occasioning difficulties to some minds even yet; and it might have consoled some and guided others if Mr. Maurice had told us the root of his thought about them—if he had thought it now high time, that the words Trinitarian and Unitarian should cease to furnish sectarian distinctions, it would have been a deep comfort to many, had he said so. So, on the second Article, Mr. Maurice dilates upon what is a difficulty, as we believe, to no one in England but himself—namely, how the Father can be said to be "reconciled" to us; for if God is, by a metaphor, said to be "angry," we can see no incoherence in his being said, by a like metaphor, to be "reconciled;" he dilates upon this matter, but upon the mighty and mysterious doctrines of the eternal generation of the Son, of the Incarnation, of the union of the two natures, not a hint. To take one more instance: the fourth Article is thus dismissed—"It is most needful that there should be a distinct and direct announcement of Christ's actual and bodily resurrection out of the grave, and of his ascent to his Father's right hand. This was the great subject of the apostolical preaching; this was the witness that our nature is really justified and glorified in its Head. This is the pledge that He will be revealed to judge the world, and to set all things right." (p. 33.) Mr. Maurice knows enough of the theological discussions of recent years to be aware that this Article presents to many minds a jumble of contradictions, and that the impossibility of finding a satisfactory solution of the questions which it raises, has been the turning point with some, whether or not they must renounce the Church which makes it part of her creed, or even the Christian name. How could Mr. Maurice, with any complacency, utter such puerilities as we have quoted, when people were listening to him, following him Prayer-book in hand, from Article to Article, in whose minds he must have known would arise such questions as these, "How can a body sit at the right hand of a spirit?" or if the "right hand" be a figure of speech, is not the sitting? and if the sitting, is not the body? Or may not the returning to judgment, and the last day, be metaphorical likewise? And if the Ascension, after all, is a metaphorical one, one "of heart and mind," may not the Resurrection be so too? We should have liked to hear him say that it

would be better if the Article were expunged, or if not that, maintain that its declarations may be taken figuratively throughout. We could make like observations on what Mr. Maurice has said on many other topics—on the three Creeds, where he takes no exception to the Athanasian, or even to its damnatory clauses, on Original Sin, on Justification, on the Sacraments. And while glorifying the Church, whenever she has laid a bondage upon her members, he is entirely silent as to any praise where she has really left them free; it might have been alluded to, that she has not laid down any dogmatic statement concerning the Inspiration of Scripture, or concerning Prophecy, or concerning Miracles. If Mr. Maurice had contented himself with going through the formal acts required at his institution and induction, as most clergymen do, the same indulgence would have been extended to him as is conceded to them, out of the acquiescence in whatever is ordained by law, and out of the disposition to respect any right of property, which are so natural to Englishmen. The incumbent of St. Peter's would never have been twitted with his bondage, if he had not drawn attention himself to the mark of the collar upon his neck.

Certainly one of the ablest pamphlets we recollect of late years is that of the Rev. Isaac Taylor on the "Liturgy and the Dissenters."⁸ The end he proposes to attain is clearly defined, the facts on which he relies are comprehended within a reasonable period and are well marshalled, his inferences are driven home with a force from which there is no escaping. He succeeds in showing to any but the wilfully blind, that the effect of all Revisions of the Formularies of the National Church since the Reformation has been to narrow more and more its boundaries—that especially was this the case at the time of the last Revision and of the passing of the Act of Uniformity, 13 and 14 Car. II. c. 4. His position is unassailable that an Established Church is a national institution, and as such, "Every citizen of the State has a beneficial interest in her endowments, and a personal concern in the teaching of her formularies." (p. 10.) The historical evidence is complete of the successive alienations of large bodies of the population from the communion of the English Church. In addition to grievances of conscience, it is evident that a material wrong is inflicted on all who are unnecessarily driven out of the national communion, whether they be ministers or laymen. And it is evident, likewise, in what this process must end. Putting it, therefore, on the lowest ground, it is required for the preservation of the Church as an institution, and as an act of simple justice to large bodies of the citizens now unnecessarily excluded, that the narrowing process should be at length reversed. This can only be effectually accomplished by a total repeal or very substantial modification of the Caroline Act of Uniformity.

We cannot afford space to say much on matters which may be considered ecclesiastical⁹—such as controversies concerning forms of Church government, differences between the Established Church and

⁸ "The Liturgy and the Dissenters." By the Rev. Isaac Taylor, M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge, Curate of Trotterscliffe. Third Edition. London: Hatchard & Co., 1860.

the unestablished communions, as such; questions concerning the lawfulness of State endowment, and the like. Nevertheless, in some of their phases, questions of this kind may be linked on to more speculative inquiries; and the practical solution of them, if that were possible, might have an important bearing on the cause of truth, or, at least, of charity. Some movements will undoubtedly be made in the ensuing session of Parliament towards a revision of the formularies of the Established Church, or, if not that, towards a relaxation of their stringent obligation in their present form. Such movements will interest various parties within and without the Church. Indeed, it is evident that unless some proceedings be taken, conciliatory to the Protestant and liberal feeling of the country, the days of the Established Church are numbered. Churchmen of various shades of opinion are beginning to be aware of this, and to perceive that, notwithstanding a Church-rate Abolition Bill may be defeated for a session or two, the Nonconformists are masters of the situation. From a bare and niggardly toleration, they have risen to an equality with Churchmen in all civil and political rights; they hold their property securely under their trust-deeds, protected by the general law of the land, without incurring any servile obligations to the State; their leading ministers in towns enjoy incomes considerably above those of Church-of-England clergymen, except a few of the highest dignitaries; their influence with the middle classes, which are the governing classes, is much greater. If the country ministers who serve the rural chapels are not equal in education to the ministers in towns, they are adequately educated, and adequately earnest in their work for the tasks which they undertake; and they are not liable, if deficient in manners and learning, to be lifted by some caprice of patronage into situations where they will bring discredit on their office.⁹

The chief defects in the Nonconformist clergy at present are seen in a certain narrowness which they contract in ministerial seminaries; in some want of polish and taste in their literary productions, and in the limited portion of the intellectual field which they usually cultivate. They are however much better acquainted with the points really at issue in their controversy with Churchmen than these latter are. This last fact cannot be more strikingly exemplified than in Mr. Binney's¹⁰ book on Church life in Australia with its Appendix. Dr. Augustus Short, Bishop of Adelaide, is an amiable person of evangelical sentiments. Mr. Binney has no prejudices against Episcopacy in the abstract, or against liturgical forms; the Bishop and Mr. Binney met, co-operated on some occasions and entertained for each other a mutual respect; if ever there was an opportunity for a friendly

⁹ A smart brochure has just come to our hand, entitled "Examination for Bishops and other Dignities in the Church of England." London; George Manwaring, 1860. To the tests there suggested to be applied to Episcopal candidates, might very well be added a little sixth-form boy examination in the rudiments of Latin and in the construing of the Greek Testament.

¹⁰ "Lights and Shadows of Church Life in Australia: including Thoughts on some Things at Home." By T. Binney. To which is added, "Two Hundred Years Ago: Then and Now." Second Edition. London: Jackson and Walford. 1860.

approximation it was offered under these circumstances. We cannot go through the correspondence which ensued, but in the end the Bishop felt himself obliged by the law of his Church to withhold the concessions which personally he had been prepared to make. And the result is this, that the Church of England in her present condition can talk of unity and comprehension, as the Church of Rome does, but all the reciprocity she offers is one-sided, the unity and comprehension must be brought about by an unconditional surrender on the part of the Nonconformist to her order and government. The stringency of the present Episcopacy and of the present Uniformity of the Church, date, it must be observed, from the Act of 1562; before that time we think it likely Mr. Binney would have been a Churchman; on the passing of that Act, he would have been one of the 2000 ministers who withdrew. The only hope for the Church as to any healing of ecclesiastical wounds, and ultimately as to her own preservation as a national institution, is to procure a repeal, in its main provisions at least, of that unhappy Act; and inasmuch as she could not flatter herself that non-conforming ministers and congregations would return to her communion by thousands, hundreds, or even tens, she must meanwhile recognise these non-conforming congregations as churches, and allow of some interchange of Christian offices, corporately between herself and them, individually between her ministers and theirs.

It is evident that some change must shortly take place in the methods by which Christian Missionaries approach those whom they would convert, especially our fellow subjects in India. Denunciations of Paganism as a work of Satan are not likely to conciliate much attention from Pagans, and will not much longer be the best platform commonplaces for obtaining guineas. The fact is beginning to dawn upon the Missionary Societies that some among the heathen have a great deal more to say for their systems than they have had credit for in Christendom, and are not deficient in the wit which enables them to say it with point. Dr. Ballantyne¹¹ has occupied positions which enable him to speak on these subjects with authority and effect. He is thoroughly acquainted with the philosophical systems of the Hindus, and has had ample opportunities of witnessing the failures of unlearned and incompetent missionaries. The introduction to his "Bible for the Pandits" abounds with information respecting the entanglements with which an incautious "Evangelical" is likely to be involved in discussion with the learned men of India; and he has made it exceedingly lively to read by the pungent remarks which are interspersed on the polemical theology of such periodicals as the "Record." In the specimen which Dr. Ballantyne has given of his proposed treatment of the Biblical monuments themselves, we must confess that he has fallen

¹¹ "The Bible for the Pandits." [Specimen Fasciculus.] The first three chapters of Genesis diffusely and unreservedly commented in Sanskrit and English, by James R. Ballantyne, LL.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy, and Principal of the Government College, Benares. London: James Madden. Benares: Lazarus and Co., 1860.

far short of the freedom which we had hoped. He may have relieved his Version of some blots which disfigure that of the Baptist Missionaries, but when he resorts to the Vision hypothesis for a solution of the astronomical and geological difficulties of Gen. i., finds the source of the river of Paradise parted into four heads—of which one is *Euphrates*—in the melting snows of the Himalaya, accepts literally the formation of Eve out of the rib of Adam, and likewise literally the allegory of the serpent, which nevertheless is Satan himself; we do not think he will recommend his Biblical theology to any Hindu who may be acute enough to abandon the superstitions in which he has been brought up.

In a very interesting work of an entirely different description, Joguth Chunder Gangooly,¹² a high caste native, describes the religion of the Hindoos as it really is in its everyday practices and social effects. He represents to us the Hindoo society split into a multiplicity of castes, or sub-divisions of castes, paralysed, in consequence, for any great co-operative work, deprived of half its power by the degradation of an utterly uneducated female sex, and overburdened in the whole of its daily life by superstitious ceremonials. In the neighbourhood of Calcutta, Mr. Gangooly was brought into immediate contact with English religion and civilization. The result was that he imbibed a rational Christianity, as it were immediately from the words of Jesus himself—not coming to the Gospel through the law, and therefore not receiving it with Mosaic or Alexandrine additions. His piety was too warm to be satisfied with the negations of the Calcutta Deists, but too rational to accept the dogmas of original sin, eternal damnation, vicarious atonement, and the like. He afterwards went to America to qualify himself under the auspices of the Unitarian Association, and he expresses a confident opinion that if Unitarians would send out missionaries they would meet with less difficulty in Christianizing the natives than the other Christian bodies. But it is necessary that Christianity should be true to its own principles, if it would regenerate Hindoo society, and it must strike at the institution of caste and demand the elevation of the female.

It may well be doubted whether the phenomena of dreams, apparitions, animal magnetism and of "Spiritualism," are really capable of being reduced into any scientific order, or of furnishing ground as yet for any scientific or practical inferences. We cannot generalize from facts which rest on evidence of every variety of degree. A phenomenon attested insufficiently for belief, may yet be attested sufficiently to suggest experiment and verification, but until experiment and verification report that we are in presence of a uniform law, we must suspend our judgment as to the meaning of the separate facts: and if we arrange related facts empirically in groups by reason of some outward resemblances, we must beware of assuming prematurely that we have ascertained real relations. For these reasons we

¹² "Life and Religion of the Hindoos; with a Sketch of my Life and Experience." Joguth Chunder Gangooly (baptized Philip). London: E. T. Whitfield, 1860.

do not think that any results, scientifically speaking, have been arrived at by a collection of such stories, interesting and engaging as they are, which we meet with in the "Footfalls on the Boundary of another World."¹³ We must also bear in mind how prone men are to draw inferences on such subjects in accordance with preconceived theological doctrines, and the stories in this volume have many of them an obvious connexion with the doctrine of a *Scheol*, *Hades*, or intermediate state—some of them are even rendered suspicious by the intervention of a Romish priest. The book itself does not require any recommendation to promote its popularity, and if it leads to sober investigation, on the principles indicated in the preface, the cause of truth will ultimately be the gainer.

"Put forth as miracles, ultra-mundane phenomena are justly rejected as incredible; as inconsistent with the progress of our present knowledge, and at variance with the teachings of modern science. But when presented as classes of natural occurrences, unexplained indeed, governed by laws yet unknown or obscurely discerned, but as surely embraced in the ordered economy of the world as the storm or the sunshine, the aspect of the question changes. The inquiry is no longer whether God, to meet a special emergency, suspends, from time to time, one or other of His laws, but only whether we have hitherto overlooked a portion of these laws; that portion which serves to connect the next phase of our existence with the present." p. xii.

The author of "Christ the Spirit,"¹⁴ hopes to win back those who are alienated from the religion of the Bible, by distinguishing between its kernel and its shell, between the Truth and its Vehicle, between the Symbol and the Idea.

"With regard to the Scriptures" he says, "the most simple see the truth in the literal sense; another class see nothing but absurdities and nonsense, mere rubbish, in the literal meaning, and so, perhaps, proudly reject the whole; while another class, more sober and grave, perhaps older and more experienced, are disposed to suspend their opinions for a time, until they can look round and see whether the meaning is so visibly on the surface as the first supposes, and may not lie even deeper than the second imagines."—p. viii.

No mere writing, he says, can be divine, except in a qualified sense—but in such a sense there is no difficulty in acknowledging that the Biblical authors, notwithstanding many errors, spoke as moved by a Holy Spirit of Truth; and the suggestions in this volume may be considered as specially addressed to those who do not know how to deal with the miraculous portions of the Scriptures; for it is true that they are so imbedded in the rest of the history, that it is not possible to withdraw them without doing violence to the unity of the whole. Briefly, the author considers all such portions as symbolical. And not

¹³ "Footfalls on the Boundary of another World. With Narrative Illustrations." By Robert Dale Owen, formerly Member of Congress, and American Minister to Naples. From the Tenth American Edition; with emendations and additions by the author. London: Trübner & Co., 1860.

¹⁴ "Christ the Spirit: being an Attempt to state the Primitive View of Christianity." By the author of "Remarks on Alchemy and the Alchemists;" and "Swedenborg a Hermetic Philosopher." Second Edition. Enlarged. New York: Francis & Co., 1860.

only that, but he treats as symbolical the entire Gospel history. He draws out with great force the evidence, negative and positive, against the historical character of the life of Jesus; but feels at the same time the moral impossibility of attributing the composition of the Gospel to any base or untruthful design. All interpreters apply the key of Symbolism to some portions of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, although they differ as to the extent of its legitimate use. We must not interpret symbolically that which is capable of a symbolical interpretation, unless there is reason to suppose that it was intended symbolically; that is, both to conceal from some and to reveal to others the truth which it involves. We may *apply* indeed, as for a hortative purpose, and to a moral use, such stories as those of feeding with bread in the wilderness, or of walking on the waves of the sea, without determining anything as to the historic character of the narrative. But as interpreters we must make up our minds whether they are to be taken according to the letter or not. Now it is not a simple alternative between the objective truth of the supernatural particulars in the Gospels as we have them, and the designed symbolical construction of them; and our author seems to have left out of his examination a possible hypothesis, that they may be a spontaneous legendary product, subjectively true, yet not without an ideal element. He considers the Gospels to be, in fact, the secret writings of the Essenes, a society having resemblance to a Masonic brotherhood, even if it were not one, and the object of their authors to have been, at once to veil the truth from the uninitiate and to reveal it to initiates. "From the point of view taken in this volume, the differences above recited [between the several Evangelists] can give no uneasiness whatever. In point of fact they strengthen the view of the author, for they seem to show that while the Gospel-writers wrote independently, in a great degree, of each other, and independently of outward history, they were all bound together by a common doctrine, the doctrine of the Spirit,—the secret doctrine of the Essene Society." p. 465.

Dr. Beard's "Reasons why I am an Unitarian,"¹⁵ gives fair statements as far as they go, but by no means covers the field of controversy which the title suggests. For instance, the state of the argument from Scripture on both sides is by no means gone into. The discussion is too much confined to what has been called the arithmetical question, and does not touch, or scarcely, on other really more important questions at issue between the Unitarians and the orthodox, such as those connected with the dogmas of original sin, satisfaction, justification by faith. Dr. Beard seems to desire to perpetuate the name of Unitarian as a denominational distinction; whereas, the better prospect of Unitarianism is to inoculate with itself the orthodox churches, so that if it could be brought about that the Athanasian statements should be dropped, Unitarianism, as a form of Protestantism, would disappear, for no Protestantism can live, when its antagonist is dead.

¹⁵ "Reasons why I am an Unitarian, in a Series of Letters to a Friend." By John R. Beard, D.D. Second Edition, revised. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1860.

The leading idea in Mr. Campbell's "*New Religious Thoughts*"¹⁶ is that all phenomena, as well of the moral and spiritual as of the material world, are evolved from a divine law and order. The book is broken into short chapters or sections, which give the work some appearance of incoherence. But there is a unity of design whereby at one time the order of the universe is illustrated frequently with great beauty, and at another, the disagreement with it of a preternatural revelation as usually understood, is drawn forth. From time to time, the inconsistency of various parts of the Biblical writings with any elevated conception of the Divine Being and His operations is pointed out, and even the most eminent of the Biblical persons are subjected to a sharp dissection of character. We think that some of these portions of the work may fairly give offence. And the author's tone, we apprehend, would sometimes have been less acrimonious, if he had remembered that upon his own theory, the greatest prophets are themselves, with all their excellences and with all their defects likewise, products of the growth of humanity which has preceded them. Nor could any Messiah or Apostle found a religion to become an historical power, unless the laws of human nature enabled it to exercise such an influence. And if the defects of Paul's character, for instance, are such as could not belong to him, if he were a miraculously commissioned Apostle, which is itself subject to dispute, then he falls into the same category with other men, and is entitled to the same charitable judgment. The same objection may be made to the manner in which the author applies the usual criticism to the moral and other inconsistencies of the Scriptures. In controversy with those who hold a supernatural dictation of all parts of the Bible, they are to be critically pointed out as fatal to that view; but on the reasonable view of the Scriptures as an historical product, these very inequalities are only manifestations of a natural order.

Miss Hennell's¹⁷ last work is entirely free from any confusion of issue, and from any uncharitable judgment on the first preachers of the Gospel. We think, this is, perhaps, the happiest of her works. The problem suggested for solution is definitely stated; the argument is clearly and closely drawn out, and the whole discussion comprehended within a moderate grasp. Whether the words attributed to Jesus by the three first Evangelists were really uttered by him or not, must remain incapable of proof; but it is sufficiently evident that the expectation of an early second coming of Jesus was a fundamental part of the Apostles' preaching. And the sum of the whole inquiry may be given in the words of the authoress:—

"The non-fulfilment of the prophecy which history shows to have formed the basis of the apostolic preaching of Christianity, is a sufficient proof against

¹⁶ "*New Religious Thoughts.*" By Douglas Campbell. London: George Manwaring, 1860.

¹⁷ "*The Early Christian Anticipation of an approaching End of the World, and its bearing upon the Character of Christianity as a Divine Revelation. Including an Investigation into the Primitive Meaning of the Anti-Christ and the Man of Sin; and an Examination of the Argument of the Fifteenth Chapter of Gibbon.*" By Sara S. Hennell. London: Geo. Manwaring, 1860.

the idea of Christianity as a divine revelation in the ordinary sense of the term. But, inasmuch as, firstly, the utterance of the prophecy was the consequence of a fanatical delusion, and not of a wilful imposture; as, secondly, the fanatical delusion was the consequence of a national sentiment, and in that respect was mingled with elements of a noble kind; as, thirdly, the existence of this nobleness entitles us to regard itself as the real cause of the success of Christianity in the highest degree, while the less worthy impulses, although requiring to be recognised as also in action, were only subordinate; and as, fourthly, the course of the history of Christianity has shown us that the noble element has constantly tended to become more and more predominant, while the lower ones have continually subsided: on all these accounts, we are authorized to see in Christianity an eminent instance of a kind of revelation which has lost all the characteristics that marked it with a national peculiarity, and has become adapted to the need of mankind in general."—p. 114.

We mention Dr. Scott's "Sermons"¹⁸ by reason of the author's position as the head of the College which is at present the most distinguished in the University of Oxford. These discourses do not profess to be learned or profound but rather practical. They are thoroughly orthodox.

There is a great deal of good sense in Mr. Alison's "Philosophy of Civilization,"¹⁹ although the book, it must be confessed, reads somewhat incoherently. The author sees plainly, the utter dislocation of all hitherto received systems of "doctrine," and the necessity of a new Reformation of the National Creed, founded upon this test of truth, namely, on the convictions of the intellect as distinguished from the dictates of the feelings.

In the primitive period, it is well known, how the Fathers of the Church were fond of exemplifying the similarity between the teaching of Plato and of Jesus Christ. The Christians of those times were eclectics, and glad to recommend the Gospel by the authority of the greatest of Greek philosophers. It was not till the rise of Augustinianism that the heathen world was included in one general sentence of damnation. Certainly the resemblance between many things in Plato and many in the New Testament is very striking, and it is not always easy to distinguish between that which Western Christianity owes to Heathenism, and that which it owes to Judaism. So that it is only in appearance, that Dr. Ackerman's²⁰ volume lies somewhat outside the boundary of works strictly belonging to the illustration of Christian theology. It is exceedingly instructive, not the less so, because the author does not dilate upon the inferences to be drawn from the occurrence of so many anticipations, to say the least, both of Christian theology and Christian morals in the Attic philosopher. From the

¹⁸ "Sermons preached before the University of Oxford." By Robert Scott, D.D., Master of Balliol College, and Prebendary of Exeter.

¹⁹ "The Philosophy and History of Civilization." By Alexander Alison, Esq. London: Chapman & Hall, 1860.

²⁰ "The Christian Element in Plato and the Platonic Philosophy." Unfolded and set forth by Dr. C. Ackerman, Archdeacon at Jena. Translated from the German by Samuel Ralph Asbury, B.A. With an introductory note by William G. T. Shedd, D.D., Brown Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1861.

point of view which the editor of Messrs. Clark's series consistently takes, it has been fair enough to observe in an introductory note, that there is one important defect in the Platonic theology—it recognises salvation and redemption, but not vicarious satisfaction or atonement. The sense of sin as an offence against the Divine justice requiring compensation by some other than the offender himself was not present to the Greek philosopher. This doctrine is evidently the product of Jewish ideas. Whether the absence of it from Plato be really a defect or not is another question. The treatise altogether is an exceedingly interesting and important one.

We have no time to remark upon the "*Life of Auguste Comte*,"²¹ which has only just been received.

POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, AND TRAVELS.

MR. SCRATCHLEY, who may be looked upon as a standard author on such subjects, has collected into two volumes his various works on the investments of the poorer classes;¹ and, by doing so, has brought together an amount of doctrine and information that can hardly be with safety neglected by the directors or members of these important and beneficial enterprises. A ten years' study of the subject, and an extended correspondence with every country in which these institutions have taken any root, has put him in a position to speak with authority on all points connected with them. His first volume is exclusively devoted to the subject of Savings Banks, and contains a most full review of their history, of the errors which in past times have infected their constitution, of the sad frauds which have so greatly interfered with their popularity and usefulness, as well as a full system of rules by which their recurrence may be avoided. The minute detail into which he pursues his subject leaves little to desire. His rare industry and laborious application alone could have brought together so exhaustive a collection of every fact worthy of being known on these important subjects.

The various projects of government supervision and guarantee which have been suggested to obviate such lamentable frauds as those which gave an evil fame to the Cuffe-street and Rochdale Savings Banks are discussed with great discrimination. In most cases, the expense, on the one hand, and the consequent relaxation of local interest,

²¹ "*Notice sur l'Œuvre et sur la Vie d'Auguste Comte*," par le Docteur Robinet, son médecin, et l'un de ses treize Exécuteurs testamentaires. London: George Manwaring, 1860.

¹ "*A Practical Treatise on Savings Banks*." By Arthur Scratchley, M.D. London: Longmans & Co. 1860.—"*Industrial Investment and Emigration: a Treatise on Benefit Building Societies and Routine*." Published at the Friendly Societies' Institute. Third Edition.—"*A Treatise on Friendly Societies, with Rules and Tables*." London: Shaw and Sons. 1859. Tenth Edition. By the same Author.

on the other, would prove fatal obstacles; the Government have already pledged themselves too deeply in the interest of Savings Banks, and occupy a position of almost necessary loss in respect to them. No interference can compensate for the absence of local interest and superintendence; and every attempt in that direction is said to have the evil effect of weakening one or both. It is remarkable, that in every case of defalcation, a good system of book-keeping and the commonest supervision would have prevented the lamentable result. There is a singular poverty of device in all the frauds on banks, whether it be by some poor Savings Bank official, or by a Pullinger, who appropriates a quarter of a million; in every case, a simple comparison of two books by any one but the man who had falsified one of them, would have at once exploded the system by which they were rendered possible. On this simple remedy Mr. Scratchley very sensibly falls back, and points out to rotating managers that, if they will systematically compare the depositors' book with the ledger, they may make tolerably sure of escaping the only loss to which the depositors are absolutely exposed. It is greatly to be hoped that the reviving confidence of the working classes in these institutions may not again meet with such severe checks. Few things, we are sure, will tend more unequivocally to this result than a general acquaintance with the warning, contained in this valuable treatise.

The same breadth of information and minute acquaintance with the subject characterizes Mr. Scratchley's "Essay on Building Societies," while many of the modes of extending their usefulness which he brings forward strike us as original and worthy of a more extended criticism than we can here give them. The defects and chimerical projects of some of the temporary societies, are very well pointed out; the manner in which the utmost mathematical profit is promised, as though no hindrance were to be expected in carrying out their plans, is well exposed. Many have promised results as rational as the calculations of a physical philosopher, who should leave unnoticed the effect of friction. Most of these objections, however, have no application to those societies which are formed on the permanent system, and which are constantly recruited by new members. Still, however, nothing but the greatest care will ensure the unquestionable advantages which may be derived from these societies. The absolute requisites—an upright lawyer, an intelligent engineer, a capable manager, and intelligent trustees, though forming a constellation fitted for the heavens, are not so inaccessible here below as to operate as an absolute bar to the successful working of a society dependent on their co-existence, however it may call for watchfulness on the part of the investors. These volumes abound in valuable statistical and working tables, which of themselves would entitle them to a place on the committee-table of every Benefit Society and Savings Bank.

Mr. Bigg's edition of the Statutes of the year 1859 is characterized by that laborious industry which has resulted in the very general laudation of his previous volumes.² Into his controversy with the Government

² "The Statute Book for England." Edited by James Bigg. London: Simpkin and Marshall. 1859.

on his proposal to edit all the Statutes which have been passed since the Union, expurgating the lapsed and repealed acts, on condition of his Book being made producible as evidence, we do not feel inclined to enter; indeed, we think that the question has been disposed of by Mr. McCulloch, to whom it was referred: nothing can well be added to the following remarks by him,—

“It is the duty of Government to publish complete editions of all the Acts of the Legislature, and to sell them, when published, on the cheapest terms possible; but further than this I do not think that Government is entitled to go, or can go with advantage. It supplies correct and cheap copies of the Statutes to all who require them; but classification, condensation, and abridgment of these Statutes should be left to individuals; and I confess that it appears to me that few things could be more unwise than for Government to give any sort of sanction, direct or indirect, to the accuracy, or utility, or anything else of any compilation whether of one set of acts or another. It is to be borne in mind that were such sanction to be given to one publication it could not, with any show of justice, be denied to others; and, my Lords, were they to authenticate or promote in any way Mr. Bigg's publication, would very speedily have to do the same thing for other parties. The project is not one in fact with which the Government should in any way mix itself up. If it be deserving of support it will succeed without the help of the Treasury, and if not the sooner it sinks into oblivion the better. If a book be really useful, and be carefully compiled, it will have a good sale, and will indemnify its author: but when Government interferes, as Mr. Bigg proposes, to authenticate books, they, as it were, supersede their authors. They encourage them to be lazy, and condone or rather ratify their errors. If let alone its success will, as it ought, be determined by its merits and by them only.”

These observations are perfectly sound, and few, we think, are better able to rely on the elements of success pointed out in them than Mr. Bigg; that he continues his laborious book is, perhaps, the best proof that his labours are sufficiently appreciated. His undeniable qualifications for the task do not entitle him or any one else possessing them to ask for the monopoly of their exercise.

At his departure from the scene of his great and successful labours, the Dean of Chichester presented fifty pounds to the Leeds Mechanics' Institute, ten pounds of which were to be devoted as a prize for the best essay on some subject connected with the social advancement of the working classes.³ The successful competitor for this distinction, for reward in his case it can hardly be called, was Mr. Hole, the Honorary Secretary of the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes.

The subject of his Essay, which he heads with Goethe's well-worn dying exclamation, is the present condition of the working classes in Leeds, in all that concerns education.

Conclusions on such a subject are worth nothing unless founded on a very close study of the statistics of the subject in all its relations, and even then are apt to be very delusive, when local returns are alone resorted to, unless they are guided by a very competent knowledge of

³ “*Light, more Light. On the Present State of Education amongst the Working Classes of Leeds, and how it can best be Improved.*” By James Hole, Hon. Sec. of the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes. London: Longman and Co. 1860.

the place itself. These considerations, which generally detract so greatly from works of this description, only serve to set in a fuller light the great merit of Mr. Hole's little book. With him it is manifestly a labour of love; the subject is pursued with a full knowledge of the minutest practical detail that gives great value to his Essay. Another good feature, too often absent in works on education, is the complete freedom from sectarian prejudice which shines through every statement. The matter in hand is all that Mr. Hole attends to; he seems to have quite forgotten all controversy about the manner in which his aim is to be reached; passing by all extraneous illustrations, he makes his book more interesting by clear earnestness in the cause than if it were crammed with anecdotes of grotesque ignorance or equally grotesque conflicts with it. With the gradually increasing tendency to democratic institutions which is a constantly pressing sign of the times, Mr. Hole is fully justified in saying that the social problem before us is the alternative between education and anarchy. To such labourers as Mr. Hole the progress of education is greatly indebted, and this his last service in bringing the state of the question into so clear and compendious a form to the door of all who have any desire for investigating it is far from being the least of them. We know of no book on its subject so useful and accessible, or for its size so full of information and so suggestive of the progress still to be made.

There are few things which set in a stronger light the absolute disorganization of public opinion on questions of international right than the extreme variety of judgments pronounced on the China War, and the small legal points on which events of such magnitude are made to turn, points, too, the legality of which appeals alone to Western conceptions, and from the very tribunal to which they appeal appear to betray a consciousness of their inadequacy in the minds of those who bring them forward.

Every justification of our proceedings in China ultimately runs off into a denial of those national rights we ourselves most highly prize whenever they are appealed to by our adversaries. It is quite evident that in politics, the law contended for by Mr. Darwin in the conflicts of less rational creatures than those who pretend to acknowledge any such science, the simple rule ultimately prevails of the weakest going to the wall; and those are not wanting who accept the view, and declare that morality is out of place in international affairs; and it cannot be denied that hitherto it has had little influence on any national difference. Modern wars, in the interest of civilization, promise to be as bloody and exterminating as any ancient ones in the interest of religion, which are now looked back upon by us with such horror, when they were waged by Spaniard or Portuguese. Our faith in our mission to teach the nations how to live, is hardly less fanatical, is quite as earnest, and quite as basely alloyed by collateral considerations of immediate gain as that of any religious enthusiast of the 15th century.

It is dangerous when the weaker nature comes in conflict with a mighty opposite; how can this might, when it is a nation's, be moderated into humanity, when even within its own limits so many unquestion-

able individual rights are made to give way to popular conceptions of what is most desirable by those who have the power to enforce a deference to their own opinions? A philosophical explanation of the attitude in which western civilization now stands face to face with oriental culture may be easily given: it may rationally be contended that, as from the nature of the case, the hostility now showing itself in so many different parts of the East is inevitable—that compromise is no longer practicable, that we can no longer hold our own without trespassing on the rights of others—that we must be predominant or persecuted. In spite, however, of our profound conviction that we are the light of the world, we cannot help shrinking from making it shine before men by the instrumentality of Armstrong guns and Enfield rifles—we hunt frantically about for some rag of moral pretence wherewith to cover ourselves, and make a very strange appearance after all our efforts. Morality consists in the recognition of the rights of others, and even among ourselves somewhat changes its tone and colour, as the case to be decided touches on the claims of our superiors, equals, or inferiors. How, then, can John Chinaman, the lying, pusillanimous Oriental, expect anything but coercion? His weakness makes him a liar, and his falseness makes it impossible to live long with him without exhibiting the rod. Can any one have rights whose vices are so different from our own? This, as might be expected, is the naval officer's view. Hear Captain Sherard Osborn, C.B.:—⁴

“Perhaps it may be said we cordially assent to the desirability of opening up China to western civilization; but we believe the civilian is better adapted to accomplish that end than the sailor or soldier. To this assertion I reply, that experience has shown the fallacy of such a theory, and that the British man-of-war has been the pioneer of progress in China. For two hundred years we traded at Canton, and we knew as much about China in 1830 as we did in 1630; indeed, our merchants were worse treated at the expiration of that time than at the commencement. It was not until England appeared as a belligerent that European civilization progressed in the face of Chinese exclusiveness. It was to the strong arm of the executive that western nations were indebted for their extension of trade to the five ports, and for our increased knowledge of that empire; it was to the strong arm of the executive, not to the diplomatist, and not to the persuasions and enterprise of merchants or missionaries then resident in Canton, that Great Britain is indebted for her present revenue derivable from China.”

This is very plain and unequivocal—if the advantages we derive and hope to derive from China are not to be had without repeated thrashings, repeated thrashings must be administered, and we have only to regret that we have to deal with so stubborn and obstinate a subject. How much simpler it would be if we could with effect stigmatize them as unbelieving dogs, instead of the comparatively poor resource of calling them lying hounds! We ought not, however, to leave Captain Osborn without bearing testimony to the excellence of his little book

⁴ “The Past and Future of British Relations in China.” By Captain Sherard Osborn, C.B., Royal Navy. London and Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons. 1860.

in a professional point of view : his strategical remarks are very judicious, as many features of this last campaign have shown ; the care with which he has noted everything likely to be of service to those who should follow him in the navigation of the comparatively unknown seas of Northern China, gives a high idea of the efficiency and intelligence of our naval service. The map and charts which accompany the volume are most useful, and give a clearness and fulness to all his references that would be unattainable without them. The overland mail has, we are sure, taken out to his brother officers no more welcome presents than copies of this account of the ground they were passing over.

Very different from this practical and business-like book is the Marquis de Moges's⁵ account of Baron Gros's embassy to China and Japan. Without the slightest vestige of special information, the Marquis gives a lively and superficial account of what passed before his eyes as attaché to the embassy. He treats us to all the details of his passage out, and gives a Frenchman's pathetic account of a gale of wind ; days so spent, he says, cannot be said to belong to one's existence ; under such circumstances, a man does not live, he vegetates. Every detail of ambassadorial etiquette receives full justice at his hands, and every case of cordial intercourse between the two embassies is as politely chronicled ; neither he nor the Captain entertain a moment's doubt of the absolute wisdom of the proceedings on the part of their respective nations. The national flag and the point of honour are the ultima Thule of their considerations ; when the point of honour is appealed to by men or nations, it is a pretty sure sign that principle will not support the course about to be adopted : honour may proverbially keep bad company, and the appeal to it is too often identical with that to our lowest passions. It is very questionable whether that increased intercourse which Captain Osborn attributes to the effect of our war-like demonstrations would not of itself have resulted from the natural growth of trade and confidence between the nations without them. It is very certain that there is no country which is so little known and so well misunderstood as China. The Europeans who are most competently acquainted with Chinese language and literature, do not perhaps exceed a score, and the opinions which are entertained by these only adequate judges go for absolutely nothing in the popular estimate of the race and country. Opinions hastily formed by preoccupied and otiose Europeans who care for little else but suddenly acquired wealth, and who have no more adequate basis for a proper judgment than the refuse of nations which swarm round the trading outposts of the country, have been adopted without criticism by the great majority of their fellow-countrymen. The oldest and most elaborate civilization in the world is despised because unknown, the cheap resource of contempt taking the place of laborious inquiry. The very hostility to foreigners which causes so much disgust to Europeans is mainly traceable to their

⁵ "Recollections of Baron Gros's embassy to China and Japan, in 1857-8." By the Marquis de Moges, attaché to the mission. Authorized translation, with coloured illustrations. London and Glasgow : R. Griffin and Co. 1860.

own conduct, and certainly has not decreased as they have made themselves better known and feared; it did not characterize the first intercourse of the Chinese with other nations, and does not do so at present in the interior, where experience has not justified it.

The late and present condition of the Lebanon has induced Mr. Urquhart to publish a diary kept by him during a journey through the country in 1849 and 1850, prefaced by a history of the Lebanon, which he compiled from native authorities on the spot;⁶ thus composed, it was the author's intention to have expanded his sketch by the introduction of critical matter, which would have greatly enhanced its value; but, yielding to the call of "passing circumstances," he has entrusted it to the printer without revisal, and, indeed, he says, without previous perusal. As might have been expected, the history suffers greatly from this course; though learned and graphic in a high degree it is too allusional, and pre-supposes too much acquaintance with the subject in the reader to whom it is now addressed; much that no doubt suggested volumes to the author, now produces no effect upon his reader, for want of that development which he had intended to have given it. His curious, original, and very rational speculations on the original inhabitants of Gebel Souria, as he is fond of calling it, are of the highest interest; we cannot within the limits at our disposal offer even the slightest epitome of his views.

The curious arrangement by which the inhabitants of the mountain kept themselves free from religious wars for 800 years, proved for all that time as effectual as strange; they elected a Mussulman chief, and made the government hereditary in his family, but dependant on his remaining of a faith that would make him alike impartial to Druze or Maronite. The intrigues of Mehemet Ali, and the conversion of the reigning chief, Emir Beshir, to Christianity, opened the doors to those religious wars and hates which have resulted in the presence of a French army, soon to be called, like that at Rome, an army of occupation. The recent Ottoman Loan negotiated at Paris, and the kind of security given by the Porte for its repayment, point but too clearly to this result. This event of yesterday should, in some degree, moderate the readiness of his critics to treat Mr. Urquhart as a mad Cassandra; it is true that, like her, he prophesies in season and out of season; but, though Cassandra was an affliction to her friends, a curse to her enemies, and the scorn of both, Troy not the less fell as she predicted. The man of one idea has a penetrating glance for every shape in which it can present itself, and is as formidable an adversary as the man of one book, unless assailed by the unseemly, because inappropriate, weapons of ridicule. If the History loses from being published as it was left by the author in 1850, the Diary gains in freshness and vividness for the same reason. Hardly anywhere can a book be found with such an Eastern physiognomy and expression; oriental manners and ways of life are brought before us with a vividness that nothing

⁶ "The Lebanon (Mount Souria): a History and a Diary." By David Urquhart, Author of "The Spirit of the East," &c. London: T. C. Newby. 1860.

but the author's admiration for the one and love for the other could produce. His verbal pictures are exquisite.

There is one defect of these volumes, or rather an omission that amounts to a defect—they have neither pictures, which are greatly required by the strangeness of the scenery described, nor maps, which are absolutely necessary for a book treating of a district which, though in the heart of the Holy Land, is almost unknown to Europeans. With the strange persistency of all oriental nations, the inhabitants of the Lebanon retain in their daily habits and household routine many peculiarities which may be described in the language of the Hebrew prophets with as much propriety now as when the books were first made use of; an interesting illustration of this continuity of character never escapes Mr. Urquhart.

That in taste, politics, and political economy, the author is far from orthodox, is sufficiently well known, but his heterodoxies are the consistent opinions of a passionate lover of the patriarchal form of society, and it is well that that form should have so able a panegyrist before it passes away to be no more seen. That it must pass away is inevitable, and our author is not to be too severely blamed if he too exclusively deploras the confused noise and garments rolled in blood, without which no state of society ever gives place to that which is to succeed and improve upon it.

A very different book of eastern Israel, is Mr. Walter Thornbury's account of Constantinople,⁷ about one half of which has already appeared in Chambers's Journal, and Dickens's All the Year Round; Messrs. Smith, Elder, & Co. have clothed in a handsome binding, and illustrated with some very characteristic cuts from photographs taken in the country, an amount of cockney chatter about the east that will scarcely be anywhere equalled.

The author arrived in Constantinople on the day of the discovery of the late conspiracy against the Sultan, and seems to have come to a very clear idea of the discomfort of dining in a town in which a massacre of all resident Christians may possibly materially interfere with his supper. During his stay the Circassian emigrants were passing through Constantinople on their way to the settlement in Anatolia, offered them by the Sultan. The author makes himself acquainted with the whole subject by a conversation with a fine looking exile, his contribution to which consisted of the comprehensive observations, "Schamyl, good—Russky, bad." From the man's bearing at these cabalistic words, when his first alarm at the Circassian's gesticulations had subsided, he construes a whole picture of the war, out of the depths of his own consciousness, entirely to his own satisfaction, but very little to the edification of any possible reader. His lofty anger at the non-intervention of his country in Circassian affairs, and his profound contempt for her rulers, is very amusing and characteristic. He is far from professing any knowledge of the country he visits, but

⁷ "Turkish Life and Character." By Walter Thornbury, Author of "Life in Spain." London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1860.

he does not on that account shrink from the most dogmatic judgments. His business was to write lively articles about everything he could see while in Constantinople, and his notion of liveliness consists in patronisingly patting every Turk upon the back, while he pokes his readers in the ribs to make them see the fun. A full notion of the book may be got by supposing the late Albert Smith's entertainment to be extended into two mortal volumes; the lively flippancy which amused for an hour, when set off by the personal cleverness of the showman, becomes beyond measure tedious, when continued over nearly six-hundred pages without any such relief.

Mr. Thornbury's book is about as amusing as an Egyptian Hall Ascent of Mont Blanc without Albert Smith. The intense self-satisfaction with which he "chaffs" the whole system of Eastern life, and the slang with which he lightens his pages is in the worst possible taste. The whole method of quasi humorous and minute descriptions of the mere external features of life and manners has been utterly used up by its master and inventor. When the humour is not deep and genuine, and the features described not truly characteristic, this mode of treating any subject is more barren of good result than any other that can be adopted. The weary reader longs for some repose, like the unfortunate guests round a table presided over by a professed punster; the most old fashioned and commonplace book of travels is a positive relief after an hour's reading of such modern smartness. A pleasing contrast to this book will be found in a little volume by one who does not find "fairy land in Fleet-street and paradise in Piccadilly," we mean in the Earl of Carnarvon's visit to the Lebanon;⁸ the noble author's notion of a gentleman looks beyond the tailor and recognises in the Druse chieftains those qualities which favourably distinguish all aristocracies. While he makes no pretensions to erudition, he has yet fully studied most of the interesting questions which group themselves round the singular people he was visiting. His book is more accessible, and will probably be more popular than that of Mr. Urquhart who writes almost as a Syrian would do; while Lord Carnarvon never forgets that he is an Englishman and is writing for an English public. This difference is very well shown in the manner in which he notices the many vague accusations of immoral rites connected with the Druse religion which have long been prevalent in Europe, although it is fully evident he thinks them, if not altogether unfounded, at least greatly exaggerated. When Mr. Urquhart, on the other hand, treats of the subject he entirely overlooks such accusations, evidently from scorn of them, and as little thinks of defending the Druses as he would the early Christians from the imputation of eating children at their Sacramental feasts.

The derivation of the Druse religion from the peculiar geographical and political position of the race who adopted it is much more philosophical than the historical method by which Lord Carnarvon traces it up to Hakem Bemrillah and his minister Darzai, from whom he sup-

⁸ "Recollections of the Druses of the Lebanon, and Notes on their Religion." By the Earl of Carnarvon. London: Murray. 1860.

poses them to have taken their name; in this respect Mr. Urquhart's view, deriving it from the Arabic word *Durs*, instructed, initiated, is probably better founded. Many who would turn from the bulk, or, perhaps, be estranged by the tone of much in Mr. Urquhart's volumes, will find in this record of a winter tour all that it is absolutely requisite to know of the seat of the War in the East, if war it is still to be called, and will at the same time enjoy the society of a cultivated and intelligent man, whose education has lifted him sheer out of the absurdity of finding things unusual necessarily ridiculous, and who has taken the trouble, at least, to acquaint himself with his subject before offering himself to the public in the character of an instructor.

Mr. Gouger's account of his imprisonment in Burmah, is a most genuine and interesting book.⁹ The author was the first Englishman to visit Ava for the purpose of commerce, and was interrupted in his prospect of rapidly amassing a large fortune by the outbreak of the first Burmese war, the immediate effect of which was his arrest as a spy. His acquaintance with the language and country has enabled him to fill up a very complete picture of the manners and customs of his captors. His adventures, which he recounts with a simplicity that makes his story more graphic than the highest art, are as interesting as any novel. His sufferings while in the condemned prison at Amrapoorah were frightful in the extreme; that any one should have survived them, with the additional daily dread of immediate death, is wonderful. Though frequently ordered for execution, he escapes by the strangest accidents, and is ultimately delivered to Sir Alexander Campbell as one of the preliminaries of the peace ultimately signed between this country and Burmah.

The book abounds in amusing anecdotes and carries with it in every line an impress of literal truth, which adds greatly to its attractiveness. In spite of Major Yates' account of the mission of 1857, this book is a most welcome addition to our knowledge of the strange semi-barbarous people it describes, and cannot, we think, fail to meet with a popularity it undoubtedly deserves.

The disturbed condition of the Southern districts of Bengal, caused by the disputes between the indigo planters and ryots, has given occasion to a great deal of heated discussion on a subject which is so mixed up with Indian tenures and local practices, hitherto but little attended to in England, that much confusion of opinion prevails, and is too often purposely encouraged.¹⁰ In the southern provinces, it is the custom for the planters to grant advances to the ryots, taking a pledge from them that they will in return cultivate for them a certain quantity of indigo. This bargain, perhaps, very often partakes of the character which all bargains assume which are entered on by persons in such different positions as those filled by the contracting parties. Cases of high-handed assertion of their right to the fulfilment of these contracts

⁹ "A Personal Narrative of Two Years' Imprisonment in Burmah, 1824—1826." By Henry Gouger. London: J. Murray. 1860.

¹⁰ "Evidence of the Hon. Ashley Eden, taken before the Indigo Commissioner sitting in Calcutta." C. H. Manuel, Calcutta. 1860.

are not wanting, and of late have been diligently looked up, and the whole system of advances has been pronounced against with considerable vehemence. The hardship does not seem to us to reside in the advances, but in other features of the contract. In lower Bengal, the custom is, that when the advances are made and the crop reaped, the produce is sold to the planter at a certain rate per bundle. Constant differences arise, as might be expected, both as to the size and condition of these, and often owing to lowness of contracted price, or badness of season, the whole crop is insufficient to repay the advance which the ryot has received. The balance thus owed by him is used as a fresh advance, and as the ground of a legal claim for an enforced contract to grow again. The natural consequence is, that the ryot has a constant tendency to sink into the condition of a rack-rented cottier. It is, however, evident that it is not the advance, but the conditions of its liquidation, that contain all the hardships of the case, for by these the ryot takes the risks of the crop, while the planter has relieved himself of that important element in his speculation.

The relations between the ryots and planters in other parts of India, are sufficient to set this in the clearest light. In Tirhoot, now one of the most important indigo districts, the contract between planter and ryot has never borne those fruits of disturbance and commotion. The native cultivator contracts to grow a certain quantity of indigo, at so many rupees per Begah or acre, and if his crop fails totally, from inundation or any other providential cause, he has his full wages, and the loss falls on the planter; if the crop only fails in patches, the patches so failing are declared empty for the purposes of indigo, sufficiently early in the season to allow of the ryots sowing them with grain or Indian corn for his own account, and in this case he is allowed one half of the price for what he engaged to grow the indigo. The planter, too, finds the seed, and cattle and carts to bring the crop home to the factory. It will be at once seen that this system has much in common with the metayer holdings in the South of Europe, and that it presents none of the peculiar and accumulating evils of that adopted in Lower Bengal; although, in common with that system, it reposes on advances; which are made to the ryot as follows:—two rupees per Begah at the time of the contract, one rupee at the time of sowing, and one-half rupee at weeding; the balance at the time of getting in the crop. From this statement it will be at once seen, that on failure of the crop the ryot cannot claim the advance for weeding, but the previous three rupees already received by him, instead of forming an item as an accumulating debt, are accepted as a loss by the planter.

The consequence of this more equitable system is, that no disturbances are known in this district, and we cannot help being surprised to find so general an outcry against one feature of the contracts on which this cultivation is based, and without which it could not be carried on, while so little is comparatively said upon the subsidiary conditions under which the ryot has groaned, until his violent reclamations have resulted in the present inquiry at Calcutta, where the planters, in spite of an investigation carried on in a far from friendly spirit, have

yet been able to parry an attack which has been too eager to seek out the antagonist's weak point.

The "Isle of Saints"¹¹ is the title given to a very clever journal of a tour in Ireland, by Julius Rodenberg, a rising literateur of Berlin. It is not the first tour on British ground which he has made; a previous one through Wales appeared some time since, and was translated by Capt. Lascelles Wraxall, who is about to perform the same good office to the present volumes. The author has great powers of description, and a very ready and flowing style too apt to run into inflated sentimentality, which constantly hovers on the verge of bad taste and pruriency; without, however, absolutely passing it, he carries in his veins that witches' drink which made Faust see Helen's beauty in every face he met. The first pretty Irish girl he encountered would have been fatal to him had she not been so soon succeeded by another. The semi-crotic relations which he immediately endeavours to establish with his female fellow-travellers might easily have led to misconceptions, had it not been for the cheerful *insouciance* of the Irish. It is greatly to be hoped that a certain family party who picked him up during his rambles have at least the protection of a pseudonym, for he certainly gives them no other; he makes at the same time love to the two daughters and a butt of their father, which, if tolerable in itself, is far from being so in a printed account. If there be such a person as Mr. Macrie, he will be very careful how he accepts as a travelling companion any chance tourist he may meet with on the next occasion he makes an antiquarian ramble. Herr Rodenberg has a sharp eye for picturesque legends, and a very pretty talent in recounting them; many contained in these two volumes seem new to us, and reflect much credit on their diligent collector. The translations from Moore are remarkably well done; indeed, we understand that the author has finished, and will shortly publish a translation of the whole of the Irish Melodies. He is about, too, to enter on the enterprise, novel in a German capital, of publishing a periodical after the manner of the *Cornhill Magazine*, and is, we understand, in communication with some of the chief celebrities of modern German literature. It is very questionable whether the small reading public of a town like Berlin can support a light literary periodical; previous efforts in this direction have met with but little encouragement. Even the *Horen*, though upheld by Goethe and Schiller, had but a short and struggling existence; in this case, however, the lofty pedagogism of these poetical giants was a very heavy load for so light a vessel. Herr Rodenberg is not likely to founder from this cause, and we hope, for the sake of his genial goodnature, that he may escape any such result from whatever cause.

A very interesting collection of essays has been published under the title of "Demokratische Studien,"¹² by some of those German liberals who were scattered over Europe by the failure of the Pauls Kirche

¹¹ "Die Insel der Heiligen," von Julius Rodenberg. Berlin: Ottor Janke. 1860.

¹² "Demokratische Studien," herausgegeben von L. Walesrode. Hamburg: Otto eissner. 1860.

Parliament at Frankfort; the contributors belong to what are called in Germany the Blue Democrats, to distinguish them from the Socialist or Red Party. Many of their names, as L. Bamberger, Carl Vogt, L. Simon of Treves, Moritz Hartmann, Michelet of Berlin, Adolf Stahr, and Karl Grün, are already well known. A very striking paper by F. Lasalle brings forward, and presses on his compatriots rather than criticises, many most penetrating opinions found in the last popular lectures delivered by Fichte, in Berlin, in the spring of 1813, the year before his death. As these lectures exist only in a fragmentary form among his literary remains, they have not met with that attention they deserved; and Herr Lasalle has done good service to his cause by calling public attention to political speculations, which the lapse of time has in so many points justified.

Herr Friedrich Kapp gives an account of the execution of John Brown, at Charlestown, for his attempt at Harper's Ferry, mainly that he may show, in the history of this first capital punishment for a political offence committed in the United States, the inevitable necessity for all absolute power, whether of a single tyrant or of an alarmed mob, to have recourse to terrorism and physical repression.

Some of the anecdotes he gives of the ruthless violence by which the spread of anti-slavery opinions in the South is endeavoured to be repressed, almost exceed belief; violent expulsions from their territories, extreme personal violence where the provocation has been at all open and decided, are features of Southern society to which we have been long accustomed; but one instance given by Herr Kapp exceeds anything we have met with. A gentleman travelling by the North Carolina Railway, was observed to be reading an abolitionist paper; without a word, the train still going at full speed, he was thrown out of window by his fellow-travellers, and his neck broken! The exaggerated alarm caused by Brown's ill-planned attempt, has shown the whole Union that the South must live in a constant state of readiness for war; and that the great question of slavery or freedom must be definitively settled, or Brown's will soon cease to be the first political execution in the United States.

Karl Grün, the historian of the Socialist movement in France, has contributed a very spirited review of recent philosophical speculations; and Adolf Stahr, a somewhat exaggerated protest against Schiller's patent of nobility, denouncing very superfluously the prefix Von, which is scarce ever heard, however it may appear in the title of his works. That either he or Goethe put any value on the distinction it is absurd to suppose; if they may themselves be believed, they did not. It was conferred on them by Karl August, to make them *Hoffähig*, and they wore it as they did their dress-coats and swords, on occasions when it was equally indispensable. The controversy is hardly worth the paper it takes to state the point in dispute.

A paper, evidently by a very well-informed writer, on Electoral Hesse under the father, son, and grandson, is full of information on a subject that may soon occupy more of the public attention; its motto from Luther well describes its contents:—

“I have read,” says he, “of a poor widow who stood praying in the most

earnest manner for her tyrant, begging that his life might be long spared him. The tyrant overheard, and wondered, for he well knew that he had done her much evil, and so thought her prayer a very strange one; for the usual prayer for tyrants is of a quite different sort. He asked her, therefore, why she so prayed; she answered, I had ten cows when your grandfather was alive, and he took two away from me; so I prayed that he might die and your father become lord. This came to pass, and your father took three cows; again I prayed that you might become lord, and he died. Now you have taken four cows, therefore now I pray for you, for I am afraid that he that will come after you will take the last cow, as well as everything else that I possess."

It would hardly be thought that a book of so miscellaneous a character as these Essays could become the subject of a violent controversy, it has not however escaped this fate. In the *Stimmen der Zeit*, a monthly paper, devoted to politics, the writers are each and all accused of vanity and venality, and much good personal abuse is devoted to them, especially to such among the party as have succeeded in attaining any fixed position by commerce or trade. The attack, however, of M. Kolatschek is too often, and too manifestly provoked by personal animosities to carry any injurious weight with it.

A little book by Professor Deroyer, of Hasselt, may be strongly recommended as a very clear statement of the general doctrines of political economy;¹³ without assuming to add anything to the science of which he treats, the author, by a very clear and lively style and by a certain neatness of illustration, has produced an interesting and entertaining volume on a subject that is usually considered neither the one nor the other. It is usual to define the conditions of production as labour and the material products of the earth, and very frequently the notion of labour is insufficiently analysed. The following remarks of M. Deroyer appear particularly just:—

"From whatever branch of trade a product may arise, it is obtainable only by three very distinct operations—the labour of the man of science, the application of that science by the manufacturer, and manual labour of the operative.

"The man of science discovers by experiment and analysis the laws which govern the materials and forces concerned in the production. In this sense he who discovered the power of steam, as well as he who discovered those chemical properties of things which fit them to be used as dyes, were men of science.

"The manufacturer, appropriating the ideas of the man of science, makes such use of them that they shall tend to supply some moral or physical want. This, for example, is what was done by those who applied the power of steam to cotton-spinning, to grinding corn, or to locomotion.

"The operative is he who carries out the applications of science projected by the manufacturer. It is by no means necessary that these three operations should fall into the hands of three different persons. It may even occur that the same individual is at once man of science, manufacturer, and operative."

It is not that the intellectual element in production is usually ignored, but it acquires a juster force by inclusion in the terms of its

¹³ "Economie a l'Usage de tout le Monde." Par. F. J. Deroyer, Professeur à l'Athénée Royale de Hasselt. Brussels: Van Meenen and Co. 1860.

definition. This little volume is excellently adapted to the end it aims at, viz., that of popularizing the results of economical science. We cannot readily call to mind an equally excellent English compendium, and cannot but think that it would meet with a deserved success in this country, if well and carefully translated.

There are too certain minute differences in the way of conceiving and stating economic problems that often cause a foreign book to give unexpected facilities in seizing their cardinal points which the well-known home terms sometimes fail to do from their very familiarity.

SCIENCE.

EVERY one who is interested (and who should not be?) in the question of the nature of the Sun's physical constitution,¹ the sources of its perennial liberation of light and heat, the meaning of the appearances presented during eclipses, and of the spots ordinarily to be seen upon its surface, the cyclical increase and decrease of these, the ordinary influence exerted by the sun upon the earth's magnetism, and the particular variations in this which seem connected with the disturbances indicated by the spots in the solar photosphere, will find an excellent and reliable summary of the facts that are known upon these subjects, with the principal hypotheses that have been proposed to account for them, in the lecture delivered by Mr. Walker, at the late meeting of the British Association at Oxford, which has been since published with the addition of fresh information obtained on occasion of the recent eclipse.

Mr. Gill's "Essay on the Thermo-Dynamics of Elastic Fluids,"² is obviously the production of a thoughtful mind familiar with the practical relations of heat and motor power, and seeking to bring these to a more perfect realization of the equivalent values furnished by scientific investigation. He suggests *moist air* as likely to afford a more advantageous medium for the conversion of heat into motor power, than either steam on the one hand or dry air on the other.

A new edition has recently appeared of the late Dr. Golding Bird's admirable manual of "Natural Philosophy,"³ the large sale of which attests the general acceptance with which it has met. Its preparation has been undertaken by Mr. C. Brooke, than whom no more competent or more judicious editor could have been selected; and we need say nothing further than that the work has been thoroughly brought

¹ "The Physical Constitution of the Sun. A Discourse delivered in the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford, before the British Association, June 29th, 1860. With an Appendix on the Phenomena observed in Spain during the Eclipse of July 18th." By Rev. Robert Walker, M.A. F.R.S., Reader in Experimental Philosophy. 8vo. London, 1860.

² "An Essay on the Thermo-Dynamics of Elastic Fluids." By Joseph Gill. 8vo. London, 1860.

³ "The Elements of Natural Philosophy; or an Introduction to the Study of the Physical Sciences." By Golding Bird, M.A., M.D., F.R.S., F.L.S., and Charles Brooke, M.A., M.B., F.R.S. Fifth Edition, revised and enlarged, with 607 wood engravings. Fcap. 8vo. London, 1860.

up to the advanced position now held by the sciences of which it treats.

From a retired Indian medical officer we have a very interesting treatise⁴ on a curious set of phenomena, the study of which is obviously calculated to throw great light upon some of the most important questions of meteorology. Columns of dust, a few feet in diameter, rising cylindrically until their summits are lost in the distance, are often seen travelling over the plains; and observation seems to show that their component particles ascend, not in a single spiral (such as is to be noticed in our common dust-eddies), but in a double spiral, one surrounding the other. Moreover, the column is surrounded by currents of air, the direction of which is tangential to it. Mr. Baddeley has obtained indications (though not very distinct ones) of electrical disturbance in the interior of these columns; and thinks it probable that they originate in streams of electric force descending from the higher regions of the atmosphere, and that the disturbance in the surrounding air is not their cause but their effect. Manifestations of electric disturbance are much more distinct in the dust-storms which occasionally sweep over areas of considerable breadth; for Leyden-jars have been charged, magnets made, and chemical decompositions effected by their passage. These storms Mr. Baddeley supposes to be the result of the aggregation of a number of the small whirlwinds. Whatever may be thought of his hypothesis, his facts are well worthy of study, as having been observed with care and intelligence, and as furnishing a valuable series of independent data to be taken into account in framing any general "Law of Storms." Of his useful hints in regard to the sanitary care of our European army in India we have elsewhere spoken. (p. 54.)

"The Physical Geography of the Sea"⁵ is a department of science which has advanced with almost unprecedented rapidity, from a condition of prolonged and almost unprogressive childhood to one of vigorous and fast-growing youth. And this advance is mainly owing to the activity and intelligence of a single individual, who first conceived the idea of collecting into one focus the vast aggregate of information dispersed through the records of the voyages that are made over every navigable portion of the globe by the ships of the several maritime nations; and who so far realized that idea by his unaided exertions, as to evolve results which at once demonstrated its importance and laid the foundation for more extended and systematic operations in the same direction. The primary object of Captain Maury's labours was to embody, in "Wind and Current Charts," the collective experience

⁴ "Whirlwinds and Dust-Storms of India. An Investigation into the Law of Wind and Revolving Storms at Sea. With an Addendum, containing Practical Hints on Sanitary Measures required for the European Soldier in India. Illustrated by numerous Diagrams and Sketches from Nature, and a Wind Card for the Use of Sailors." By P. F. F. Baddeley, Surgeon, Bengal Army (retired list). 8vo. With an Atlas of Plates. London and Cologne, 1860.

⁵ "The Physical Geography of the Sea, and its Meteorology. Being a Reconstruction and Enlargement of the Eighth Edition of 'The Physical Geography of the Sea.'" By M. F. Maury, LL.D., U.S.N., Superintendent to the National Observatory, Washington. Illustrated with numerous Charts and Diagrams. London, 1860. 8vo, pp. 485.

of navigators as to the winds and currents met with along the principal ocean-tracks at different times and during all seasons; so methodized that an inexperienced mariner setting out on his first voyage to a given port should be able to feel as much confidence in his knowledge as to the winds and currents he might expect to encounter, as though he himself had already been that way a thousand times before. Such charts could not fail to commend themselves to intelligent shipmasters; they took them to sea, and found that the promised advantages were so fully realized, as to bring the remote corners of the earth practically nearer to one another by several weeks' sail. Thus the *average* passage from New York to California has been reduced from 183 days to 135 days, a saving of 48 days; and that between England and Australia has been reduced from 124 days to 97 days, the homeward passage having been made in 63 days under canvas alone. Results like these having been brought before the public, naturally attracted great attention on the part of the quick, practical minds of enterprising shipmasters; and they have readily lent their co-operation towards extending and perfectionizing the course of inquiry thus auspiciously commenced. Their attention was called to the blank spaces in the chart, and to the importance of more and better observations than were generally contained in the old sea-logs; and they were told that if each one would agree to co-operate in a general plan of observations at sea, and would send regularly, at the end of every cruise, an abstract log of his voyage to the National Observatory at Washington, he should for so doing be furnished, free of cost, with a copy of the charts and sailing directions that might be founded on these observations.

In a little time there were more than a thousand observers thus engaged, by day and by night, and over all parts of the ocean, in making and recording observations according to a uniform plan; and the scientific value as well as the practical importance of this systematization became sufficiently apparent, to induce the Government of the United States to bring the subject under the attention of all the maritime States of Christendom. A conference, consisting of representatives from all the most important of these was held at Brussels, in August, 1853; and a plan of observations was agreed upon, which should be followed by the vessels of all friendly nations, alike in peace and in war, the record of them being to be held sacred even in the event of the capture of any of the vessels on board which they may be conducted. The instruments required for these observations are no others than are already in use on board every well-conditioned ship; and provision has been made for the supply to all shipmasters who may co-operate in the plan, of instruments which have been adequately tested by comparison with standards that are common to all. Thus, as Captain Maury well remarks, "the sea has been brought regularly within the domains of philosophical research, and crowded with observers. Every ship which navigates the high seas with these charts and blank abstract log on board may henceforth be regarded as a floating observatory, a temple of science." The moral benefit of this co-operation is scarcely, perhaps not at all, inferior to its direct mate-

rial advantage. For everything which unites nations together in common bonds for mutual benefit tends to soften national antipathies and to promote peace and goodwill; and a stimulus is being given to the mental elevation of our seamen, which, in the opinion of many competent judges, will ultimately do more for the improvement of commerce and navigation than the increased knowledge of winds and currents has already effected.

Besides those classes of observations, however, which can be made in the ordinary course of commercial navigation, there is another which is attended with peculiar difficulties that can only be overcome by arrangements devised for the express purpose but of which the importance, alike in a scientific and a practical point of view, is every year becoming more apparent. We refer to those *deep-sea soundings*, by which alone an acquaintance can be gained with the character of the bed of the ocean—its mountains and valleys, its plains and table-lands, its ravines and precipices— as well as with the nature of the deposits which are being continually spread over it, either by the wearing away of the land, or by the successional development and death of those marine plants and animals which have the power of solidifying in their casings the lime or the silex diffused through the water they inhabit. Such knowledge is essential to every extension of submarine telegraphy; it is no less essential to that scientific interpretation of the phenomena presented by ocean-currents, of which, without it, only an empirical summary can be presented. The British Government has not been slow to take up this subject; and many most valuable series of deep-sea soundings have already been made by expeditions sent out for the purpose, the most recent of which is that just made by Captain M'Clintock, in H.M.S. *Bulldog*, and by Captain A. Young, in the *Fox*, with a view to the laying down a new line of telegraph to North America by way of Greenland. One of the most curious of the results obtained in this expedition, was the bringing up a living star-fish from a depth of 1260 fathoms, or more than a mile and a half; a depth at which it has been generally believed that no organized being could maintain life.

The scientific co-ordination of all the knowledge acquired by these various means of research, has occupied Capt. Maury no less than the development of the practical applications of that knowledge; and we have the most recent results of his labours in the treatise before us, of which the first edition appeared only six years ago, and which, as he informs us, has been subsequently almost entirely rewritten three times, in order that it may be kept *au courant* with the growth of the science it is intended to embody. The present edition is not only considerably enlarged, but is also greatly improved in regard alike to the variety, the extent, and the value of the information it contains, so that it may be almost considered as a new work; its scope, also, having been widened, so as to render it as complete a treatise as possible, not only on the Physical Geography, but also on the Meteorology of the Sea. Like every real philosopher, Capt. Maury looks only to truth as his object; and cares not whether the new information continually flowing-in confirms or invalidates his previous opinions, provided that

it helps him to make his structure more firm and complete. "As long, he says, "as we are making progress in any field of physical research, so long must the results continue to increase in value; and just so long must what at first was conjecture grow and gain as truth, or fade and fall as error." Our reader will be able to form a truer estimate of the value of this treatise from what we have told them of the history and scope of the inquiries on which it is based, than they could do from a more formal account of its contents. Of the vast amount of labour that has been bestowed upon its preparation, they may form some idea from the fact stated by Capt. Maury that in his first plate alone are embodied the results of 1,159,353 separate observations on the force and direction of the wind, and upwards of 100,000 observations on the height of the barometer at sea, a large proportion of the latter being not single observations but the mean of several. Had these data been collected by a force specially employed for the purpose, the collection would have demanded constant occupation from a fleet of ten sail for more than one hundred years. As it is, the co-ordination of them has been a work of immense labour, requiring the undivided attention of numerous able workers in the Observatory at Washington for several years. The Government of the United States deserves the cordial thanks of every maritime nation for the noble work it has undertaken and so far accomplished; and Captain Maury, with whom the idea originated, and under whose guidance it has been carried out, may congratulate himself upon the title he has gained to be accounted one of the world's greatest benefactors.

After a long delay, chiefly occasioned by the illness of Mr. Ralfs, we have at last before us the much-desired reproduction of Mr. A. Pritchard's "*History of Infusoria*,"⁶ in a form so greatly improved that few or no traces remain of the very imperfect original. The appearance of the first edition of this work preceded that of the "*Infusionsthierchen*" of Ehrenberg; but the second and third were avowedly remodelled upon the basis which it afforded, and the greater number of their illustrations were simply reduced copies of his plates. The advance which has been made, during the last ten or twelve years, in the knowledge of all the forms of minute life, both animal and vegetable, has necessitated a fresh recasting of the materials of the work; and it now comes before us with such an air of freshness and novelty, that, if it were not for the well-remembered aspect of a portion of the plates, we might have taken it for an entirely new book. We could wish, indeed, that Mr. Pritchard had emancipated himself more thoroughly from the trammels imposed by his former title, and given to his present work a designation more in harmony with its contents. For to include Desmids and Diatoms, with other undoubtedly vegetable forms, and the Rhizopods and Rotifers of the animal kingdom, under the term

⁶ "*A History of Infusoria, including the Desmidiaceæ and Diatomaceæ, British and Foreign.*" By Andrew Pritchard, M.R.I. Author of the "*Microscopic Cabinet*," &c. Fourth Edition. Enlarged and revised by J. T. Arlidge, M.B., B.A., London; W. Archer; J. Ralfs, M.R.C.S.L.; W. C. Williamson, F.R.S. and the Author. Illustrated by Forty Plates. 8vo. London, 1861.

Infusoria, which is now limited by common consent to a group of Animalcules having tolerably definite boundaries, cannot but tend to perpetuate that chaotic confusion which has been gradually giving place to order and system. Moreover, if it be intended that the work should embrace a general survey of microscopic life, on what principle are the Polycystina of Ehrenberg, and the Acanthometræ of Müller, both of which are at least as closely allied to the Rhizopods as are the Gregarinida and Psorospermia, altogether omitted?—When we pass, however, from the title-page and table of contents to the body of the work, we find everything to commend in the mode in which each division of the subject has been separately worked out by the contributor who has specially charged himself with it. Nearly half the volume is occupied with the general history of the several groups, viz. : *Desmidiæ*, *Diatomaceæ*, *Phytozoa*, *Protozoa*, (including *Rhizopoda* and *Ciliata*), *Rotatoria*, and *Tardigrada*; this, which is the work of Mr. Arlidge, is a very able summary of the important contributions recently made by numerous British and Continental observers to our knowledge of their life-history, which will be of the highest value to that large proportion of microscopists who have not time and opportunity to consult the original records of their labours. The second and larger half of the volume is occupied with the systematic arrangement of the several groups just enumerated. That of the *Diatomaceæ*, the group which has been more studied in this country of late years than any other, is the work of Mr. Ralfs, than whom no one could be more competent, from his intimate knowledge of it and his thoroughness in the execution of everything he undertakes. The revision of the *Desmidiæ* has been carried out by Mr. William Archer, chiefly on the basis of Mr. Ralfs' classification, with the introduction of original views of his own, and of descriptions of newly discovered foreign species furnished by M. de Brebisson. For the systematic arrangement of the *Phytozoa*, *Protozoa*, and *Rotifera*, the systematic arrangement of Ehrenberg has been retained, the genera and species of other naturalists being collated and engrafted upon it; and in the present transitional state of our knowledge of these groups and of the real relations of their principal sub-divisions, this is probably the best plan that could have been followed. The greater part of this portion of the work seems to have been accomplished by Mr. Pritchard; but Prof. W. C. Williamson has revised the descriptions of the *Rotatoria*. Of the total number of forty plates, twenty-one are entirely new, six of these having been drawn and engraved by Mr. Tuffen West, whose delineations of Diatoms are unrivalled for their beauty and fidelity. The work as it now stands is one which does the highest credit to all who have been concerned in its production; and we heartily congratulate Mr. Pritchard upon the successful completion of the task with which he has been so long occupied. The volume is one which no votary of the microscope can afford to be without.

Although many of Dr. Bennett's "Gatherings" have already been presented to the public through various channels, yet we heartily welcome their appearance in a collective form, with the additional materials which he has now for the first time brought forth from his budget of

"Australasian Zoology and Botany,"⁷ altogether constituting a handsome and beautifully illustrated volume. To Dr. Bennett we are indebted for our first knowledge of the animal of the Pearly Nautilus, the type of those chambered Cephalopods that have ranged through nearly the whole series of geological periods; and it is somewhat aggravating now to learn that living Nautili are so plentiful at the Fidji Islands, that they are caught for food in wicker traps baited like lobster-pots, and are eaten *carried* by the natives. Dr. Bennett was also the discoverer of the new and remarkable species of Cassowary found only in New Britain, and known by its native name of Mooruk; and to him also we are indebted for most of our knowledge of the physiology and habits of the anomalous Ornithorhynchus, as of its congener the Echidna, and also of the remarkable Jabiru or Gigantic Crane. Our Zoological Gardens have largely profited by the zeal with which he has purveyed for them among the curiosities supplied by his adopted country; and he has also done much to direct attention to the practical value of many forms of its vegetation, which might otherwise have been disregarded. We trust that on his return thither he will long continue to render those valuable services to science, for which his antipodean residence has afforded the opportunity, but which have mainly sprung from an earnestness which would make an opportunity for itself in any locality however familiar.

It was scarcely to be expected that the author of the "Vestiges"⁸ should keep quiet, now that public attention has been again turned by the speculations of Mr. Darwin to the inquiry into the origin and succession of organic life upon the globe. He has limited himself, however, to a reissue of his last or illustrated edition in a more compendious form, with a note referring to Mr. Darwin's views. The continued sale of this work shows that, with all its faults, it has taken a strong hold of the public mind; and we believe that it has done good service in loosening the hold which antiquated prejudices have so long maintained over the freedom of thought, and in preparing for a more candid discussion of the problems which are now before the attention of the scientific world.

Having heard it rumoured that a reply to Mr. Darwin was forthcoming from no less able a pen than that of Professor Phillips, we awaited its appearance with much interest; but we find nothing more in the little work before us⁹ than an expression of its author's conviction, that the knowledge of the succession of life on the earth which geological research has yielded to us, up to the present time, is

⁷ "Gatherings of a Naturalist in Australasia; being Observations principally on the Animal and Vegetable Productions of New South Wales, New Zealand, and some of the Austral Islands." By George Bennett, M.D., F.L.S., F.R.S. With 8 coloured lithographs, and 26 wood engravings. 8vo. London: 1860.

⁸ "Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation." Post 8vo. Eleventh edition. Illustrated by numerous wood engravings. London: 1860.

⁹ "Life on the Earth: its Origin and Succession." By John Phillips, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S., late President of the Geological Society of London, Professor of Geology in the University of Oxford. Fcap 8vo. London: 1860.

so far to be accepted as final, that no very important modification of it is to be looked for from further inquiry. We must confess our surprise that a man so highly informed not only as to the existing state, but also as to the history, of Geology, should speak with so much confidence of the ratio between what we *do know* and what we *do not know* of the past life upon our earth; and we cannot but suspect that the murky atmosphere of Oxford has somewhat obscured the ordinary clearness of Professor Phillips's scientific vision. Even whilst he was preparing his Rede lecture, there came to us from America the remarkable intelligence that in a single fossil stump of a tree in the celebrated section of carboniferous strata at "the Joggins" in Nova Scotia, there had been found by Dr. Dawson the remains of five reptiles, three of them being new species, together with a millipede and land-snail. Yet it is not long since it was the received doctrine that reptiles had no existence on this earth before the commencement of the secondary period. Moreover, Professor Phillips himself allows that the recently acquired evidence on the antiquity of man is sufficient to justify the notion that he may have been contemporaneous with the extinct Hippopotamus,—a notion which a few years ago would have been scouted as one not to be entertained for a moment. Taken for what it is worth, as a summary of our present knowledge, the Rede lecture of Professor Phillips is an admirable digest, which may be read with profit alike by the tyro and by the advanced student of geology.

Mr. Marshall having been commissioned by the Science and Art Department at Kensington to prepare a set of large diagrams for the purpose of popular instruction in physiology,—a task which he executed with great success,—further, undertook to furnish a descriptive account of the objects represented; and this description, forming a quarto volume of 260 closely printed pages, with an atlas of plates consisting of reduced copies of the larger diagrams, now lies before us.¹⁰ Notwithstanding the great care which has obviously been bestowed upon this performance, we cannot but regard the result as unsatisfactory. For the book is much too full of elaborate detail for the wants of the school teacher; whilst, on the other hand, the purpose for which it was to be adapted forbade the introduction of many topics that were essential to its scientific completeness. A concise treatise on physiology, conveying as much as every one ought to know of the structure and actions of his body, and of the means of keeping it in health, in simple and perspicuous language, and attractive in its style, has yet to be written. For such a treatise Mr. Marshall's admirable series of diagrams would furnish a suitable basis; and we hope that the want may not remain long unsupplied.

Professor Day, who has before laboured usefully as the translator of

¹⁰ "The Human Body; its Structure and Functions." Illustrated by 9 physiological diagrams, containing 193 coloured figures; designed for the use of teachers in schools, and young men destined for the medical profession, and for popular instruction generally. By John Marshall, F.R.S., F.R.C.S., Surgeon to University College Hospital, London, and Lecturer on Anatomy in the Science and Art Department, Kensington. 4to. With an atlas of plates. London: 1860.

Simon's and of Lehmann's larger works on physiological chemistry,¹¹ has now produced a compendious treatise of his own on the same subject, which will prove extremely useful alike to the scientific physiologist and to the medical practitioner. Whilst basing it chiefly on the smaller "Handbuch" of Lehmann, P. Day has brought together a large amount of additional matter from various recent sources; and has aimed to present to those who have not time for more extended research a *résumé* of the most trustworthy information on the chemistry of the animal body in health and disease. The general plan of the treatise is excellent, and its execution is for the most part equally good. What we chiefly miss, is the guidance to be afforded by a sound practical chemist as to the relative values of statements which are discrepant or even contradictory.

The cellular pathology of Professor Virchow,¹² which may be described as a return to the system of *solidism*, based on the recent development of histological science, in antagonism to the modified *humouralism* which has of late become fashionable, has excited great attention and not a little controversy in the land of its birth; and whatever may be the ultimate judgment of those most competent to decide upon its merits as a system, there cannot be a doubt of the value of the results of those profound investigations into the structure and development of healthy and morbid tissues on which it is based. We are glad, therefore, that his treatise has been placed before the English reader, in a form which will bring it much more readily within his grasp, than it was whilst it remained in its original language. The translation is so well executed, that although there is plenty of Germanism in the ideas, we seldom trace it in the language; and it has had the advantage of Professor Virchow's latest emendations. The work is one with which every student of physiology, as well as of pathology, ought to make himself acquainted.

Mr. Forster is quite justified in saying that a treatise on those special diseases of children which require surgical interference, is a desideratum in our literature;¹³ and having enjoyed extensive opportunities of treating these both at Guy's Hospital, and at the Royal Infirmary for Children, he has done an acceptable service by making known the results of his experience. His work is purely professional in its character, being obviously *not* written, as too many such special treatises

¹¹ "Chemistry in its Relations to Physiology and Medicine." By George E. Day, M.A., Cant., M.D., F.R.S. Professor of Medicine in the University of St. Andrews. 8vo. With 5 Plates, containing numerous illustrations. London: 1860.

¹² "Cellular Pathology, as based upon Physiological and Pathological Histology. Twenty Lectures delivered in the Pathological Institute of Berlin." By Rudolf Virchow, Professor of Pathological Anatomy, General Pathology, and Therapeutics in the University of Berlin. Translated from the second edition of the original, by Frank Chance, B.A., M.B., Cantab. With notes and numerous emendations, principally from MS. notes of the Author. 8vo. Illustrated by 144 wood engravings. London: 1860.

¹³ "The Surgical Diseases of Children." By J. Cooper Forster, M.B., F.R.C.S., Assistant Surgeon to Guy's Hospital, Surgeon to the Royal Infirmary for Children. 8vo. With coloured lithographs and wood engravings. London: 1860.

are, with a direct view to attract patients from the general public ; and we have pleasure in recommending it as one in which the surgical practitioner will find valuable aid and guidance.

No feature in our former Indian Administration has been more thoroughly disgraceful to the Government which permitted it, than the state of the jails, in which are confined on the average, no fewer than *forty thousand* prisoners, chiefly natives. The rate of mortality in these has been so fearful, that if it were charged against the Government that it *wished* to get rid of the *mauvais sujets* of the country, by making use of fatal disease in place of the gibbet or the axe, it might be somewhat difficult to repel the accusation. For the rulers of India cannot be said to have sinned in ignorance ; over and over again have the medical officers attached to these pesthouses lifted up their voices to proclaim the fearful truths of which the cognizance was forced upon them ; but their remonstrances have produced little or no effect, except to cause a mark to be placed upon themselves as troublesome agitators whose promotion should be retarded. As long ago as 1835, Dr. James Hutchinson published a work on Indian jails, in which he drew attention to the enormous amount of disease and mortality generally prevalent among them ; and pointed to over-crowding as the cause from which this fatality seemed in great part to originate. In a second edition of his work, published ten years later, he confirmed his previous statements by the results of further investigations. We have before us a pamphlet published by Dr. Mackinnon, surgeon and medical storekeeper at Cawnpore in 1848, in which it is stated that the average of deaths in all the jails of the upper provinces for 1845, was very nearly 100 in every thousand ; whilst at Delhi, the mortality reached the frightful proportion of 261 in the thousand—*more than one fourth* of the whole number of prisoners perishing within the year. Dr. Mackinnon not only drew attention to the fact, but also pointed out what was obviously one principal cause of it, viz., the extremely limited air-space afforded to the prisoners, not above 300 cubic feet being provided for each individual *in any jail* (800 cubic feet being the *minimum* in this country, and 1000 cubic feet being frequently provided), and 70 cubic feet being in some instances the miserable average. He also showed that the dietary was generally insufficient, and that the arrangements for cleanliness were so defective that the air must be constantly contaminated by the accumulation of *excreta*. Yet so little has been done from that time to this, that the fuller exposition of the present state of the jails in India, lately published by Dr. Ewart¹⁴ shows that the evils so explicitly pointed out by Drs. Hutchinson and Mackinnon have been hitherto but little, if at all, ameliorated.

From the table given by Dr. Ewart, it is obvious that there is no necessity for the prevalence of a higher rate of mortality among prisoners confined in the India jails, than exists among the corresponding class of the native population ; for the general averages of 72·5 per 1000 in Bengal, 61·5 in Bombay, and 61·3 in Madras, are made

¹⁴ "The Sanitary Condition and Discipline of Indian Jails." By Joseph Ewart, M.D., Bengal Medical Service. 8vo. London : 1860.

up of extremely diverse quantities, an annual rate as low as *ten deaths* per 1000 being exhibited in some instances, whilst in others it mounts up to a proportion of *two, three, or four hundred*, and in one case (that of the jail at Akyab in 1858), of *seven hundred and eighty-four* deaths out of 1000. The mortality among prisoners in this country for the year 1850 was under 12 per thousand, being absolutely less than that of the general male population of ages corresponding to those of prisoners, which is about 16 per 1000. No absolutely reliable data have yet been obtained (owing to the want of any system of registration of births and deaths) as to the ordinary rate of mortality among the native population of India; but there is no reason to suppose it to be much, if at all, higher than that of the population of England; and as experience has shown that there is nothing in confinement *per se* to increase the rate (the regularity and discipline, the good food, good air, and good sewerage, of our best class of prisons being decidedly more favourable to health, than the conditions to which their inmates would be subjected if at large), we must look for the explanation of the fearful mortality of certain Indian jails in the faults of their construction, or of their administration.

There is no difficulty in determining what these faults are; the most pernicious is unquestionably *overcrowding*: instead of 800 cubic feet of air-space, which is considered by the best Indian medical authorities to be the minimum that should be allowed for each individual, we find that the jails in the Madras Presidency, with one exception, provide only from 164 to 669; while Dr. Mouat, Inspector of Prisons for Lower Bengal, emphatically says that additional accommodation is needed in Lower Bengal for at least 5000 criminals; and that "until the present pressure is relieved, all other hygienic measures will be inoperative in effecting any great diminution of the sickness and mortality."—But that overcrowding is not the sole cause, appears from another set of facts, which show most conclusively that an *insufficient dietary* has in several instances been the occasion of a large increase in the ratio of sickness and death. Thus at the House of Correction in the island of Bombay, the constructive arrangements of which had been found unexceptionable by a committee of medical officers appointed to inspect it, an average mortality of $61\frac{1}{2}$ per 1000 had prevailed for nine years; but the diet scale having been improved at their recommendation, the amount of sickness was diminished *one half*, whilst the mortality was reduced to a little above 11 per 1000, or scarcely more than *one sixth* of the previous rate. On the other hand, in the jail at Alipore, a reduction in the diet scale was followed by an increase in the average death rate from 42 per 1000 to $117\frac{1}{2}$ per 1000. Dr. Ewart shows that, notwithstanding the experience afforded by these and similar facts, the diet scales of the Indian jails are still by no means what they should be, regard being had to the necessity for a due proportion of nitrogenous constituents, and to the principle (now founded on a wide basis of experience) that a better diet is needed to preserve the health of prisoners under confinement than that which suffices for the labourer when at liberty, and that the dietary must improve with the length of imprisonment.

We shall not follow Dr. Ewart through the remainder of his treatise, which is devoted to the subjects of water-supply, arrangements for purification, labour, the abolition of the use of tobacco and opium, clothing, and discipline; but we commend it to the attention of all who are interested either in sanitary reform or in prison discipline, as containing a large amount of valuable information drawn from a new field of inquiry, and a scheme of discipline "based upon a combination of humane, natural, and philosophical principles." In his urgent recommendation that the sanitary powers of the medical officers in charge of every jail ought to be augmented "in such a manner as to make him as supreme in all matters connected with *preventive* as he now is with respect to *curative* medicine," we most heartily concur. The evil of the present system, which confers only a recommendatory power upon the medical officer, but vests the real executive or directorial action in the civil superintendent, has now become so glaring that some change seems imperatively called for. We believe that the medical service would cheerfully undertake the responsibility of keeping down the ratio of sickness and death to the fair moderate average afforded by the better class of jails, if only it had the power of carrying its preventive system into action. Hitherto red-tapeism has been in the ascendant; and the result has been a sacrifice of human life which is too shocking to think of.

[We hoped to direct our readers' attention to several other scientific works which have recently appeared, but want of space compels us to reserve the notices of them, already prepared, until the publication of our next number.]

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

AN intelligible English translation of the uncouth Latin and Anglo-Norman original of the "*Liber Albus*," published early in 1859, is now presented to the world by the previous editor, Mr. H. T. Riley, who appears to have brought to the execution of his task, knowledge, industry, and judgment. The "*Liber Albus*"¹ is one of a series of works whose publication, authorized by the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, is directed by the Master of the Rolls, to whose opportune suggestion we owe the exhumation of much valuable historical material. "The White Book," to give it its English name, derives its title from the fair parchment that once formed its striking visual distinction. Assiduously consulted by the civic authorities, its brilliant illuminations became tarnished, and its achromatic characteristic disappeared. Accordingly, a writer, probably of the sixteenth century, adapting a well known verse in Ovid's "*Metamorphoses*" wrote:—

¹ "*Liber Albus: The White Book of the City of London*, compiled A.D. 1419. By John Carpenter, Common Clerk; Richard Whittington, Mayor." Translated from the original Latin and Anglo-Norman. By Henry Thomas Riley, M.A., &c., Barrister-at-Law. London: Richard Griffin and Co. 1860.

"Qui 'Liber Albus' erat, nunc est contrarius albo.
Factus et est unctis pollicibusque niger," &c.

very wisely recommending, in the sequel, that a transcript should be made of the book that "had become the converse of white." Accordingly a duplicate copy of the work was made under the supervision of Robert Smith, Comptroller of the Chamber, A.D. 1582. To this transcript the name of "Liber Albus," or White Book, was transferred from the old volume; and to this day, adds the translator in his introduction, the "Liber Albus" of John Carpenter is distinguished by the officials at Guildhall, from its more modern and less sullied antitype, as the "Liber Niger," or Black Book.

John Carpenter, Town Clerk of the City of London, under whose auspices the "Liber Albus" was compiled, is supposed to have been born about the close of the reign of Edward III. His integrity and ability were so conspicuous and so highly appreciated, that he was nominated "one of the four executors of the will of Richard Whittington, the well-known hero of popular but fabulous narrative."

In 1436, Carpenter was elected one of the representatives of the City of London in Parliament. In 1441 he directed by his testament that his body should be buried in the church of St. Peter, Cornhill; and on the basis of a devise which he made in his will, "at the distance of nearly four centuries from his death was founded that now flourishing and meritorious institution, the City of London School."

The "Liber Albus," compiled by this worthy, was found in a collection of archives preserved in the Record Room at Guildhall, where, says Mr. Riley, "for nearly six centuries, in the sequence of letter-books, journals, and repertories, its officials have kept an unbroken record of all transactions and events, social, political, ecclesiastical, legal, military, naval, local and municipal, in which, closely or remotely, the city in its corporate character has been interested." From these archives, as they existed A.D. 1419, combined perhaps with other sources of information now lost or unknown, the "Liber Albus" was compiled, by John Carpenter, Common Clerk, in the last Mayoralty of Richard Whittington, for the instruction of those who under critical circumstances might be prematurely intrusted with the management of its affairs and interests.

From this valuable record much may be learned of the social condition, usages, and manners of the people of England during the troubled times of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. A picture of London may be composed with tolerable completeness, we should surmise, from the passages which note the sanitary, architectural, trading, and taxing regulations of the community in this singular volume. Monopoly was the rule in the days of the Plantagenets; but then it was in accordance with the habits, tastes, and desires of the citizens. A moral police was instituted by the city. Gay ladies, and gallant priests and laymen were imprisoned in the "Tun" (in Cornhill), to remain there at the discretion of the mayor and aldermen, after having their heads shaved, and being led through "Cheap," with minstrelsy. Among the curious enactments, interesting facts, and peculiar regulations contained in this volume, we read of the lease of the Gate of Aldgate to

Geoffrey Chaucer; of a female incendiary burned to death, apparently on the homœopathic principle of punishment; of the penalties attached to lying, and those inflicted on common scolds; of the limitation of wages; of the prohibition to take part in tilt or tourney, or go in quest of adventures without the king's leave; of female brewers, regratresses of bread; of the trade guilds and mysteries; of wager of law; wager of battle, &c.

A comprehensive table of contents accompanies each book or part of a book, the second excepted (for the work is divided into books.) The tenth and last book, which differs from all the others, is only a kind of abstract of various documents, as the "*Liber Horn*," compiled about A.D. 1311—1314, "*Liber Custumarum*" compiled about A.D. 1320, &c. Of these four books—

"It may suffice to say, that commencing with the usages of the city in its corporate capacity so early as the time of the Norman Conquest, they treat of the formalities that during the succeeding three centuries and more had been employed in electing the mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and other civic dignitaries; the rights and duties of the city in reference to the king's justiciars when sitting in Eyre at the Tower; the various charters granted to the citizens from the time of the Conqueror to the reign of Henry V.; the due enrolment of deeds and recognizances; the Court of Hastings and the Sheriff's Court, and their respective duties and jurisdictions; the modes of acquiring the freedom, and numerous other matters more or less connected with the legal requirements and enactments of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries."

The notes which Mr. Riley has occasionally placed at the foot of the pages are frequent enough for the elucidation of the text, and brief enough to excite the admiring gratitude of the reader. The index appears to be both copious and accurate.

Some two centuries after the date of the compilation of the "*Liber Albus*," we come to the closing years of the reign of the first English Stuart. Leopold Ranke,² whose first volume of the history of our country, chiefly during the 16th and 17th centuries, was noticed in this *Review* for January 1860, commences his fifth book and second volume with a survey of the parliamentary dissensions which marked the later years of James I. and the earlier years of his ill-fated son. The fifth book itself contains nine chapters, in which are discussed or illustrated the relation in which James stood to the home government; the complication of the Palatinate; the parliaments of 1621 and 1624; the projected marriage of the prince of Wales with the Spanish Infanta; the alliance with France; the accession of Charles I.; the critical points in foreign politics; the Petition of Right; the murder of the Duke of Buckingham; and the proceedings of the early parliaments of Charles to the session of 1629. The unparliamentary government in England and the troubles in Scotland are the two principal topics of the sixth book, in which the author treats of the peace with France and Spain; England's participation in the events of the foreign

² "*Englische Geschichte vornehmlich im sechszehnten und siebzehnten Jahr Hundert.*" Von Leopold Ranke. Zweiter Band. London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate. 1860.

war of 1630—36; the antagonisms of the time and those of Britain in particular; the origin of the ecclesiastical commotions in Scotland; the covenant; the attempts at conciliation; and discusses the monarchical tendencies of the government under various aspects. The seventh book describes the combined movement in which the Scottish and English distractions terminated, and portrays in six chapters the campaign against Scotland, the relations of the courts of England and France, those of the Weimar Army and Spanish Fleet under Oquendo, the renewal of the Scotch dissensions, the arrival of the Scots in England, and the characteristics and objects of Lord Strafford and the Short Parliament. The eighth book, which has for its leading topic the Long Parliament and the king, to the break-out of the civil war, describes in nine chapters the various parliamentary proceedings, points out the aggressive tendencies which disclosed themselves in the Lower House, notices the debates on Episcopacy, relates the trial and execution of Strafford, the rebellion in Ireland, and the disturbances in London, gives some account of the concessions accorded and the new demands advanced, reviews the days of the Great Remonstrance, and concludes with the definitive explosion between the King and the Parliament.

The volume of English History now before us is in every way worthy of its predecessor. It has a thoughtful and judicial character about it, which will make it valuable as a study even after all that has been written on this revolutionary period of our annals. A philosophical treatise rather than a historical narrative, it investigates causes, exhibits sequences, and explains political or social phenomena. If reduction to system jeopardizes the truth of history, yet without some attempt to interpret the collective life of a period, some exhibition of the principles at work or the motives which prompted action, history degenerates into a dry record of unrelated facts, or is at best only a brilliant pictorial exhibition. We are far, however, from regarding Ranke as a useless system-monger. Some of his generalizations will perhaps be accepted as sound and enlightening. He gives us a clear and probably impartial view of the actors in his historical drama. The intended policy of the Stuarts, in Ranke's opinion, was to effect a union of the three kingdoms in such a way as to constitute a British monarchy, in which the Royal prerogative and the Episcopal authority should be the basis of public power. This project, commenced by James I., was carried still further by his son. To dispense with parliamentary government was not so much the object of Strafford as to make the King independent of parliament. Union with Rome was *not* part of the Stuart scheme; but the development of a severe and unrelenting Anglicanism *was*. Strafford would have been contented that parliament should exist, provided that the kingly power and the government, in questions of war and peace, and foreign affairs, should be quite exempt from parliamentary restrictions. Hence the determination to support the decision of the judges in the famous ship-money case. The splendid abilities of this despotic statesman, especially his administrative talents, as shown during his rule in Ireland, seem to be thoroughly appreciated by our historian. Charles I. he pronounces a

man of a juridical sacerdotal nature, firmly convinced that the doctrines which he advocated were true and acceptable to God; with little conception of the rights, and but a poor opinion of the rights of others. Charles, he thinks, was quite unable to understand, though quite prepared to despise and oppose, the tendencies of the age. Action and reaction, the consequence of the existing political antagonism, occasioned the most extraordinary violation of that very public order which he was so anxious to maintain. Where the king saw divine necessity, where he discerned the salvation and future greatness of Britain, the majority of his subjects beheld only tyranny at home, weakness abroad, and a hankering after a system which they had rejected, and which menaced the world itself with oppression. Such is briefly Herr Ranke's view of the origin of the great hand-to-hand fight of king and people in the seventeenth century. To those who feel desirous of making a closer acquaintance with his philosophical exposition we recommend this elaborate and thoughtful history.

From a period long anterior to that of the first Stuart England had commercial and social relations with the great Italian Republic; with that Venice, whose emancipation has yet to be achieved, before the unity and independence of Italy, of which she forms an integral part, can be said to be completed. A history of Venice, at the present juncture, which should give a full and comprehensive narrative of her rise and progress, must be welcome to many English readers. Such a history has been recently published by Mr. W. Carew Hazlitt,³ a work of undoubted merit, though not the production of a philosophical or poetic mind. Mr. Hazlitt wants sympathy and imaginative power; his language is, we believe, rarely incorrect, but it is heavy and occasionally objectionable. Such an expression, for instance, as the "effluxion of time" strikes us as more ridiculous than sublime. But, with all its defects of style and presentment, his historical narrative is a welcome and valuable one. The four volumes of which it consists evince patient industry and ample research. Some transactions which it reports are probably related more accurately than they have hitherto been; while the strange misconceptions that have so long prevailed respecting the Venetian Inquisitors of State, the *Statutes* published by M. Daru as authentic, but proved by the anachronisms which they contain to be a disgraceful forgery, the *Piombi*, which were not used prior to 1591, are confronted with the facts which have been displaced by French fiction; and which not only Mr. Hazlitt but Botta, Tiepolo, Giovini, and Romanin, all alike maintain to be fiction.

The first and second volumes of the present publication are a recast of those issued by Mr. Hazlitt more than two years ago, under the title of "The History of the Origin and Rise of the Republic of Venice." No labour, says the author, has been spared to render these Venetian annals as complete as possible; and that earlier portion which has been re-written is, he tells us, to be regarded rather as a

³ "History of the Venetian Republic: her Rise, her Greatness, and her Civilization." In 4 vols. By W. Carew Hazlitt, of the Inner Temple. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1860.

new work than as a new edition. The sources from which he has derived his information are principally the archives of Venice, Milan, London, and other contemporary records: for the general history of Italy he has consulted Muratori's *Annali d'Italia*; a variety of critical and biographical works, unknown or inaccessible to that writer; the Nozze publications; and the writings of numerous Venetian historiographers. Mr. Hazlitt also acknowledges his obligations to the documentary history of Romanin (still in progress); especially instancing his version of the story of the Two Foscari, based, however, in part, on a pamphlet by F. Berlan, as well as on the luminous work just mentioned.

Mr. Hazlitt's history, as we have already indicated, is deficient in vivacity. Quick picturesque narration is not his forte. It has been his aim, too, "rather to illustrate Venetian civilization in its rise and progress than to expatiate on sieges and battles, or to enter into diplomatic detail." Commencing with the story of the few hundred fugitives who in the fifth century sought a precarious shelter in the Lagoon from the fury of the Huns, Mr. Hazlitt traces the fortunes of the island-republic from the period of its consular-triumviral government to that of annual tribunes, with its universal suffrage assemblies, called *Arrengi*, A.D. 457, and thence after forty-six years of chaos to a kind of monarchic constitution, supplanted in 574 by a tribunitial magistracy, till the grand revolution at the close of the seventh century, when the twelve tribunes in power were compelled to abdicate in favour of a duke or doge, whose office was to be for life, and in whom were centred the civil, military, and ecclesiastical functions of the Republic. In the first volume, which contains eight chapters, we have a narrative of Venetian history down to the year 1201: comprising all the characteristic incidents and vicissitudes in which the Republic was interested from her co-operation with the Greeks in the siege of Commachio, her refusal to assist Charlemagne, and her first embassy to Constantinople, to the war between Venice and the Emperor Comnenus, the defeat of the Pisans, and the part taken by the Venetians in the fifth crusade. The defeat of the Huns at Albiola; the acquisition of Croatia and Dalmatia; the architectural improvement of the city; and her growing commerce with the East and West, are among the more important topics handled in this first volume. In the second volume, which contains seven chapters, we find Venice increasing in glory, renown, population, and territory, for "the fall of Constantinople planted the standard of St. Mark on almost every maritime city and sea-port town from Lido to Durazzo, and from Durazzo to the Golden Horn; it yielded scope to her commerce, and expanded her feudal dominion."

After the conclusion of the Truce with Genoa (in 1270), Venice declared herself sovereign of the Adriatic; in 1285, she formed an alliance with the Holy See and Charles of Anjou; in 1298, came that terrible reverse which gave victory to the Genoese, brought almost entire destruction on the Venetian fleet, and impelled Andrea Dandolo to suicide. The second volume closes with an account of the various changes now introduced into the constitution; of the siege of

Ferrara by the Venetians, and of the organization of a conspiracy against the Government. The third volume describes, in six chapters, the frustration of the scheme of the insurgents; the new war with Genoa; the commercial relations of Venice with England; the national improvements of the Republic; the victories, treason, and execution of the Doge Marino Faliero; the cession of Dalmatia; the surrender of Chioggia; the rally of the Republic; the defeat of the Hungarians; and the new acquisitions of Venice (1409-12). In the fourth volume, which contains five chapters, we have a sketch of the pacific policy of Venice, and of that continued military success by which Friuli, Istria, Dalmatia, part of Albania, and Corinth were annexed to the Republic; now also possessed of Padua, Verona, Vicenza, and its adjuncts. In this volume, too, we have an account of the virtual extinction of the Popular Assembly, and other constitutional changes; of the career of Francesco di Carmagnola; of the successes of Francesco Sforza, as captain-general of the Venetian forces; of the treaty with Mahommed II.; and the deposition and death of the Doge Francesco Foscari (1457). The concluding chapters contain much interesting matter relating to the commerce, the manufactures, the social and religious life, the language, agriculture, penal law, character, and literature of the Venetians. The most important period of Venetian history, extending from A.D. 1309 to A.D. 1457, falls within the scope of the last two volumes of Mr. Hazlitt's work. Their distinctive value lies in their novelty and superior accuracy of statement; for, as far as the English reader is concerned, many transactions in which the Republic was involved are now for the first time presented in their true light. Such at least is the claim which Mr. Hazlitt prefers; and, so far as we know, is fully justified in preferring. Among the transactions to which we allude may be specified the Quirini-Tiepolo conspiracy; the tragedy of Marino Faliero; the episode of the Two Foscari; the relations of Petrarch with Venice; the thirty years' war against the Duke of Milan; and the origin of the Council of Ten, and its real connexion with the State-Inquisition. The Council of Ten, primarily instituted to devise measures for the safety of the State after the Tiepolo conspiracy, by a gradual extension of its official life succeeded in attaining an unconstitutional longevity. Refusing to lay down its trust, it proclaimed itself a permanent assembly, displaced the great Council which had previously usurped prerogatives that once belonged to the people, and ultimately contracted into a centralizing and despotic oligarchy. Soon after its appointment, this extraordinary tribunal nominated occasional and provisional delegates, who were designated Inquisitors of the Ten, and were the precursors of the famous Inquisitors of State. According to Mr. Hazlitt, however, this latter tribunal had no existence at Venice prior to 1596, nor was it even then invested with the revolting attributes ascribed to it by malignancy or ignorance. We are glad to find this great Republic relieved of the odium of an infamous libel. It is probable that our historian is pretty much in the right, when he says, that the Decemviral constitution was adapted to the spirit of the age, as well as to the wants of Venice. We must not forget, however, that

for the internal tranquillity that Venice enjoyed she paid a heavy price—the loss of political, and the abridgment of personal, liberty.

We give a cordial and admiring welcome to an eminent American author, the successful historian of the Rise of the Dutch Republic, whose work on the United Netherlands, of which two volumes are now issued, is destined, we think, to acquire a perennial reputation.⁴ The subject of Dr. Motley's new publication is the deep-laid conspiracy of Spain and Rome against human rights, and its frustration by the united resistance of the Kingdom of England and the Republic of Holland, whose history and fortunes, by the intimate connexion formed between those two commonwealths, immediately after the death of William the Silent, became for a season almost identical. The period comprised in the present instalment of this historical epic extends over less than six years, beginning with the middle of 1584, and ending with the commencement of 1590. Two additional volumes, carrying the history of the Republic down to the Synod of Dort, will hereafter complete Dr. Motley's projected work.

The subject which our author has selected for his new history is one of deep and, we may say, world-wide interest. The Papal supremacy had become "an antiquated delusion" in the judgment of a considerable part of Europe. Freedom of conscience, instead of ecclesiastical dictation, was ere long to be the presiding principle in the moral and intellectual world of emancipated Europe. Each principle, with its practical consequences, had its champions and its antagonists. On the one hand were Rome and Spain; on the other, England and Holland. "Philip," in Dr. Motley's forcible summary, "stood enfeoffed, by divine decree, of all America, the East Indies, the whole Spanish Peninsula, the better portion of Italy, the seventeen Netherlands, and many other possessions, far and near; and he contemplated annexing to this extensive property the kingdoms of France, of England, and Ireland. The Holy League, maintained by the sword of Guise, the Pope's ban, Spanish ducats, Italian condottieri, and German mercenaries, was to exterminate heresy, and establish the Spanish dominion in France. The same machinery, aided by the pistol or poniard of the assassin, was to substitute for English Protestantism and England's queen the Roman Catholic religion and a foreign sovereign." To oppose this formidable array against the liberties of Europe, says Dr. Motley, in another part of his first volume, stood Elizabeth Tudor and the Dutch Republic. This impending contest is rightly described by our author as a death-grapple; the belligerents did show and could show no quarter. The first part of this great epic begins with the murder of the Prince of Orange, and ends with the siege of Antwerp, "one of the most brilliant military operations of the age, and one of the most memorable in its results."

In the five chapters which relate the events falling within this period, Dr. Motley sketches the position and attitude of the combatant

⁴ "History of the United Netherlands, from the Death of William the Silent to the Synod of Dort," &c. By John Lothrop Motley, D.C.L., &c. Vols. I., II. London: John Murray. 1860.

Powers and their principal representatives with a masterly hand. He describes the colossal sovereignty of Spain; the religious origin of the revolt of the Netherlands; the relations of the Republic to France, and of France to England; the apathy of Protestant Germany; the court and character of Henry III.; the affection of Holland for England; England's policy, and Elizabeth's treatment of both Catholics and Calvinists; the diplomatic negotiations; the projects of the League; and, finally, the stirring transactions of that memorable siege.

Woven into the tissue of this spirited and luminous narrative are glowing delineations of the personal and moral characteristics of the prominent actors in these events. These historical portraits are executed with consummate art, and with a Rubens-like splendour of colour and presentment, that make the figures take shape, and breathe and move before us. Among them are Henry III., attired like a woman and a harlot with silken slounces, jewelled stomacher, and painted face, with pearls of great price adorning his bared neck and breast, and satin-slipped feet, "darting viperous epigrams at court-ladies whom he was only capable of dishonouring by calumny;" Henry with the Scar, Duke of Guise, tall and stately, with dark martial face and dangerous eyes, and cheek damaged with the arquebuss shot at Château-Thierry, defender of the good old religion under which Paris had thriven, the idol of grocers and god of fish-women; Henry of Navarre, the chieftain of the Gascon chivalry, the king-errant, the hope and darling of oppressed Protestants, "a figure that leaps forth from the mist of three centuries, instinct with ruddy, vigorous life," with brown face, commanding blue eyes, and hawk's nose, with mien of frank authority and magnificent good humour, setting all hearts around him on fire when the trumpet sounds to battle; Philip de Marnix, lord of Sainte Aldegonde, with crisp, curly hair surmounting a tall, expansive forehead; broad, brown, melancholy eyes, overflowing with tenderness; a scholar, theologian, diplomatist, swordsman, poet, pamphleteer; the bosom friend of William the Silent; an illustrious rebel for twenty years, and then, whether from treachery or political mistake, the sudden negotiator of an unpatriotic capitulation.

The second division of Dr. Motley's history, not as laid down by him, but as conceived by us, includes the direct action of England on the common enemy, the triumphal entrance of Leicester into the Netherlands, and his administration and its results. In the twelve chapters of which it is made up are comprised many passages of peculiar interest. We have among them contemporary notices of the English people; a sketch of London; portraits of Elizabeth, Burleigh, Leicester, Sir Philip Sidney, admirably done. Parma, Barneveld, Walsingham, Davison, young Prince Maurice, Martin Schenk, Hohenlo, all in greater or less degree take part in the splendid procession which moves across the historical canvass. Lame diplomacy, fruitless negotiation, alternate with heroic action and glorious daring. There are battles, sieges, victories, and defeats; there are intrigues, quarrels, squalid wretchedness, and glittering prodigality, all paralleled or contrasted in Dr. Motley's pictorial yet reflective pages.

In estimating the policy of England towards Holland, our historian describes it as from the first hesitating, but not disloyal. Elizabeth was in favour of combined action by the French and English governments,—a joint *provisional* protectorate of the Netherlands. Holland had rebelled, and there was no help for her but to fight her way out of her rebellion into success, or return to slavery. But England, then perhaps but a third-rate power, might well pause before she plunged “into the peril and expense of a war with the strongest power in the world.” Elizabeth, too, had her own reasons for hesitation. She was loth to encourage the spirit of insurrection against kings: she was vulnerable in Scotland, vulnerable in Ireland; and a war with Spain would give opportunities to rebellion and conspiracy. Hence the seemingly coquettish policy of the *imperious and parsimonious* queen. Holland was willing to become a subject province of England; but Elizabeth wanted money, not sovereignty: and some time elapsed before she had the courage to emancipate herself from the delusions of diplomacy and the seductions of thrift. The Queen, however, “embodied much of the nobler elements of the expanding English character,” and while refusing the sovereignty, promised the States to protect, and never to forsake them. The expedition under Leicester; his administration; Elizabeth’s explosions of anger consequent on his acceptance of the Governor-Generalship of the States,—in fact, the characteristic incidents of the period during which the Netherlands “acquired consistency and permanent form,” are reviewed and illustrated in the twelve chapters which we have specified. We must refer to Dr. Motley’s own eloquent pages for his characterization of the brave and magnificent grandee, and, on the whole, true-hearted but capricious Queen. We cannot forbear, however, to invite attention to the portrait which Dr. Motley sketches of Robert Dudley, undoubtedly the best abused man of his day in England—our author says in Europe. In addition to compassing the death of Amy Robsart (one of those picturesque lies that *wont* die), he is said to have poisoned Alice Drayton, Lady Lennox, Lord Sussex, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Lord Sheffield, Lord Essex, and to have achieved or contrived numerous other murders; many of which, however, were proved to be false. A word, too, we may say here of our historian’s portrait of Elizabeth Tudor. Dr. Motley may not draw a flattering likeness, but he makes on the whole, we think, a sure one of that great and victorious sovereign, with her despotic appetencies, and her genuine great-heartedness and national sympathies. We are bound to say, however, that we are by no means convinced of Elizabeth’s “hypocrisy,” or her suggestions of assassination in the sad tragedy of the ill-starred Mary Stuart; nor are we at all sure that the long imprisonment in England of that “daughter of debate” was such a violation of justice and humanity as Dr. Motley believes it to have been.

In the winter of 1587–8 Leicester terminated his career in the Netherlands, after a second attempt at administration, by his abrupt departure for England. Lord Willoughby, a soldierly, conscientious man, succeeded to the chief command of the English forces, a quick-

witted and even brilliant-minded man, but who, valuing highly his knightly word, was quite incompetent "to deal with the thronging Spanish deccits sent northward by the great father of lies who sat in the Escorial." Elizabeth, acting in defiance of grave counsel and earnest remonstrance, now sent her peace commissioners to the Duke of Parma. The story of the secret negotiations which followed is told with, perhaps, unnecessary detail by Dr. Motley in what we regard as the third development of the great epical transaction which he celebrates. We cannot follow him here, nor show how the kingdom of England was brought to the verge of ruin in this unequal-matched diplomatic contest, when the Queen meant to keep her promise and to be true to her word, and the Spanish monarch deliberately put his name to a lie, and chuckled in secret over the credulity of his English sister. At last, the protracted diplomacy at Ostend terminated. Quill-driving and speech-making were replaced by "the defiance of England to foreign insolence;" with Elizabeth Tudor to give effect to the challenge. Dr. Motley in his great prose war-song now describes the gathering of the ships of the Invincible Armada, the preparation of the Spanish-Roman machinery "for dethroning Elizabeth and establishing the Inquisition in England." The pomp and circumstance of this arrogant invasion, the fiery impatience of the Spaniards, the steady enthusiasm of the English, the engagement, the chase, and final catastrophe, are delineated with a firm hand and in glowing colours in our historian's picture. But we must leave him to tell how "the little nation of four millions, the merry England of the sixteenth century, went forward to the death-grapple with its gigantic antagonist as cheerfully as to a long expected holiday." We lay down the first two volumes of this noble work with a high appreciation of Dr. Motley's great and varied abilities. For diligence in research, for sound and extensive knowledge, for vigorous language, but rarely disfigured by vulgarism or grandiloquence, and for living dramatic representation, he is entitled to hold a foremost place among the first historians of our age. We trust that he will enjoy the physical health and intellectual energy requisite to the completion not only of the present work, but of that apparently more comprehensive literary enterprise which he intimates a desire to accomplish—a history of the terrific struggle which broke out in Germany after the period marked by the synod of Dort, including "the civil and military events in Holland, down to the epoch when the Thirty Years' War and the eight years' war of the Netherlands were both brought to a close by the Peace of Westphalia."

Descending to our own days, we find in Herr Rüstow's "History of the Hungarian War of Insurrection in 1848 and 1849,"⁵ an informing account of the events of that critical period. In an introductory notice, the author indicates the general policy of the Austrian Government, and the general positions and characteristics of her subject States. The imperial policy may be briefly described as a centralizing

⁵ "Geschichte des Ungarischen Insurrectionskrieges in den Jahren, 1848 und 1849, mit Karten und Plänen." Von W. Rüstow. Erster Band. London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate. 1860.

and Germanizing policy, favoured, in some degree, by the heterogeneous nature and opposing views of the dependent provinces, thus promoting that partial decentralization, which on the *divide et impera* principle seemed likely to conduce to the realization of a system which aimed, above all, to establish at Vienna an absolute control over the financial and military departments. In the general conflict of interests which marked this movement, Italy, Hungary, the Czechs, the Croats, Servians, and Wallachians, all having their own separate views, the Hungarian war broke out. Of this war Herr Rüstow constitutes himself the historian. The first part only of his work, which is designed to consist of four parts, in two volumes, is before us. It contains an introduction, which gives an analytical description of the provinces and peoples forming the Austrian empire at the beginning of 1848, of the constituent parts of Hungary, before and at the same period, of its political position and constitution, and of the military resources of the belligerent powers. After the introduction comes the first section of the work, with all the details relating to the period which elapsed between the convention of the Presburg Diet and the explosion of the Servian revolt. Then we have, in a second section, an account of the advance of the Austrian army, under Windischgrätz, and of Jellachich's irruption into Hungary; while the third and concluding section, treats of the progress of events from the commencement of hostilities by the Austrian general to the evacuation of Pesth by the Hungarians, in January, 1849. Among the various notabilities, Kossuth, of course, is included, whom our author, notwithstanding the damaging statements of Görgey, appears (with some reservations) to consider a man of extraordinary abilities, possessing not only great political and financial talents, but a military genius, never obscured, save in that *one* season of despair, and superior to that of the greatest Hungarian generals.

Over a more eventful insurrection than that of Hungary presided for a time the brilliant, mocking, witty, and humane Voltaire. The volume edited by MM. E. Bavoux and A. F.⁶ contains more than three hundred letters never before published. These letters are distributable into three divisions—the Ferney letters, the Saxe-Gotha letters, and miscellaneous letters. Some critical remarks, by Voltaire, on French history, follow this “epistolary mosaic.” In the first series of letters we find Voltaire at Ferney, cultivating the land, building houses for the labourers, and a church for God. This church stood by the château of Voltaire. Voltaire himself says of it, “*L’église que j’ai fait bâtir est la seule de l’univers en l’honneur de Dieu. L’Angleterre a des églises bâties à Saint Paul, la France à Sainte Geneviève, mais pas une à Dieu.*” “*C’est pour cela,*” adds the editor, “*que sur le frontispice il fit graver en lettres d’or cette inscription fameuse et si discutée, DEO BREXIT VOLTAIRE, MDCCCLXI.*” In the second division of these letters, addressed to the Duchess of Saxe-Gotha, between 1752 and

⁶ “Voltaire à Ferney ; sa Correspondance avec la Duchesse de Saxe-Gotha,” etc. Par MM. Evariste Bavoux et A. F. Paris : Didier et C^{ie}. 1860. London : D. Nutt.

1767, we find notices of passing events, and perhaps wearisome, but not servile, because half-poetic, adulation of the court where goodness, justice, and generosity were enthroned. In one of these letters, Voltaire, laughing at the optimists, writes—

“Le tout est bien recevoir un terrible soufflet si les nouvelles qui se débitent touchant une cour de votre voisinage avaient la moindre vraisemblance. . . . Si la Thuringe a eu sa petite part de la secousse de la terre, ce n’est qu’un léger mouvement, une faible éblouissance qui est venu d’Afrique dans les États de Votre Altesse Sérénissime. Tout le mal vient de messieurs de la Barbarie : c’est à Tétuan, à Méquinez que les grands coups ont été portés. Les Mahométans ont été plus maltraités que les Chrétiens.”

These recently edited letters of the philosopher of Ferney will not, we think, be found to contain anything of primary importance, but they are not destitute of interesting notices on Rousseau, Tronchin, the King of Prussia, and others ; and they sparkle occasionally with those scintillations of wit which this inimitable pyrotechnist of persiflage threw out almost at will. The “Remarks,” by Voltaire, on le Père Daniel’s anonymous strictures on Mézerai, consist of short annotations, in which the critic is freely criticised. Mézerai, we may add, was the popular historian of France, whom the Jesuit annalist undertook to bring into discredit. According to Voltaire’s note, Daniel’s principal aim in composing his own history was to persuade the reading public that many of the kings of France were illegitimate and even adulterine children. His motive for this historical defamation of French Royalty was, continued the same authority, to gratify Louis XIV., who wished to place his own bastard progeny on the throne of France.

Prince Charles de Ligne,⁷ a contemporary of Voltaire’s, seems to have had something of the refined, mocking spirit of that distinguished Frenchman. He was born of an ancient and perhaps even imperial line, about the year 1740, we presume at Brussels. His mother died soon after his birth. His father, renowned for his bravery, held the high military rank of marshal at the siege of that city in 1746. The son, adopting the same career, acquired a far higher celebrity. Entering the army in or about the time of Joseph II., of Austria, he rose to be the principal officer in charge of the troops in the Low Countries previously to the year 1790 ; twice he was nominated to the command of the army of Italy when Napoleon was first consul. He had a passion for war but no genius for politics. Charles XII. and Condé, he says, prevented his sleeping. His military writings have been, and still are, held in reputation. He was universally known, and seems to have known everyone. His memoirs abound in sketches of, or comments on, noteworthy personages—Napoleon I., Marie Antoinette, the Emperor Joseph, Maurepas, Du Barry, Cagliostro, and others. The fragmentary autobiography now published under the name of “Mémoires du Prince de Ligne,” is sanctioned by his grandson and representative, the president of the senate of Belgium. In a second

⁷ “Mémoires du Prince de Ligne, suivis de Pensées et précédées d’une Introduction.” Par Albert Lacroix. Paris : A. Bohné. Bruxelles : F. Van Meenen et C^{ie}. London : D. Nutt.

division of the work are contained various reflections or notices which serve to illustrate the "Memoirs." An introduction by M. Lacroix, serves to characterize the hero of the autobiography. The work is lively, amusing, and the style unaffected.

M. de Schubert's "Life of the Duchess of Orleans"⁸ will necessarily have a sort of factitious importance. The Duchess was a devout, brave-hearted woman, whose sorrows and whose courage have awakened an interest in her, which the present volume will momentarily revive. Schubert, a German professor of some eminence, was appointed preceptor to the children of the Grand Duke of Mecklenbourg Schwerin in 1816. The Princess Helen, who was then only about three years of age, commenced a correspondence with the professor, after he had quitted Ludwigslust for the university of Erlangen, in 1823. The tone of the memoir may be conjectured from the fact that Schubert was, according to the French translator, a mystic, "in whose eyes human life was literally only a dream whose reality is elsewhere." The book is divided into chapters, one of which is entitled *La Vie un songe*; another is headed *Énigme de la vie présente*. Others again are more matter of fact, and show us Louis Philippe in the bosom of his family, or describe the domestic prosperity and happiness of the Duchess of Orleans. Born 24th January, 1814, the Princess Helen of Mecklenbourg Schwerin was married 30th May, 1837, to the eldest son of the Citizen King. His death, occasioned by an accident, left her a widow 13th July, 1842. In 1848, the Revolution of February drove the Royal Family of France into exile. The maternal heroism of the Duchess of Orleans, who, holding her son in her hand, entered the Chamber of Deputies, and stood unquailing amidst the uproar and menace which she had to encounter, has been often and deservedly admired. Her death took place 18th May, 1858. A few days after she was buried in a little chapel at Weybridge, which Irish sympathy placed at the disposal of the banished family, and which already enclosed the remains of Louis Philippe and the Duchess of Nemours. M. de Schubert's biographical record seems correctly described by his translator as having a triple source of interest. It contains a detailed account of the education of the young princess to the period of her marriage, and four-and-twenty letters, or fragments of letters, addressed to the professor himself, to her mother, and to a friend of her youth. While, as the third source of interest the author's treatment of the subject is exclusively religious, and is in perfect harmony with the convictions of the Duchess of Orleans herself. It is unnecessary to enlarge on the merits or demerits of a book which has already attained a third edition.

We suppose M. de Schubert is scarcely a more mystical pietist than George Fox, the founder of the Quakers.⁹ His life has recently been rewritten by the Rev. J. S. Watson, who professes to relate it fully and

⁸ "Lettres Originales de Madame la Duchesse d'Orléans, Hélène de Mecklenbourg Schwerin, et souvenirs biographiques. Recueillis par G. H. de Schubert." Troisième Tirage. Genève: Henri Georg. Paris: Magnin. London: D. Nutt. 1860.

⁹ "The Life of George Fox, the Founder of the Quakers," &c. By the Rev. John Selby Watson, M.A., M.R.S.L. London: Saunders, Otley, and Co. 1860.

impartially : the sources from which his narrative is derived being Fox's own journal and letters, and the histories of Croese, Sewel, and Gough. Mr. Watson seems to us to be fairly entitled to the character which he claims for himself of an impartial narrator. He has told the story of George Fox's life in a plain matter of fact, colloquial style. His recital shows, we think, as it was intended to show, "how much may be effected by the resolute perseverance of one man, notwithstanding opposition, danger, insult, ridicule, and vexation of every kind." The birth and parentage of the hero ; his innocent and upright youth ; his religious sorrows and his aspirations after a nobler life ; his long frustrated endeavours after internal peace ; his vain applications for clerical instruction ; his travels and wanderings ; his leather suit of clothes ; his revelations, imprisonments, ill-treatment ; his interviews with Cromwell ; his voyage to Barbadoes, Jamaica, and America, and his visit to Holland, in company with Penn and Barclay, all receive some notice from the new biographer of Fox. There is little or nothing to object to in Mr. Watson's historical presentment. It may be doubted, however, whether his want of sympathy with the truth that lies in Quakerism does not unfit him for an adequate discharge of the task which he has undertaken. The shortcomings, extravagances, and delirations of Fox are evident to all ; but the significance of the doctrine of the indwelling of the Divine light in the soul of every man ; of the protest against forms, hat-worship, &c. ; of the complaint that "the faith of the sects stands on a man who died at Jerusalem sixteen hundred years ago ;" and of the demand "for a deliverer for that year, for that hour, a light for every moment," is not brought out in Mr. Watson's useful and interesting little volume. He has given us the materials, however, for making a living picture of his hero. And we may, if we have the skill, embody in mental portraiture the dauntless, true-hearted, gentle-natured founder of the Friends ; the sad, lonely, intelligent, yet wrong-headed reader of the sacred writings "in hollow trees and desolate places ;" the eloquent persuasive preacher who shook "the earthly and airy spirit" of religious professors, so that it was a dreadful thing unto them when it was told them *the man in leather breeches is come*. In speaking of the tenets of the Quakers, Mr. Watson states that they do not receive the doctrine of the Trinity. Is this the case ? We have not present access to the writings of Fox, Penn, and Barclay, but the sole secondhand authority which we are able to consult describes their faith as Trinitarian, and Mr. Watson's averment is quite new to us.

The next portrait in our biographical gallery is that of Dr. Carlyle,¹⁰ a man who appears to have had as little of the mystic in his composition as any of us. Jupiter Carlyle, as he was called "from having sat, Sir Walter Scott says, more than once for the king of gods and men," is very fairly described by the great novelist as "a shrewd, clever old carle." The son of the minister of the parish of Prestonpans, Alexan-

¹⁰ "Autobiography of the Rev. Dr. Alexander Carlyle, Minister of Inveresk ; containing Memorials of the Men and the Events of his Time." Edinburgh and London : William Blackwood and Sons. 1860.

der Carlyle, embracing his father's profession, settled at Inveresk 1748, being then about twenty-six years of age. Dr. Carlyle attained an influential personal position, in the Kirk, successfully recommending candidates—sometimes from mixed motives—for ecclesiastical promotion. Conservative in his predilections, and jealous of innovation, he was tolerant, moderate in his theological opinions, and opposed to religious fanaticism. His social habits and literary accomplishments procured him many friends, both in the world of rank and that of intellect. Born 26th January, 1722, and dying 25th August, 1805, he had rich and various experiences of men, manners and events. Some of these experiences are recorded in his "Autobiography;" a work unfortunately not commenced till the author had entered on the seventy-ninth year of his age, and abruptly terminated by death before the completion of his eighty-fifth year. The period which these memorials serve to illustrate begins A.D. 1722, and ends A.D. 1770, when the minister of Inveresk had attained his forty-eighth year. To us this volume has many recommendations. It is not the work of a literary artist, but of an educated gentleman, who tells a plain tale in plain words. It reads like a trustworthy report of what he saw and heard, embodied in a somewhat dry form, but not without an occasional graphic power. The anecdotes related of the many remarkable persons whom Dr. A. Carlyle numbered among his friends or acquaintances, are not mere witticisms, but exemplifications of life, manners, and character. The autobiographer carries us back to a period when the Border Country had not "recovered from the effects of that century of wretched government which preceded the Revolution, and commenced at the accession of James." In those days lived a certain Lady Bridekirk, who could drink a Scots pint of brandy with ease. It was the age of the religious and licentious Lord Grange, who in violation of all law, imprisoned his wife for many years, first in the island of Hesper, then of St. Kilda, and lastly of Harris. It was the age of the famous Colonel Gardiner, whose supernatural conversion, as told by the pious Dr. Doddridge, with the theatrical accessories of a visible representation surrounded with a glory and an unusual blaze of light, will, we may hope, henceforth take its place among the legends or myths of religious revivalism. According to Alexander Carlyle, not only was there no meteor, but the first serious impression produced on Gardiner's mind by the reading of a good book, *Gurnall's Christian Armour*, was not even a nocturnal phenomenon. The conversion occurred, not at midnight, but at mid-day.

In 1736, Carlyle, then a student at Edinburgh, witnessed the escape of Robertson from the Tolbooth Church, was present at the execution of Wilson, and beheld Porteous, "inflamed with wine and jealousy," fire on the people. In 1745, he saw war come into his father's parish of Prestonpans, and the battle fought in which Colonel Gardiner fell. He saw, too, Prince Charles Edward, a good-looking man of about five feet ten inches, with dark red hair, black eyes, regular features, long visage, much sun-burnt and freckled, and his countenance thoughtful and melancholy. "The victory at Preston put an end to his authority. He had not a mind fit for command at any time, far less to rule the Highland chiefs in prosperity."

Among the literary notabilities whom he knew was the amiable,
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supper-giving, pleasant-talking David Hume, going about without hoofs or horns, the friend of the young clergy, a really "innocent good soul," weeping over his mother's death, or pulling a large key from his pocket, given him by his maid Peggy that she might not sit up for him! Adam Smith, Smollet, Home, Robertson, Franklin, Ferguson, Blair, were also among Carlyle's acquaintances. Once he rode with Mr. Shenstone of the Leasowes, "a large, heavy, fat man, dressed in white clothes and silver lace, with his grey hairs tied behind and much powdered." Later he heard Dr. Dodd, "a man afterwards too well known," preaching to the Magdalens, and liked neither text, preacher, nor sermon. Sketches of social life and manners abound in these memorials. We may learn from them what Harrogate was in 1763; or what were the hospitalities of the Duke of Argyle at Inverary, or of Charles Townshend, who married the duke's niece, at a tavern in Edinburgh. Notices, too, there are of Chatham, Bute, Ossian Macpherson, "Immateriality" Baxter; John Wilkes, "whose ugly countenance was very striking," but who, even at eighteen, was "a spritely entertaining fellow;" of Garrick, of the young Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch, of Lord Elcho, and Sir James Dalrymple, who though refused the presentation of Inveresk, welcomed the new minister to his parish, and became his firm friend—a liberal-minded Christian surely, for he maintained that Collins, the Deist, not only "practised every Christian virtue without believing in the Gospel," but that he was certainly in heaven, having "swam ashore on a plank." We have now said enough to characterize the man and the book which he has left us, as his sole literary bequest of any worth; for Dr. Alexander Carlyle was not ambitious of distinction in the world of letters. His ambition, as his editor observes, was to dignify his calling by "making for it a place along with rank and wealth and distinction of every kind. This object he carried through with a high hand, and scarcely a primate of the proud Church of England could overtop in social position and influence the Presbyterian minister of Inveresk."

BELLES LETTRES.

FEW novels, recently announced, have been looked for with so eager an expectation as that which promised a full explanation of why Paul Ferroll killed his wife;¹ the remarkable power of the story which it was to throw light upon insured an eager attention to anything coming from the same hand. The firm grasp of its subject and the profound psychological analysis evinced in Paul Ferroll at once placed it in the very highest ranks of modern fiction. The effects of his crime on the stern and resolute man, who resolved to wield the sword of justice in a case not amenable to the laws of society, the ab-

¹ "Why Paul Ferroll killed his Wife." By the Author of "Paul Ferroll." London: Saunders, Otley, and Co.

solute isolation, and the destruction of every affection, but that one for the gratification of which he committed it, are developed with a power that has nowhere been equalled. What can be more profoundly true than the selfish desire to gain at least the full advantage of his crime, which makes Paul Ferroll engrossed, with an almost tyrannous exclusiveness, the whole attention and love of the wife he had so dearly purchased, unless it be the artificial coldness which he cultivates towards his lovely daughter, conscious as he is that to allow his affections to expand on any human thing must only end some day, in adding to the bitterness of that retribution which he was far too clear sighted not to know might possibly overtake him.

But all the power displayed in "Paul Ferroll" was inadequate to compensate for the painful basis on which the story reposes, and for the same cause it met with a similar fate to the "Cenci" of Shelley. Although kept in the background with consummate skill, the fact of the murder, of necessity, threw a lurid light over the whole progress of a most dramatic tale. If the first story suffered so much from the impossibility of reconciling us to a murder already accomplished, how shall the second and present one lay before us ground which can in any way appear adequate to support the burden of a premeditated assassination? "Why Paul Ferroll Killed his Wife" is a remarkable failure; it adds nothing but details to the hints contained in the former part of his history, and details that must weaken, because they particularize, the weight of provocation given him by his first wife. We knew before that he was the victim of a perfidious and inhuman stratagem; we now only know that lies and forgery entered into its details, but we are also forced to see what amount of deception was sufficient to blind him to the truth, and we can no longer escape giving him a full share of that blame he so heavily visited on the head of his deceiver.

As a *prelude* to "Paul Ferroll" we look upon this novel as a mistake; indeed we consider that any prelude must have failed; the author, too, in the concluding paragraph of her book almost confesses that she anticipates such a judgment. "From the premises laid before him, the reader need not, indeed, have concluded that even that man would do that deed! but since it was told in 1855 that the husband killed the wife, so now, in 1860, it is explained why he killed her."

This is indeed true; the reader would be far from concluding that he would kill his wife did not the title of the book proclaim that it contained his reasons for doing so. If Paul Ferroll could be forgotten, a different conclusion might be given to the second novel, which would greatly improve it; for it is altogether inadequate to support the end to which it leads. With a strange caprice the name of the hero is changed, and the Paul Ferroll of the first becomes the Mr. Leslie of the second novel, and more is changed than his name. Everything about Paul Ferroll indicates a man of mature age, his personal influence in his neighbourhood, his established literary reputation, the very firmness and completeness of character which enabled him to carry out his guilty resolves, and which gave peculiar poignancy to the offence which tempted to it, are all incompatible with the age at which Mr. Leslie is represented to have married Miss Chanson. At three-and-twenty Paul

Ferroll would have been a monster, and by these latest revelations he could have been no more. From the previous history no one would assume him to be less than thirty-five; his passions are too virile and his judgment too mature for the somewhat precocious adolescent he appears in this history of his dire provocation; and one year could not transmute the Mr. Leslie of this novel into the Paul Ferroll we knew of old, even though that year made him a murderer. Doubtless the fact, that from that time forth every man's hand was against him, would exercise a profound influence on the character of one who was conscious of it; but even this will not bridge over the chasm between the two men even in the psychological point of view alone, while it leaves other and more external differences untouched.

Though we consider this novel in all points inferior to its predecessor, it is far above the ordinary routine; the characters are, as might be expected, well and clearly drawn, and the portrait of Elinor, Paul's second wife, as an innocent young girl, with all the accomplishments that could be given by a conventual education, and with perhaps something more than all the ignorance of the world implied by it is in the highest degree charming, and makes us hope that we shall not have again to wait so long an interval as five years before we are gratified by another tale from one of the most original novelists of the day.

An Irish novel from an Irish point of view is hardly likely to be thoroughly popular on this side St. George's Channel.² The national fashion of looking at all things through a sentimental haze, however amiable and attractive, is in so many particulars repugnant to the practical sense of the Anglo-Saxon, that however we may be charmed by its good feeling and poetry, we cannot give ourselves up to the impressions produced by such a book as Mr. Tierney's without being disturbed by questionings which destroy the effect it would otherwise produce. The boy there is a boy only in the sense in which the word is used in the sister isle, which does not prevent his standing over six feet in his stockings; and his battles with oppressive landlords, avaricious middle-men and other stock Irish tyrants are attended by an uniform and constant success, which stands in very remarkable contrast with the powers displayed in the contest. In fact, this novel would be a very pleasing one if it could be read, as it has been written, without thinking and without criticism; but the great questions which group themselves round the controversy on Irish land are not to be answered by summary reflections which triumphantly exclaim that "after all men are of more value than many sheep."

Mr. Tierney interests us much more in the fortunes than in the proceedings of his hero and heroine; we admire their benevolent open hands and spirit of ready help during that dreadful famine year, but we cannot help wondering that resources represented to be so limited were made adequate to the call upon them. It is greatly to be regretted that so violent an attack should be made on the administrative

² "The Struggles of Dick Massey, or the Battles of a Boy." By Reginald Tierney. Dublin: J. Duffy. 1860.

details of that relief to Ireland which surely was without precedent in the history of affiliated nations. It is peculiarly unpleasant to find the fact of England's exertions coldly alluded to only that a warm diatribe might be indulged in against the instruments which were necessarily employed. The picture of Government^t engineers enjoying themselves over champagne and every delicacy with starving crowds around their doors, diverting to their own luxurious enjoyment the funds which should have been devoted to the furnishing peasantry they were sent to succour, is manifestly exaggerated, if not untrue, and the tone in which it is told is sadly discouraging.

If educated men like our author allow themselves to be so carried away by their prejudices, what can be expected from their ignorant inferiors? England has a right to expect at the hand of every cultivated Irishman such acknowledgment as will allay the animosities of his uneducated compatriots; which, where just, are founded on religious and political wrongs, and not on the evil points of social arrangements native and peculiar to their own soil.

The boy's battles are with weak foes, and each antagonist is introduced only that the victory over him may give a new lustre to the model Irishman; that his antagonists themselves are quite as characteristic of Ireland is conveniently forgotten or carefully kept out of sight. It is perhaps too much to expect a dispassionate view of Irish society at the hands of an Irish man, and it is certainly a gain to find one like Mr. Tierney, who is not rancorous; but the general moderation and amiable tone of his book make it the more necessary to protest against views which are popular only in proportion to the ignorance of those economical laws which are the last and slowest growth of a national intelligence.

"Over the Cliffs" is a novel of the old sort; it makes no pretensions to deep psychological analysis; it preaches no peculiar gospel of its own, but aims only at the simple end of amusing its readers,³ and if variety and a crowded canvass will do it, the author ought to be successful. If the interest in pirates, smugglers, wreckers, contrabandists, and successful villainy ultimately exposed, still survives; if the sufferings of delicate women thrown among harsh and dissolute men can give interest to a novel, "Over the Cliffs" would be found very interesting indeed. The story, however, is too diffuse, too many threads are taken up, which though they are brought into some sort of external connexion with one another, do not make the firm web of a well-wrought plot. The descriptions of sea-side scenery on our southern coast are very well done, and many a charming picture of valleys opening to the sea will delight its readers; but, "Over the cliffs," once read, will hardly tempt to a second perusal, and perhaps the author did not expect that it should. A novel of incident alone must be of the highest ability to maintain more than a passing moment of existence.

³ "Over the Cliffs." By Charlotte Chanter. Author of "Ferny Combs." London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1860.

"Wearing the Willow" is a considerable improvement on "The Nut-Brown Maids," but labours under the same defects.⁴ The period and society in which each of these tales is laid, has been studied by the author with great care, but he has a difficulty in properly mastering the materials he has accumulated. The stories labour under a weight of illustrative matter. In this case the Irish capital and the rural districts of Scotland sixty years ago are very well painted; indeed, the elaborate care bestowed upon the description of the society in which they are placed dwarfs the hero and heroine, and constantly wearies the reader who pursues their fortunes. Bride Fielding, the daughter of an Irish councillor, is made love to in a most Irish fashion, by Frank Boyle, who, concerned as second in a duel which turns out a murder, is obliged to fly his country. Bride's friends all die, and she goes to live with some Scotch relations, among whom her old lover shortly arrives as a French prisoner on parole; after a long and painful game at cross purposes, they marry, and are happy; but the reader is greatly at a loss why so natural a conclusion was not more speedily arrived at.

"The Wortlebank Diary" is a number of tales contributed by the author of "Kathie Brande" to Household Words and other periodicals.⁵ They are set in a framework of domestic incident in her family, which adds but little to their interest. This device invented by Wilkie Collins in "After Dark" is a convenient method of increasing the bulk of a collection, and if not managed with great skill, amounts only to the introduction of another tale told in detachments. These stories are very inferior to the author's longer works, and seldom have anything of the interest which attached us to "Against Wind and Tide." They are for the most part characterized by an affectionate sentimentality, or by a melo-dramatic plot, offering the homage of an ineffectual imitation to the weakest points in the works of the editor of the paper in which they for the most part first appeared. Many of the stories turn on murder, and in all of them the criminal is pursued by a remorse which seizes him the moment after its commission. The author seems to think that the dead body of a murderer's victim exercises a kind of supernatural moral effect on the conscience. In most of these tales, the motives which prompt the crime committed, have as little foundation in the character of the criminal, in so far as we are made acquainted with it, as the consequences themselves. The guilty apprehensions and spectral delusions which wait upon these murderers, are all founded on a sort of popular superstition and horror of murder, which finds vent in the saying that "murder will out." The most hardened are represented as struck with terror at the sight of results they had meditated on for years. This seems to us a fundamentally wrong conception of crime, a long-premeditated murder brings with it

⁴ "Wearing the Willow, or Bride Fielding; a Tale of Ireland and of Scotland Sixty Years Ago." By the Author of "Nut Brown Maids." London: Parker and Son. 1860.

⁵ "The Wortlebank Diary, and some Old Stories from Kathie Brande's Portfolio." By Holme Lee. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1860.

no such revulsion of feeling. A haunting sense of insecurity may be the constant attendant of one who has slain his fellow; but the moral awakening of a bitter remorse is very far from being the case, as a more complete psychology, if not a fuller acquaintance with criminal records might have shown the author. There is an amiable tone about the general reflections in these tales which is pleasing, but their false views of life and impractical sentiment will hardly, we think, give them a greatly increased circle of readers, now that they are offered to the public in these new three volumes.

"*Artist and Craftsman*," a very good, but also a very ambitious novel, concerns itself not only with the antithesis of its title, but also with those between gentleman and artizan, art and morals, and in our opinion resolves none of them with the requisite completeness.⁶ It is a mistake to set up an opposition between art and morals—art is neither moral nor immoral, and cannot be called the latter in any but that privative sense in which it would be also true to call science so. The effect of the engrossing pursuit and love of art upon the personal character of its votaries is a subject that might be made the basis of a first-rate romance; but this is not the course pursued by the author of "*Artist and Craftsman*." The beauty, value and importance which art gives to the passing moment, and the inability of any art whatever to do more than seize it as it passes, and for a time to bid it stay because it is so fair, is its essential characteristic, and is so far hostile to the moral idea which subordinates the fairest moments of our lives to its general rules, and claims absolute authority over everything that has any tendency to disturb or exercise a disproportionate influence over that uniform character it claims to impress upon our lives. Art and morals are not opposed to one another in this novel in their essential characters, but art is sacrificed in the person of the heroine to certain accidental and external prejudices which have connected themselves, and not without good grounds, with the persons of artists. The heroine resigns a career of assured success because *La Traviata* and the ballet are given on the boards she would have to tread. If such mere temporary arguments as these may be made use of, the irreproachable life of Jenny Lind and others is a sufficient answer. The same fault is to be found with the solution of the other problems in this novel.

The characteristic features of gentleman and artizan cannot be adequately represented by such unprejudiced gentlemen and such an exceptional artizan as the author introduces to us in his tale. Learning without arrogant self-esteem, and labour without class prejudices, are pleasant and agreeable things, but are very rarely found under the conditions in which the author of "*Artist and Craftsman*" bring them before us. The antithesis in this point too is evaded by the gradual advancement of the artizan to the headship of a great engineering firm, where everything of the artizan falls away from him, except his origin, which betrays itself only in vague manliness and moral sentiment. It is the defect of most novels which concern themselves with the dignity of labour that the favourite supporter of this lofty character is always

⁶ "*Artist and Craftsman*." Cambridge: Macmillan. 1860.

elevated in the long run above the necessity of depending on it. Success in life so surely follows the laborious commencement, that we cannot avoid the impression of hollowness in all the fine things that have been said on conscientious toil.

This practice is about as effective as the educational one which finishes each lesson with, "There's a cake for being good." Cannot any one give us a really manly and contented artizan who bravely fights his fight without these exceptional rewards? It cannot be for want of prototypes that we have no such character in fiction, but from the fact very manifest in the present novel that the authors of such tales are very ignorant of the class they pretend to paint. The great things of life are seen in this novel through a haze of university training, and are painted with a certain hectic beauty which is far from healthy, this defect reaches even to its style which is often forced and unnatural. A little more simplicity both of conception and treatment, would have rendered this a far better book. The author takes his reader wherever he has been himself, and even introduces an Arabic conversation that we may conclude he has seen the pyramids. He displays all his accomplishments and talks his finest. We do not mean to say that his accomplishments are not genuine, and his talk not good, but both are forced too forward—we long for moral and intellectual repose. The incongruities of the hero and heroine's social position are not dwarfed and absorbed by any high moral principle that shall reveal their intrinsic littleness, but are evaded as mentioned above by the hero's advancement in life. The artist does not marry the craftsman, but only one who has once been such.

Into the details of the plot we do not intend to go, it is sufficient to say that it is interesting and will reward the reader's curiosity. Many of the subordinate characters are very well conceived—the athletic graduate Digby, the Maestro and the Italian Pia, are, in our opinion, more successful than the chief characters of the tale. The Vantini family are too a very pleasing picture. There is little doubt but that the author will write again, and better; for after all, our objections resolve themselves chiefly into this, that all things in the tale are illuminated, not by the clear light of day, but by the reflected and disturbing lights of a painted collegiate window. A more direct experience of life will bring with it a more sober style, both of thought and experience, and one day we shall have a simpler and more weighty, but less pretentious book than "Artist and Craftsman."

"The Skeleton in the Cupboard" is a taking, but somewhat vulgar title, and the tale itself is like unto it.⁷ Euphemia Blackstone, the young and beautiful daughter of a city merchant, marries, as his third wife, Sir Felix Bohun; without affection for him she is tempted too strongly by the title and settlements. Before leaving her home she engages as confidential maid one Mrs. Ponsford, in spite of certain rumours against her character, and suspicious circumstances under which she has left former aristocratic situations, but which she is yet

⁷ "The Skeleton in the Cupboard." By Lady Scott, Authoress of the "He pecked Husband," &c. London: Saunders and Otley. 1860.

able to explain in an apparently satisfactory manner. After a prolonged stay in Paris, Sir Felix brings his somewhat reluctant young wife home to the ancient seat of his family and to his brother Guy, who has dwelt there, looking after the estate, during his very frequent absences. This brother is Lady Bohun's first skeleton, and she resolves to drive him from the house at whatever cost to his or his brother's feelings. The most complete deference will not disarm her, and finding her success not so immediate as she expected, she carries her husband, in failing health, up to town. The ingenuity of her methods of tormenting her husband and brother-in-law, supply the best scenes in the book; but there is a certain coarseness of mind betrayed by the heroine that at first surprises us, as we were not led to expect it from the manner in which she is represented to have been brought up. The requisite confidant of her purposes she finds in her maid, Ponsford, who soon acquires a complete ascendancy over her mind, and during their stay in London tempts her still further to exert her authority over her husband, whose health breaks down under the constant surveillance to which he is subjected. In this half prostrate state he is brought, by the intimidations of his wife and Ponsford, to make a fresh will, disinheriting his brother, and leaving his whole property to his wife, with a heavy legacy to her attendant. His brother, hearing of his failing health, at last follows him to town, but is constantly prevented, by the ingenuity of Ponsford and Lady Bohun, from ever coming to an understanding with him, though his dying brother acknowledges he has something on his mind of great importance to them both. When all other means are about to fail, and Sir Felix has demanded a private interview with his brother, Lady Bohun resolves to return at a moment's notice to Bohun Court, she having ascertained that Sir Guy had at last taken a London residence, finding his treatment at home too intolerable; but his brother's critical condition will not admit of the separation he had thought best for both of them: he follows Sir Felix to Bohun Court, and there, after many interrupted efforts, his brother tells him of the will he has made, of the sorrow he ever since endured, of a codicil he has since executed, and which he carries about with him in the lining of his dressing coat, by which all things are restored to their ancient footing. He has no sooner finished his confessions, than the brothers are interrupted by Ponsford, who has by this time acquired the greatest ascendancy over Sir Felix also, and has become his chief nurse. For days she never leaves his side; he is manifestly dying, and in the act of death calls on his brother to search, for he has been deprived of the codicil, and dies with the despairing thought that he has disinherited his brother.

After his death the codicil cannot be found, and in spite of the protests of her honourable father, and the murmurs of the whole neighbourhood, Lady Bohun enters on the property, her enjoyment of which is soon disturbed by mysterious hints on the part of Ponsford, and by overbearing conduct which she is forced to submit to, by very unequivocal insinuations that the missing document might be found if properly sought for. This submission puts her fully in her servant's

power, who exercises it to draw constantly increasing sums of money from her reluctant mistress.

As soon as decency will permit, the widowed lady marries her cousin, a worthless roué, to whom she had been attached in old days, before she left her father's house. Her conduct to her first husband is now fully avenged on her by her second, who squanders her property, outrages her tastes, and neglects her person.

While undergoing this trial she has to face the increasing insolence of Ponsford, who at last demands an annuity, and resigns her situation. She is forced to do this by some inquiries which have been renewed respecting her conduct in a former one; she finds that she must again face the accusation of having held her former mistress's hand while she signed away from her family the greater part of her property. She has barely escaped, having forced Lady Bohun to accept her terms, when the officers of justice arrive at Bohun Court, but directed by her mistress they apprehend her on her arrival in London, having forwarded the necessary instructions by the electric telegraph.

In revenge for this betrayal, Ponsford exposes her mistress's complicity in the concealment of the codicil to her father, who, almost broken-hearted, forces her, though dying from the effects of remorse and shame, in the first paroxysm of which she had burst a blood-vessel, to resign the missing paper to the hands of Sir Guy, who arrives in time to take it, and to accord his forgiveness for all past enmities.

Ponsford, the vampire, as she is called, is transported for the forgery, but escapes any retribution for the ruin she has brought upon her last mistress. The special skeleton this novel is directed against is the influence of a wily dependant, weakly allowed to grow until it changes its character into overbearing insolence. The incidents, it will be seen from the above sketch, are out of all proportion to the conclusion, and not only so, but all probability is outraged for the dramatic purposes of the *dénouement*. It is a great oversight of the author's that we are not made acquainted with the means by which so closely watched an invalid as Sir Felix yet managed to execute and have witnessed the codicil to his will, on which the plot turns. Too closely watched to be able even to give it to his brother, the reader is left in ignorance and wonder as to how he could possibly have possessed himself of it.

Although there is a great deal that is forced and impossible in the course of events, the separate scenes are drawn with very considerable power, the characters are well worked out, and act consistently throughout; they interest a not too critical reader, which after all is one of the chief merits to which a novelist should aspire.

A very fresh and original collection of Scotch stories, by Mr. Alexander Leighton, has reached a second edition, and well deserves the success which is implied by doing so.⁸ Many of them turn upon

⁸ "Curious Storied Traditions of Scottish Life." By Alexander Leighton, Editor, and one of the authors of "Border Tales." Second Edition. Edinburgh: W. P. Nimmo. 1860.

the supernatural, and often end at last in a humorous *dénouement*. Both superstition and humour have a very national character, and a certain dry metaphysical discussion of the supposed problems involved in the various narratives, has the effect of a sly and solemn fun, which is very amusing, in spite of a certain dandyism which plays somewhat too long on the terms of Scotch demonology. The stories are told with great dramatic skill, the solution of the mystery, when it is afforded at all, being protracted with much ingenuity.

Many of them illustrate the administration of justice in Scotland, and some of them point to defects in its system which seem inseparable from the office of public prosecutor. It is sometimes said to be a defect of our system that we have no such officer; but these tales, as well as the constant evidence of the French courts of law, show that evils may flow from the excited *amour propre* of such an official, almost, if not quite, as great as any of those which are often pointed to as the natural consequence of our dispensing with that means of bringing criminals to justice.

As a companion volume to Mr. Robert Demaus' Introduction to the History of English Literature,⁹ Messrs. Black have published a similar volume, by M. Gustave Masson, assistant at Harrow, on the History of French Literature. We have already spoken favourably of Mr. Demaus' book, and can do so of its companion in still higher terms. It is excellently adapted for its purpose, as a hand-book for the upper classes of schools, in which something more than the mere grammar of the language is attempted to be taught. As he closes each period of his review, M. Masson gives a very useful table of authors to be consulted by those who wish to study the subject which his limits do no more than allow him to introduce to his readers. The extensive study requisite for the production of a small volume like the present, has but little opportunity of displaying itself otherwise than in the judicious remarks and general mastery of his subject which M. Masson everywhere displays. The book is remarkably well fitted for the purpose it has in view, and will, we should think, meet with the welcome it deserves at the hands of those engaged in education.

Mr. Nutt has published a very well executed hand-book of German poetry for the use of schools.¹⁰ The collection is made by Herr Gracser, of the Marienwerder Gymnasium, and extends from the commencement of the classical period up to the present day: it is preceded by a review of the history of German poetry, necessarily very succinct but judicious, and, as far as its confined limits would allow satisfactory. Specimens of more than one hundred poets are given, and for the most part acknowledged master-pieces selected, while great care has been taken to fit the moral tone of the book to that audience to which it aspires. A kind of lexicon of linguistic difficulties is given at the end. Some of the explanations, however, seem to us to be rather trivial, and to pre-

⁹ "Introduction to the History of French Literature." By Gustave Masson, B.A., M.R.S.L., &c. Edinburgh: A. and C. Black. 1860.

¹⁰ "A Thesaurus of German Poetry." By O. Gracser, Master of the Royal Prussian Gymnasium, Marienwerder. London: D. Nutt. 1860.

suppose difficulties that a very elementary knowledge of the language would be sufficient to obviate. So much care has evidently been bestowed upon the preparation of this volume, that we are surprised to find that Freiligrath's translation from Reboul, the baker poet of Nismes, "the Angel and the Child" is given as an original poem. The volume can be cordially recommended to all schools and colleges.

In his justly celebrated copyright collection of current English literature, Mr. B. Tauchnitz is about to add a series of the standard English poets, the volumes of which will appear with greater frequency and regularity than heretofore, when his press has waited the day's popularity to set it in movement.¹¹

The collection of Coleridge's Poems which has just appeared is edited by perhaps the most competent person into whose hands it could possibly have been put. The poet Freiligrath, apart from his more personal renown, is well known as one of the most accomplished translators of his time. His intimate acquaintance with our poetical literature renders him peculiarly fitted for the task he has, we understand, assumed of furnishing the publisher with introductory notices to the forthcoming volumes.

The critical biography of the poet which he has supplied to the present volume shows an acquaintance with the literature of the subject that leaves nothing to be desired, and contains some remarks on the origin of Coleridge's principles of versification that would well repay a further research in the direction indicated. His intellectual obligations to German literature are here very properly alluded to, but by no means in that spirit of national exaggeration which would most probably have been the case with a less intelligent and well-informed editor.

E. Hofer, a collaborateur with Hacklander, in the *Hans Blätter*, a Stuttgart paper, after the manner of the Household Words, is one of the most popular of modern German story tellers.¹² His popularity is well deserved by the care with which his tales are invested with a local colour, and the air of literal truth he manages to throw over them. The artifices by which this result is arrived at are, since their exemplification, by their greatest master Defoe, familiar to everyone; but familiarity with the means and the power of producing the effect are very different things. A volume of tales just published by Hofer gives a very good idea of his manner: the subjects of the eight stories it contains are chiefly illustrations of popular superstitions or scenes from military life. These garrison anecdotes are very characteristic, and German beyond description. The rigid discipline, rough manners, coarse practical jokings, and *naïve* witticisms, make up a picture that carries with it the stamp of reality. Some scenes from the wars of the first French Empire are painted with a minuteness of detail that renders them wonderfully life-like.

¹¹ Tauchnitz "Collection of British Authors," Vol. 512: "The Poems of S. T. Coleridge." Leipzig. 1860.

¹² "Deutsche Herzen, Skizzen, Studien und Geschichten." Von Edmund Hofer. Prag: Kober and Markgraf. London: Williams and Norgate. 1860.

The best of these, in our opinion, is the tale called *Extracts from my Father's Diary*, in which the hopes and fears of a small community, threatened by the approach of a division of the French army, are described with uncommon skill. Equally skilful, but not so satisfactory, is the last tale, called the *Story of a Looking-glass*, in which the glass itself, or rather the fragments of it, is made to tell the tale of events which have been reflected on its surface. There is something forced in the sympathy of this piece of furniture with the fate of its lovely mistress, who falls a victim to the intrigues of a princely family, but the author's fondness for telling his story out of the mouth of an eye-witness forces him here to find eyes for events that could not have had witnesses with eyes of their own.

The moral tone of these tales is quite irreproachable, and we think they are calculated to gain for Herr Hoefler in England a popularity which will in some degree approach that he enjoys in his native country.

The new collection of tales and fancies, by Andersen,¹³ have all the somewhat helpless graces of his earlier books, but with increasing years he becomes diffuse and prosy: the old tendency to edifying morals has quite overgrown the occasional pure worship of beauty to be found in his earlier sketches. These nursery tales for grown people pall upon the taste, and the more so with the increasing disproportion between the moral and its vehicle. The virtues of humility, patience, and resignation, acquire in his hands a childlike aspect, and lose all pretence to virility, while the images and stories which are the vehicles for recommending them are too often out of the sphere of children's conceptions, and of late always too long-drawn for children's patience. Andersen writes like a child, often with childlike grace and cleverness; but few people can support for ever the prattle of the most intelligent boy, even if he be at the same time one of the most amiable. Sympathy with the more manly virtues of his race, but rarely shows itself in Andersen: he constantly shrinks from rough handling, and is prepared to apologize even for his existence. In this volume he gives an account of a visit paid to C. Dickens in 1857, which has all the characteristics of a boy's account of his holiday treat—everything charms him, and he is constantly ready with sentimental tears of joy; the smallest and the most inconsiderable events of the day are elaborately recounted with an amount of superfluous feeling that becomes wearisome. When he describes a game of cricket, he does so in a fashion that makes us long to see him stand up to some quick round bowler—it would be a spectacle for gods and men; we suppose, however, he sat upon a hill with the ladies.

In this last series his simplicity is often elaborate, and we very rarely meet with anything that approaches the natural spontaneity of that old favourite, "*The Ugly Duckling*." In his story from the *Land Hills of Jutland*, there are, however, two little fables in his best manner, one of the "*Eel Mother*," and another of the "*Burial of a Merman*"

¹³ "*Aus Herz und Welt*." Von H. C. Andersen. T. Wiedemann, Leipzig. London: Williams and Norgate.

and its Consequences:" these, if we had space at our command, we would extract, but must content ourselves with indicating where they are to be found.

The ancient songs of the 16th and 17th centuries collected by Hoffmann von Fallersleben, is a much less attractive collection than the "Wunderhorn" of Von Armin and Brentano, and no doubt owes its existence to the popularity of that charming collection of national songs and ballads.¹⁴ It was not to be expected that the songs of the more cultivated and easy classes of society should possess the characteristic peculiarities which give vitality to songs that dwell on the lips of the people. Love, hunting, and drinking, when celebrated in songs to be sung in a society making any pretence to cultivation, are apt to clothe themselves in commonplaces and conventional expressions that vary but little from age to age. This collection, too, suffers from being by no means the first gleaning of a field which has been long since reaped of its finest crop. Whether it be most characteristic of the gleaner or the field, we cannot say; but the best and by far the most numerous of the songs here collected, sing the praises of wine or beer, and some of them with an amusing mixture of sincere admiration and solemn pedantry which is very natural and characteristic. The volume is very well edited, and the special learning of the author most full and satisfactory.

Let no one be deluded by the promise of the title-page of the "Last of the Dynasty of Rameses," that it contains an account of the manners and history of the Egyptians three thousand years ago.¹⁵ Good wine needs no bush, and a good romance seldom lays claim to so grand an epithet as *culturhistorisch*. The lovers in this tale are an aristocratic warrior and a Jewess, who has been captive in the gold quarries of Upper Egypt since her fourth year, and who expounds to the benighted worshipper of Osiris, the latest views of German *savants* on the influence of Egyptian modes of thought on the Mosaic theology with such effect, that he immediately forswears his ancestral faith, and prepares to forsake his name and country, that as a Hebrew proselyte he may obtain her hand.

In their endeavour to escape from Egypt, they fall into the midst of the revolution which destroys the last King Rameses; parted for a moment, she falls into the hands of servants of the king, who carry her away to his harem, and he into the presence of a meeting of *free-masons*, who are organising the revolt which is to break out the next day. In the conflict which ensues the lovers meet again, and succeed in escaping from the country. The author then favours us with a *philological* argument to show that their descendants, after some centuries, returned and ruled over the land they had thus forsaken.

The descriptions of ancient Thebes are elaborate, but confused; to

¹⁴ "Die deutschen Gesellschaftslieder, des 16 und 17 Jahrhunderts." Von Fallersleben. Leipzig: Engelmann. London: Williams and Norgate. 1860.

¹⁵ "Der Letzte der Ramessiden oder vor drei Jahrtausenden, ein Culturhistorischer Roman." Von Max Uhlemann. Leipzig: O. Wigand. London: Williams and Norgate. 1860.

call again to life the race which constructed and lived among the temples of Philoe and the pyramids, and which left the world as mysterious at its own Sphinx, is beyond the powers of Herr Uhlemann. The unusual scenery by which he has hoped to give a value to a romance having none of its own, has proved only an additional burden to him, the unreality and historical falsity of his views of Egyptian society, particularly of those connected with the mutual relations of the sexes, are not redeemed by any vivid portraiture of even the ruins of the times he has endeavoured to resuscitate.

The publication of the "Dresden Gallery in Photographs, taken from the pictures themselves," has now reached its eighth number.¹⁶ Among these sheets will be found some of the choicest photographs extant, and a very cursory review of them throws the fullest light on the probable effort they will exert on the art of engraving. It is immediately evident that no engraver can approach the beauty of a good photograph, where the chief merits of the original consist in grouping and chiaroscuro; but then, on the other hand, where the artist's charm resides in colour, the photograph absolutely misrepresents the original, from the chemical effect of certain colours on the sensitive surface of the negative. A very complete proof of this is to be found in the third part of this publication.

The St. Sebastian of Corregio is one of the most charming reproductions of a picture anywhere to be met with; no engraver could approach the beauty with which the childlike contours of the master are fixed upon the paper. The glowing illumination of each figure, by the glory which surrounds the Virgin, would be unapproachable by any but the most skillful master of mezzotint, while the peculiar individuality of Corregio's drawing could not fail to lose some of its character under the most skillful hand. While this photograph leaves so little to be desired, that any engraver must throw down his burin in despair at the sight of it, we have only to turn to another in the same number to see the limits of the new process, and to find that there are some things as yet unapproachable by it. A Hunting Party, by Wouvermann, shows this in the most striking manner. The delicate and lovely backgrounds and distant views of this painter have such a general blue tone, that they become utterly ineffective from the fact of blue objects producing the effect of white ones on the sensitive surface of the plate. The photograph thus gives the appearance of a completely worn-out copper-plate, from which every delicate *nuance* has been erased by frequent printing.

When complete, this work will form a splendid volume, and if, in some respects, inferior to engravings, the photographs have merits of their own which are unapproachable, and in manipulation these are equal to any we have seen. If allowance must be made for a photograph from a coloured surface, it is quite otherwise in the case of an etching or simple drawing. There are few purposes to which photo-

¹⁶ "Die vorzüglichsten Gemälde der Königlichen Gallerie in Dresden in photographischen Abbildungen nach den originalen herausgegeben." Von Franz Hanfstangl 1859. London: Williams and Norgate.

graphy can be applied with such unequivocally favourable results as in the reproduction of drawings by celebrated artists.

The sketches of a great painter are often found to give more of his characteristic features than even his complete works : they reveal his method of procedure, and often give interesting insight into conflicts passing through his mind during the very process of production. Hitherto this source of study has been inaccessible to the general public, from the impossibility of reproducing the material for it by engraving. An engraver at the best can but give his own conception of the work he copies, and the result is that we are always forced to see the original through a more or less distorted medium. This may in rare instances be to the advantage of the painter, as Schiavonetti's engravings after Blake's designs are sufficient to show ; but most frequently the fugitive graces of the artist's handling are lost in the progress without any such compensation as Blake enjoyed. The Widow of Alfred Rethel, the composer of that remarkable Dance of Death which has so wide a reputation, is now publishing at Dresden, photographs of her husband's drawings, which fully corroborate the remarks we have just made.¹⁷ Rethel's great originality both of conception and execution may be studied in these sheets in the fullest manner. The subjects of the projected series are chiefly selected from German history, and have a most national physiognomy. For power, vigor, and effect, there are few modern artists who surpass the composer of the Todtentanz and Der Tod als Freund, and these sheets for a few shillings put it in the power of any one fully to acquaint themselves with one of the most characteristic of modern German artists.

¹⁷ "Alfred Rethel's Historische Compositionen in photographischen Nachbildungen. Dresden : Frau Marie Rethel. London : Williams and Norgate.

THE
WESTMINSTER
AND
FOREIGN QUARTERLY
REVIEW.

APRIL 1, 1861.

ART. I.—MR. KINGSLEY ON THE STUDY OF HISTORY.

The Limits of Exact Science as applied to History. An Inaugural Lecture delivered before the University of Cambridge, by the Rev. Charles Kingsley, M.A., Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge, Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen, and Rector of Eversley. Cambridge and London: Macmillan and Co. 1860.

BOTH at Oxford and Cambridge the teaching of modern history has lately fallen into new hands. Neither of the new Professors has lost any time in announcing the rank he means to claim for his subject. Of arrogance, at all events, these gentlemen cannot be accused. The most irascible of M. Jourdain's masters would have been disarmed by their humility. The exaggerated pretensions put forward by some ill-advised enthusiasts shall receive no countenance from them. Treat history as a science, indeed! In their lecture-rooms, if nowhere else, she shall be made to know her place.

That Oxford and Cambridge should be the last of the great centres of thought in Europe to recognise any fresh step in human knowledge, is no more than might have been expected. Modern history they ignored altogether as long as they could with decency do so; and now that they are obliged to pay some attention to it, they endeavour, so far as they are represented by their Professors, to degrade the study and to divert it from its special and appropriate application. It is not too much to say that a Professor is supported at each University for the purpose of decrying the science he professes, of demonstrating its useless-

ness, and, as far as lies in him, deterring sensible men from wasting their time and attention upon it.

Those who have learned to look to the study of history as the most important means for the elaboration of social science, will not fail to derive encouragement from this curious, and perhaps unexampled spectacle. Scientific ideas have asserted their supremacy over one branch of human knowledge after another; in no case without a severe struggle. They are extending themselves now to the phenomena of society, and the champions of the old systems are everywhere standing on the defensive. It is a significant fact, and one that points unmistakably to the tendency of modern thought even in England, that the alarm should have been raised almost simultaneously in both Universities. In Oxford, at least, there is no fear that the question thus raised will be allowed to drop. Bigoted and intolerant as the prevalent tone of feeling has always been, there has never been wanting an able and vigorous minority thoroughly emancipated, and known to be so, from every prejudice which could check free speculation, welcoming intellectual progress from whatever quarter it may come, and zealous in propagating its ideas, whatever dogmas or beliefs they may threaten. The superiority of Oxford to Cambridge in this respect is incontestable, and the cause of it is to be found in the distinctive studies of the place. Thought can never become hopelessly stagnant where Aristotle is a text-book, and where a thorough acquaintance with such writers as Mill and Grote is indispensable. Thus, even the Tractarian movement was a protest against the narrow Protestant view of history, and its blind contempt for everything before Luther. With many serious defects, the classical system of education has the merit of having kept alive the study of ancient history at Oxford. Modern history, though in a mutilated shape, is at length making good its footing; and as the essential unity of the subject becomes recognised, neither the sneers of shallow wits, nor the protests of alarmed orthodoxy, nor the cunningest fence of sophists, will stifle the tendency to treat it scientifically.

The Oxford Professor took an early opportunity of denouncing this tendency in a lecture which he has since published. He did not, however, on that occasion discuss the question at length, and another lecture, devoted expressly to its consideration, though printed, has not been published. We are sorry for it. In discussion, it is always satisfactory to see your opponent's case put as clearly and forcibly as it will admit of; and it would have been not only more agreeable, but more profitable, to have dealt with the reasoning of Mr. Goldwin Smith, always clever and intelligible, and often eloquent, than with the feeble, confused,

and pretentious performance which stands at the head of the present article.

Mr. Kingsley is not so coy as his Oxford brother. Known already as the author of no less than seventeen works in theology and fiction, which have reached, in the aggregate, forty-eight editions, he sends his last trille to his publisher, as a matter of course; and it makes its appearance without delay in a shape which shows that it is intended to take a permanent place in the literature of the country. We expected its publication with not a little interest. Some of the previous seventeen were, we cheerfully admit, of very high merit of a certain kind. The perversities of thought and opinion, though numerous, were practically innocuous; and the errors in taste, though glaring, were such as might fairly be expected to wear off after another dozen volumes or so. There was, indeed, no reason to suppose that Mr. Kingsley had any special qualifications for his new post, unless it were the possession of the scenery, dresses, and other properties belonging to an Alexandrian and an Elizabethan drama which he had once put upon the stage in very creditable style; but then, for anything we knew, this might be a real point of superiority at Cambridge. We learn from the present lecture that Salvian and the Bollandists are also included in his repertoire; and, though he does not say so, we gather that they are in rehearsal, and will be produced at an early day; the latter he has even "thumbed over"—pretty well for forty-seven volumes folio. We wonder whether Cardinal Wiseman can say as much. We dare say that, like ourselves, he would rather have the cream of them in three volumes of moderate size from Mr. Kingsley.

The Cambridge undergraduates must not measure their Professor by his inaugural lecture. When he has done philosophizing, and reverted to story-telling, they will probably listen to many a brilliant and interesting sketch of men, manners, and events which they could never have extracted for themselves from Salvian or the *Acta Sanctorum*. The power of vividly picturing the features of a bygone age, though not the highest quality of an historian, is indeed a rare and admirable gift. The men who have ruled, and struggled, and suffered in the past, we want to see them as they were in the flesh—a mere inventory of their qualities, were it never so accurate, will not satisfy us. It is the poet alone who can seize on an anecdote, on a saying, on a trait, on a feature, and conceive the whole character in its fulness, and place it before our eyes, perhaps in a sentence, or even in an epithet. So far, therefore, from undervaluing this side of the historic art, we do not hesitate to say that even though the portrait be an exaggeration, or a misconception, as, if Mr. Kingsley is the artist is not unlikely to be the case, it is infinitely prefer-

able to the pale lifeless bundle of abstract qualities which is all that many an erudite and conscientious compiler has to offer us. Its very defects will be instructive; and the general interest it awakens in the subject may compensate for an unfair measure of praise or blame awarded to individuals. Dr. Arnold's lofty conception of Hannibal as the enthusiastic and devoted patriot, is, we take it, radically untrue; but we would not wish one line of that glowing portraiture untraced. Every student whose interest is kindled as he contemplates it, will undoubtedly reap many of the advantages enumerated by Mr. Kingsley:—

“In proportion as you understand the man, and only so, will you begin to understand the elements in which he worked. And not only to understand, but to remember. Names, dates, genealogies, geographical details, costumes, fashions, manners, crabbed scraps of old law, which you used perhaps to read up and forget again, because they were not rooted but stuck into your brain, as pins are into a pincushion, to fall out at the first shake—all these you will remember, because they will arrange and organize themselves round the central human figure; just as if you have studied a portrait by some great artist, you cannot think of the face in it without recollecting also the light and shadow, the tone of colouring, the dress, and all the accessories which the painter's art has grouped around; each with a purpose, and therefore each fixing itself duly in your mind. Who for instance has not found that he can learn more French history from French memoirs than even from all the truly learned and admirable histories of France which have been written of late years? I am free to confess that I have learnt what little I know of the Middle Ages, what they were like, how they came to be what they were, and how they issued in the Reformation, not so much from the study of the books about them (many and wise though they are) as from the thumbing over for years the semi-mythical saints' lives of Surius and the Bollandists.”

There is much truth, no doubt, in these remarks. We must observe, however, that by the time a man had read over—even without “thumbing”—the forty-seven volumes of the Bollandists, or the hundred and sixty of French memoirs, it would be strange indeed if he had not a more familiar acquaintance with his dates and facts than he would have obtained from a perusal of Michelet or Martin. The result, too, will be much the same whether the portrait is faithful or the reverse. All that is needed is that it shall be the work of “some great artist.” A portrait of Mary Stuart by Mr. Kingsley would probably be less untruthful than one by Sir Walter Scott. Yet the “Abbot” and the “Monastery” may be of higher value, even from the historical point of view, than “Westward Ho!”

We have no wish, however, to disparage Mr. Kingsley's capacity for work of this kind; and if, feeling himself incompetent to meddle with the philosophy of history, he had contented him-

self with announcing his intention of labouring in a useful though humbler sphere, we should not have thought it necessary to notice his lecture, however lamentable might have been the deficiencies it indicated in his conception of his duties as a professor. But as he appears to think that the right man is for once in the right place, and that his mission is to put down historical science, if not science in general, the position he holds necessitates a criticism on his views, which, so far as their intrinsic value is concerned, might have been spared.

We should think that to most people the distinction between history and biography is very clear. Biography relates to individuals; history to societies. Mr. Kingsley, however, is of another opinion. "I entreat gentlemen who may hereafter attend my lectures to bear in mind this last saying (*Homo sum; humani nihil a me alienum puto*). If they wish to understand history they must first try to understand men and women. For history is the history of men and women, and of nothing else."

The pupils thus addressed might very fairly call upon Mr. Kingsley to show cause *in limine* why history should be studied at all. It is a vast field of inquiry—practically boundless. Those who refuse to treat it scientifically will not, of course, profess to impart such a general and popular view of its ensemble as suffices in the case of chemistry and physiology for the purposes of an unprofessional education. If it is nothing but a string of biographies, it is superfluous to talk of a method. As a collection of moral lessons it may have its use; and so have *Aesop's fables*, with the advantage of being more pointed and more directly suggestive of the moral. "You must understand men," says Mr. Kingsley, "if you wish to understand history;" but we have searched his lecture in vain for any reason why we should wish to understand history.

This is a question to which an answer must be found. It is neither candid nor prudent to ignore it in the hope that it will not be directly raised. Men are every day becoming less inclined to waste their time on studies of which the utility is not proved. Knowledge is not useful merely because it is knowledge. Let us have some reason why we should feel a warmer interest in the *Cæsars* than in the winners of the Derby. "*Homo sum*," &c., was the excuse of *Chremes* for meddling in a matter which did not concern him. Is that the best reason Mr. Kingsley has to give for troubling himself and others with the events of the past?

If we assume that the course of civilization has hitherto followed, and will continue to follow, certain laws, the utility of historical study becomes at once apparent. Man's highest interests must be concerned in a knowledge of those laws—a knowledge

which the unaided observation of an individual or a generation could never arrive at. In the case of society, as of the individual, the exact relation of each link in the chain of life cannot be determined even for the past, much less for the future. We can no more demonstrate why Christianity was recognised by law exactly three hundred and thirteen years after the birth of its founder than our doctor can tell us why the first sprinkling of grey appeared in our hair last year rather than this. We do not pretend to fix the date of the downfall of the Ottoman empire or of the death of the present Sultan ; but that limits might be assigned beyond which neither event could be deferred we have no doubt. It is evident that a knowledge of the general laws which are tending to produce each result would make it possible to hasten or retard the catastrophe. The acquirement and continual extension of such knowledge is the aim of the political philosopher in one case and of the physiologist in the other.

To the politician, as to the driver of a locomotive, it is before all things necessary that he should know where he is going. The course is marked out for both. It has been determined by large general considerations which are capable of being understood and reasoned from with an exactness proportioned to their simplicity and generality. The rate of progression and the degree of freedom from violent and disagreeable perturbations will depend a good deal upon the skill that presides over details. Thus the most important laws that govern human progress are few, simple, and beyond our interference. The heat of a southern summer, the cold of a northern winter, are influences which we cannot alter. Englishmen *must* consume more nutritious food than Neapolitans, they *must* be better housed and clothed, they *must* use more fuel. The labour necessary for procuring all these comforts *must* have a certain effect upon their character. Again, such statical laws as the preponderance of the affective faculties in the individual over the intellectual, of the personal instincts over the social, are facts in our nature which we must accept. Comte's great dynamical law of the three stages through which the various branches of human knowledge have passed is, in our opinion, no less universally true. An acquaintance with these and such like general uniformities in the course of nature is the first requisite for useful speculation on social questions. Taken by themselves, indeed, they would be but poor guides of action. We could not construct from them a complete deductive science of society, as geometry is, based upon a few axioms and postulates. But when we compare them with the observed facts of history, we can distinguish, with more or less exactness, certain derivative laws, and these again, by the aid of such specific observation as the nature of the case may admit, will give us rules for action in the present and

expectation as to the future ; not, indeed, *exact* rules, but such as we can have no hesitation in accepting as the only rational basis of all efforts for the amelioration of our condition.

It appears, therefore, that as we pass from the special to the general we lose in power of influencing events, but gain in the exactness of our knowledge and provision. Whenever we are obliged to admit our impotence to alter a fact or a tendency, it is always because we have attained the more desirable power of predicting with exactness what before had appeared capricious and unaccountable.

Among the minor and proximate causes which increase or diminish the intensity of social forces, the most obvious is the deliberate political action of rulers or other influential individuals. Being the most obvious, its power has naturally been overrated to an extravagant degree. What its real importance is we shall consider more at length presently.

To speak of history as a science is an inaccuracy of language which, on every ground, it would be better to avoid. If any writers of the scientific school have, for the sake of brevity, made use of such an expression, we are sure they would at once admit the looseness of their language. We will endeavour to explain succinctly the position which history occupies in their system.

The direct means of investigation which sociology possesses are three—observation, experiment, and comparison. The last of these, comparison, is the great resource of the organic sciences, to which it is peculiar. As applied to sociology it is available in three ways. We may compare human society with that of some of the inferior animals, or we may compare together different coexisting stages of it, or, finally, we may compare successive stages of it with one another. This last method, the great resource of sociology, is based entirely upon history. Each science, while more complex than those that precede it in the scale, and less amenable to the methods they employ, offers in compensation some fresh device of its own. Now this comparison of *consecutive* states is the device that sociology offers. In none of the simpler sciences—mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, biology—have we the advantage of such a method of inquiry, except so far as the successive stages of life in the same individual afford scope for it in the last-named science ; for comparative anatomy is a comparison of *coexistent* organisms. If sociology is the last born of the sciences, it is because its creation was impossible until this method was recognised and employed ; and the very idea of a continuous and unlimited progress of humanity is essentially modern. Now it is clear that nothing less than a complete survey of the past will enable us to pronounce upon the tendency of this social movement, or, in other words, to dis-

cover its laws. A partial survey must lead to more or less inaccuracy; just as it would be unsafe to assume the direction of a river after an examination of a few furlongs of its course. Our laws will not be trustworthy for the future unless they account for every successive stage of the past.

When, therefore, we demand that history shall be cultivated *scientifically*, we mean that it should be cultivated with a view to the discovery and verification of sociologic laws. Not only the method of comparison, but those of observation and experiment, suppose the existence of history, and would cease to be available without it. In fact, in so far as sociology contemplates the *progress* of society, as distinguished from its *order*, it is identical with the comparison of consecutive stages, and is what is commonly called the philosophy of history, or abstract history. Concrete history is a grand collection of phenomena for science to investigate. It is well or ill written according as the facts are well or ill selected.

We have thought it necessary, before proceeding to notice the remarks of Mr. Kingsley, to state in general terms what the scientific theory of history really is, because, whether from sheer ignorance or from a desire to discredit what he dislikes, he throughout attributes to scientific thinkers opinions which neither they nor, as far as we know, any one else, ever held. The fact is, that not one person in a hundred who talks of positive philosophy has any but the vaguest notion of its import. Mr. Kingsley is not the only writer we could mention whose acquaintance with this philosophy, glibly as he criticises it, is evidently not greater than might have been gained, at second hand, from some shallow and unscrupulous review article. We are persuaded that many of our readers who have been shocked or tickled by Mr. Kingsley's disclosures will be astonished to find that the much-abused doctrine is, when fairly stated, so sober and so agreeable to common sense. To go no further than the title of his lecture—was there ever such a mare's nest? There are but two sciences really exact—mathematics and astronomy. Who is it that wants to *apply* mathematics or astronomy to history? The phrase is absolutely without meaning. You might as well talk of the limits of plastic art as applied to music. If Mr. Kingsley means that history will never be raised into an exact science, we perfectly agree with him, and only wonder why he should think it necessary to disprove so elaborately what no one, either wise or foolish, has ever been known to assert. But it is pretty clear that he means to deny the possibility of treating history scientifically at all. He considers that its course has been determined by the unaccountable appearance, from time to time, of great men. He believes that the human will is actuated, not by the inducements operating

upon it and the character previously formed, but by itself; and that therefore human actions, whether on a small or a great scale, defy calculation. In short, he denies the reality of that orderly co-existence and sequence of phenomena which we call *law*.

It is, we are aware, no easy matter to bring Mr. Kingsley to book. So ample in some places are his acknowledgments of the order and uniformity visible in all phenomena, physical and moral, that after a hasty glance at his lecture you might even go away with the impression that its author was a disciple of Mr. Buckle. It costs him nothing to employ the language and phrases of his opponents. He pledges himself to opinions in one sentence which he repudiates with horror in the next, and exhibits an ingenuity in harmonizing contradictions worthy of the framers of the Thirty-nine Articles. Deny the existence of invariable laws? He would be the last man to do it. All he asserts is, that they do not result in any inevitable sequence. Order in history? He recognises it from the bottom of his heart, and finds it to be "crooked, wayward, mysterious, and incalculable." There is in human nature "a demoniac element defying all law and all induction;" Heaven forbid, then, that he should discourage the application of inductive science to so hopeful a domain. We are reminded of Touchstone's opinion on a shepherd's life: "Truly, in respect of itself, it is a good life; but in respect that it is a shepherd's life, it is naught. In respect that it is solitary, I like it very well; but in respect that it is private, it is a very vile life. Now, in respect it is in the fields, it pleaseth me well; but in respect it is not in the court, it is tedious. As it is a spare life, look you, it fits my humour well; but as there is no more plenty in it, it goes much against my stomach."

Mr. Kingsley is a great admirer of the Socratic method. It is a pity that he has not so far followed it as to give us a definition of a term which he employs throughout his lecture. What does he mean by "law"? It is difficult to believe that he has lived to become a Professor without being aware that a word which originally meant the obligation of duty, is by scientific men used to denote a uniformity observed in the course of nature. The notion of a duty imposed by some external power has no longer any place in it. It is, perhaps, a misfortune that science should have adopted a word already in common and established use, and with a well-defined meaning, which, with reference to a certain class of conceptions, it will always maintain. The double signification will ever remain a monument of the metaphysical stage from which science emerged. The inconvenience has been felt by some writers, and attempts have been made to substitute

a less ambiguous term. To us, we must confess, it seemed a very needless prudery to make any alteration. Until we read Mr. Kingsley's lecture, we did not suppose it possible that the double signification would be a stumbling-block to any man of common education. The danger, however, was more real than we imagined. Some idea of the confusion under which Mr. Kingsley is labouring may be gathered from a comparison of a few passages culled from his lecture. Will any one, for instance, explain this:—

“Without doubt history obeys, and always has obeyed, in the long run, certain laws. But those laws assert themselves and are to be discovered not in things but in persons; in the actions of human beings; and just in proportion as we understand human beings shall we understand the laws which they have obeyed or which have avenged themselves on their disobedience. This may seem a truism; if it be such, it is one which we cannot too often repeat to ourselves just now, when the rapid progress of science is tempting us to look at human beings rather as things than as persons, and at abstractions—under the name of laws—rather as persons than as things.” (p. 8.)

When the wicked one hungered for the soul of a mediæval saint, the holy man, if we may believe the Bollandists, was often tempted to imagine forms of sin as grotesque as they were heinous. Mr. Kingsley, it seems, is wrestling with similar horrors. The fiend is tempting him to look at human beings as things, at abstractions under the name of laws as persons. What a hideous nightmare! A man afflicted with so terrible a visitation is quite right not to despise a truism. It must be a most valuable specific for his disease. No diluted truth, no speculative subtlety, would meet his case. Naviget Anticyram.

“The only philosophical method of looking at the strangest of phenomena is to believe that it is the result of law, perhaps a healthy result; that it is not to be condemned as a product of disease before it is proven to be such; and that if it be a product of disease, disease has its laws as much as health; and is a subject not for cursing but for induction.” (p. 11.)

If it were not too evident that Mr. Kingsley's ideas come tumbling after one another upon his paper, each trying to explain or correct its predecessor, one might have asked what a healthy result of law is, and whether it is the same as the result of a law of health? or how disease can have its laws if “product of disease” is contrasted with “result of law,” that is, if disease is contrasted with law? However, there is an evident intention to use the word “law” in its scientific sense, though the strange ideas mixed up with it augur but ill for a scientific treatment of the subject.

In page 17 he complains that—

“Young sciences, like young men, have their time of wonder, hope, imagination, and of passion, too, and haste, and bigotry. Dazzled, and that pardonably, by the beauty of the few laws they may have discovered, they are too apt to erect them into gods, and to explain by them all matters in heaven and earth; and apt, too, I think, as this author does, to patch them where they are weakest by that most dangerous succedaneum of vague and grand epithets which very often contain each of them an assumption far more important than the law to which they are tacked.”

This is *prosopopœia* with a vengeance. Science is dazzled, and laws are erected into gods; a god, according to Mr. Kingsley, being something by which you explain phenomena. As for the author whom he has been quoting, although it is not very clear whether he is some particular science or science in general, he must at all events consider himself highly complimented.

In page 19, we discover that by laws Mr. Kingsley means “the laws of right and wrong, the everlasting judgments of God, to which a confused and hard-worked man was to look; and take comfort, for all would be well at last.” The man in question must be Mr. Kingsley, who does not see that the law of gravitation and the law of the Decalogue are ideas which have little more in common than the sound of an organ and the sound of a codfish.

In the next page (20) he returns to his metaphysical misconception of the laws of nature. He cannot agree with those who represent “invariable and immutable laws as resulting in any inevitable sequence or irresistible growth. We shall not deny a sequence—Reason forbids that; or, again, a growth—Experience forbids that: but we shall be puzzled to see why a law, because it is immutable itself, should produce inevitable results.”

Puzzled indeed! The definition of law in its scientific sense is, as we have said before, a uniformity observed in the course of nature. The sequence does not result from the law any more than the three concords result from the Eton grammar. The proposition of Newton does not stand in the same relation to the falling apple as the New Testament does to a Christian, or the Statutes at Large to a British subject. So, at least, we have been accustomed to think; but Mr. Kingsley has his own opinion about that celebrated apple:—

“If they quote the facts of material nature against us, we shall be ready to meet them on that very ground and ask:—You say that as the laws of matter are inevitable, so, probably, are the laws of human life? Be it so: but in what sense are the laws of matter inevitable? Potentially or actually? Even in the seemingly most uniform and universal law where do we find the inevitable or the irresistible? Is

there not in nature a perpetual competition of law against law, force against force, producing the most endless and unexpected variety of results? Cannot such law be interfered with at any moment by some other law, so that the first law, though it may struggle for the mastery, shall be for an indefinite time utterly defeated? The law of gravity is immutable enough; but do all stones inevitably fall to the ground? Certainly not, if I choose to catch one and keep it in my hand. It remains there by laws; and the law of gravity is there too, making it feel heavy in my hand; but it has not fallen to the ground and will not till I let it. So much for the inevitable action of the laws of gravity as of others. Potentially it is immutable; but actually it can be conquered by other laws. I really beg your pardon for occupying you here with such truisms, but I must put the students of this university in mind of them as long as too many modern thinkers shall choose to ignore them." (p. 20.)

Mr. Kingsley need not beg our pardon for occupying us with truisms. He takes too modest a view of his scientific position. We believe that he is on the eve of making an important discovery, if he has not already made it. A new law is not to be thus lightly spoken of. But will he formulate it? At present, it is in rather an undeveloped shape. To call it "the law of some one's hand being in the way," is concrete, not to say awkward. We do not venture to anticipate the shape which this brilliant conception will take in the hands of the discoverer; but if we might venture to suggest a name for it, it would be "the Law of Potential Immutability;" and, prone as *savans* are to steal each other's laurels, we think that the priority of discovery will, in this case, not be disputed.

But seriously, does Mr. Kingsley believe that the law of gravity is interfered with if the stone does not fall to the ground? If anything would make Sir Isaac Newton turn in his grave, surely it would be to hear a Regius Professor of his own University informing an academic audience that the great law upon which his fame rests is but "*seemingly* uniform and universal." What must have been the feelings of the learned mathematicians for whom that university is still celebrated, when they heard their new luminary triumphing thus over the law of gravitation? Mr. Kingsley, however, admits all we contend for. "It remains there by laws." Of course it does. It remains there *inevitably*. No phenomenon, even the most simple, is the pure result of *one* law, or, indeed, if we would avoid loose language, of law at all. Law is not synonymous with cause. It is merely the expression of the relation between antecedent and consequent. Each phenomenon is the consequent of *several* antecedents or causes. Given, the same antecedents, the consequent is invariable, and therefore the relation between them, call it law or sequence, is invariable also.

We could be well content to leave the argument here, thoroughly accepting the analogy pointed out by Mr. Kingsley. It matters little what epithets are applied to the law of gravitation either by him or us. Every one understands in what sense certainty and invariableness are predicated of that law, and of others in the physical world. It is precisely that kind of certainty and invariableness that we claim for the relation of antecedent and consequent in the moral world. Whether we can *discover* moral laws with the same accuracy as physical is another question. All we say is, that they exist, and that therefore known, unknown, or partially known, they are a proper object of science.

A little further on (p. 22), Mr. Kingsley descends from the region of science, and again speaks of law as if it was an Act of Parliament. Such, at least, we suppose to be his meaning when he informs us that man has what he may well call the "mysterious" power of "breaking the laws of his own being." He does not condescend to give us an illustration of his meaning, or to specify what those laws are towards which man stands in such an independent position. Like the anonymous law that suspends gravitation, they are treated in an allusive style that is rather tantalizing to the inquirer.

At this point an imaginary objector is introduced, who gets his scalp taken miserably.

"The usual rejoinder to this argument is to fall back upon man's weakness and ignorance and to take refuge in the infinite unknown. Man, it is said, may of course interfere a little with some of the less important laws of his being; but who is he to grapple with the more vast and remote ones? Because he can prevent a pebble from falling, is he to suppose that he can alter the destiny of nations, and grapple, forsooth, with 'the eternities, and the immensities,' and so forth? The argument is very powerful; but address rather to the imagination than the reason. It is after all another form of the old *omne ignotum pro magnifico*, and we may answer, I think fairly,—About the eternities and immensities we know nothing, not having been there as yet; but it is a mere assumption to suppose without proof that the more remote and impalpable laws are more vast, in the sense of being more powerful (the only sense which really bears upon the argument), than the laws which are palpably at work around us all day long." (p. 25.)

We do not know in what quarter Mr. Kingsley has met with this rejoinder. Certainly not from the scientific school; and if he means to insinuate as much, the audacity of the imputation is only equalled by the gross ignorance it betrays of the leading characteristics of the philosophy he is assailing. We do, indeed, remember an eloquent passage about "the eternities and realities," and so forth; but it occurs in of one Mr. Kingsley's own

works,* belonging to that period of his life when he *could* write, when he had not ventured *ultra crepidam*; in other words, when his works were “addressed rather to the imagination than the reason.” We read it—when younger—with considerable enthusiasm; and, even now, it is not without a certain revulsion of feeling that we learn from his own admission, that he has “not been there as yet.”

“There may be laws of folly, as there are laws of disease; and whether there are or not, we may learn much wisdom from folly; we may see what the true laws of humanity are by seeing the penalties which come from breaking them.” (p. 29.)

Law, then, is something which may be broken, and to which a penalty is affixed. Will Mr. Kingsley tell us how we can break the laws of folly, and give us a practical illustration? Or how we can break those of disease, and what penalty we shall incur if we do? But though we may have laws of folly, we must not, it seems, hope for laws of population.

“How, again, are we to arrive at any exact laws of the increase of population in a race which has had from the beginning the abnormal and truly monstrous habit of slaughtering each other, not for food—for in a race of normal cannibals the ratio of increase or decrease might easily be calculated—but uselessly, from rage, hate, fanaticism, or even mere wantonness.” (p. 30.)

If by laws of the increase of population Mr. Kingsley means laws of the operation of the reproductive power, irrespective of all external accelerating or retarding influences, we can only express our belief that such a grotesque idea never entered into any one’s head but his own. He desiderates, it would seem, a law by the aid of which he should be able to ascertain the population of the earth, or any portion of it, at any given period. Certainly no statistician of our acquaintance will attempt to satisfy him, not even were he furnished with the datum of cannibalism which, in Mr. Kingsley’s opinion, would so simplify the question. It happens that, although a scientific study of the laws of population is of comparatively recent date, we have already attained to a very high degree of accuracy in calculation and prediction. The remark about the slaughter of war as a disturbing cause is thoroughly childish, and is one among many incidental proofs afforded by this lecture, that its author is considering these questions for the first time. Theories of population are, no doubt, complicated by many disturbing causes; but, among these, the slaughter of war is hardly worth considering. War acts upon the population far more by the increased taxation it necessitates, in

* “Alton Locke, ii. 181.”

other words, by diminishing the number of births, than by its direct sacrifice of human life. "Bah! ce n'est qu'une nuit de Paris!" may have been a cynical comment on the horrors of a battle-field. But Condé was not wrong in his estimate of the result to population.

Averages Mr. Kingsley will not hear of, for the extraordinary reason that what is true of the average is not true of every individual unit of the sum from which the average is struck.

"How, I ask, are we to make calculations about such a species as man? Many modern men of science wish to draw the normal laws of human life from the average of humanity; I question whether they can do so; because I do not believe the average man to be the normal man, exhibiting the normal laws, but a very abnormal man, diseased and crippled; but even if their method were correct, it could work in practice only if the destinies of men were always decided by majorities: and granting that the majority of men have common sense, are the minority of fools to count for nothing? Are they powerless? Have they had no influence on history?"

It might have occurred to any one else, that the very idea of an average implies such inequalities and irregularities. To what purpose would he apply that useful method of calculation? Sir Hudibras

"by geometric scale,
Could take the size of pots of ale.
Resolve by sines and tangents straight
If bread and butter wanted weight.
And wisely tell what hour of the day
The clock did strike by algebra."

Mr. Kingsley, we presume, would have recourse to an average to discover how many minutes and seconds there are in the "normal" hour. To an actuary he would say, "How, I ask, are we to make calculations about such a thing as the duration of human life? Many modern statisticians wish to draw the laws of it from the average of humanity. But granting that the majority of men have good constitutions, are the minority of valetudinarians to count for nothing? Are they powerless? Have they no influence on the rate of mortality?" To the novelist and professor of biography generalizations founded on averages will, of course, be of little use, just as they will not fix the duration of this or that man's life. But the historian, who has to deal, not with units but with masses, wants no surer basis for his inferences.

A little further on we have another onslaught on the law of gravitation.

"Man, all day long, has a free choice between even physical laws which mere things have not, and which make (*sic*) the laws of mere

things inapplicable to him. Take the simplest case. If he falls into the water, he has his choice whether he will obey the laws of gravity and sink, or by other laws perform the (to him) artificial process of swimming, and get ashore. True, both would happen by law; but he has his choice which law shall conquer, sink or swim. We have yet to learn why whole nations, why all mankind, may not use the same prudential power as to which law they shall obey." (p. 35.)

Once more, we say, does Mr. Kingsley seriously mean to assert that a swimmer is disobeying the laws of gravity? Our readers will pardon us for using such unmeaning language. It is not ours, but Mr. Kingsley's. Here, again, we have the adumbration of a new law, which it is to be hoped the scientific world will appreciate. It is—we use the terse and idiomatic diction of its discoverer—the law of swim. It seems to have a not distant affinity to the partially developed theory respecting the stone which we have already adverted to. We wait impatiently for a colligation and a formula.

After all, why should we argue the metaphysical question with Mr. Kingsley? Prevision is the test of science. If a man falls into the water, are we, or are we not, safe in predicting that he will try to get to shore? At all events, however perverse an individual might be, it is absolutely certain what a ship's crew would do. When we have so high a degree of certainty, there is surely the possibility of a science. Mr. Kingsley would admit that it is highly improbable that any life insurance society will ever be ruined by all its members cutting their throats. But his metaphysics will not allow him to affirm that it is impossible. "Any individual man," he would say, "can cut his throat; and I have yet to learn why whole insurance societies, whole nations, why all mankind may not use the same prudential power." That is the amount of uncertainty which, in his eyes, makes a science of human nature impossible!

Puffed up, we fear, by his last triumph over the law of gravitation, the Professor waxes defiant, and challenges Nature to come on:—

"Nature is strong, but I am stronger. I know her worth, but I know my own. I trust her and her laws, but my trusty servant she shall be and not my tyrant; and if she interfere with my ideal, even with my personal comfort, then nature and I will fight it out to the last gasp, and Heaven defend the right!" (p. 37.)

Certainly "as brave words as you shall see in a summer's day." We know what it is that goeth before destruction, or we should be amazed that, not content with uttering this stuff before a select audience, Mr. Kingsley should have surrendered it irrevocably to the handsome type and substantial binding of Messrs. Macmillan.

It is not, however, our object now to criticise the style of this performance. The slipshod, ungrammatical sentences, the mannerisms and the egotism which peep out in every page, generally in the shape of some affected parenthesis—all this may safely be left to the spontaneous judgment of all readers of any taste. We are, indeed, almost ashamed to have addressed ourselves to the task of exposing the feeble and transparent sophistry which Mr. Kingsley seems to have thought would find equal favour with highly educated men and with the public at large. However, a name goes a long way; and a popular writer, with a vulgar cry, may do more mischief than an abler man.

When a lengthy argument is based on so rotten a foundation as the confusion of two perfectly distinct ideas under one word, a critic is dispensed from doing more than pointing out the quibble. Mr. Kingsley, or any one else, is of course at liberty to coin a new word, or use an old one, in whatever sense he pleases, provided he gives due notice of the meaning he attaches to it. The licence he assumes may be very inconvenient and very ridiculous, but no one can then accuse him of equivocation and unfairness. What he is not at liberty to do is to ignore quietly a common and established use of a word, or to employ it in one sense when it is certain to be understood in another. If a man insists on calling a triangle a square, he must do as he likes; but then he must not go on to reason about it as if it had four sides. Now the word law is, as we have said, used by the scientific world to denote a uniformity observed in the course of nature. That in its original application it had direct reference to the will of a Creator, has nothing to do with the question. It has long been employed without any such reference. There are probably few astronomers who doubt that the planets were set in motion by an Almighty will. But such a supposition is not taken into account in astronomical calculations. Can Mr. Kingsley be ignorant that the particular school he is attacking has most carefully eliminated the idea even of a metaphysical entity which might seem to be involved in the term law. Some believe that law exists *ὄνκ ἀνεῦ Θεοῦ*, some do not; but all choose, for scientific purposes, to divest it of that association. They do not mean that the relations of succession or co-existence to which they apply this term are imposed as an obligation on phenomena, but simply that given certain causes, a certain result will follow. What have duty, disobedience, penalty, right and wrong, to do with such an idea as this?

But this is not the only inaccuracy in Mr. Kingsley's conception of law. Even when he has put aside, as he does from time to time, what we may call its forensic sense, and is employing it to denote the relations of phenomena, he treats it as a mysterious entity compelling matter into certain paths, struggling for the

mastery, sometimes triumphant, sometimes utterly defeated. He is "puzzled to see why a law, because it is immutable itself, should produce inevitable results." How shall we make him understand that law is not cause; that it is merely uniformity observed amid widely varying phenomena? The phenomenon is said to result inevitably from its antecedents. The absence of any counteracting cause is implied as a condition. "We may define," says Mr. Mill, "the cause of a phenomenon to be the antecedent, or the concurrence of antecedents, on which it is invariably and *unconditionally* consequent. Or if we adopt the convenient modification of the meaning of the word cause, which confines it to the assemblage of positive conditions without the negative, then, instead of 'unconditionally,' we must say, subject to no other than negative conditions."*

A falling stone is caught and retained in the hand. Its position there is the inevitable result of certain antecedents, one of which was the motive that induced the holder to catch it; another, his ability to do so; and a third, the mechanical force which caused it to approach his hand. It does not follow, however, because it was inevitable, that therefore it could have been predicted. The possibility of predicting it depends on the degree of acquaintance a bystander might have with the antecedents. But how does that impeach the inevitable character of the sequence itself? In proportion as antecedents are numerous and their relations complicated, the consequents are difficult to predict. The difficulty is one of calculation. In proportion as the former are unknown, the latter are uncertain. But uncertain in what sense? They are no less inevitable than those, the laws and antecedents of which are most thoroughly understood. It is we who are uncertain about them, and it is the object of all scientific inquiry to diminish such uncertainty.

Now, in what respect is this theory of causation inapplicable to the moral world? No one professes to predict with absolute certainty how an individual will act on any given occasion. Why? Because a complete knowledge of the antecedents, including not only the circumstances more immediately relating to the act, but those which have gone to form the character of the individual, cannot be obtained. The act is nevertheless the inevitable result of those antecedents. You are blinking the world-old argument between necessity and free-will, says the objector; what if the individual choose to act in opposition to all the motives that would naturally influence him, just to show that his will is free? The simple answer is, that the satisfaction arising from the gratification of such a desire is the antecedent which results inevitably

* "System of Logic," i. 352.

in the course adopted ; an antecedent, by the way, which one acquainted with his character might not improbably know and count upon.

The only objection that Mr. Kingsley, or any one else, can make to this argument is, that it is inconsistent with the dignity of man. But surely, then, the objectors had better reconsider their theory as to the true dignity of man. Liberty has a pleasing sound—*οὐνομα πάντων κάλλιστον ἔχει*—but it is a misuse of the term to apply it to the operations of the human will. Why not go further, and apply it to the intellect? Yet who feels his dignity humiliated because he is unable to choose whether he will believe that two and two make four? To speak of the determination of the will by motives as degrading to our dignity has always appeared to us as unmeaning and self-contradictory as it would be to complain of the subjection of man to his will. As far as words go, liberty seems as much outraged in one case as the other. Man's true dignity consists in endeavouring to check his selfish instincts, not in the assertion of an impossible liberty.

The possibility of a science of society of course depends on the possibility of a science of individual man. Unless the acts of each individual are the necessary results of certain causes, the phenomena of society, which is made up of many individuals, must be radically incapable of scientific explanation. It does not, however, follow that because we cannot lay down rules of any particular nature for predicting the conduct of individuals, therefore the data to which sociologic laws are to be applied are equally inaccessible to us. On the contrary, much of the uncertainty attendant on speculations respecting the individual, vanishes when we come to consider large masses of mankind ; the actions of the individual being, perhaps, determined mainly by peculiarities in his constitution or circumstances, while the phenomena of society result from such influences as are most general and universal, and, therefore, most capable of being investigated. "The statesman can get on well enough with approximate generalizations on human nature, since what is true approximately of all individuals is true absolutely of all masses."* The inherent capacity for scientific treatment is not, however, greater in one class of facts than in the other. The invariable and inevitable character of the sequence is not affected by our knowledge or ignorance.

Does then the scientific theory of human society deny the possibility of a modification of a course of events by the deliberate intervention of man himself? By no means. It has been especially insisted on by Comte (and the knowledge of this would have

* Mill's "System of Logic," ii. 131.

saved Mr. Kingsley, and others whom we could mention, much unnecessary declamation), that the power of modification varies as the complexity of the phenomena. In a simple science like astronomy interference is out of the question. In biology, so much more complex, considerable modification is possible, though the exact limits of it are not defined. In the phenomena of society, where the complexity is greatest, the power of modification is also greatest, and least capable of being defined. It is certain that the general tendency of the social evolution cannot be reversed or altered. But its intensity may be modified—its rate may be expedited or retarded, by legislation or other forms of intervention, just as medical skill may, within limits certain in themselves but to our apprehension indefinite, strengthen a weak constitution or prolong a precarious life, but is utterly incapable of reversing the progress from youth to old age or of producing immortality.

But, says Mr. Kingsley, such interference as this is sufficient alone to make social science impossible. "I am not sure but that the one fact that genius is occasionally present in the world is not enough to prevent our ever discovering any regular sequence in human progress, past or future." (p. 42.)

It has, indeed, been too common to write history as if its course had depended on the will of men of genius. Before a philosophy of history was dreamt of, this was but natural; and since a more rational method has been possible, writers intellectually unfit for speculation, or to whom the labour of it has been distasteful, have continued to pour forth floods of narrative on the old principle. England has been and is far behind the Continent in this respect, and therefore we cannot but regret that our two greatest living historians, Mr. Grote and Dean Milman, have not more formally enunciated and forced upon their readers' attention the philosophic method they so admirably apply. Their works have, of course, gained from an artistic point of view by keeping the scaffolding and machinery out of sight; but at present and for some time to come, scientific considerations ought to preponderate over æsthetic.

Men of genius, whether speculative or active, influence their age precisely in proportion as they comprehend and identify themselves with its spirit. Anywhere out of England this would be considered a truth hardly worth insisting on. Nowhere but in England—we might perhaps say but in an English university—would Mr. Kingsley find listeners when he asserts that Luther caused the Reformation. Does he mean to say that if Luther had stood in Wickliffe's place, Protestantism would have been born a century earlier, or that if he had been struck dead by the lightning flash at Erfurt its birth would have been prevented or even

materially delayed? If he does, we think we may leave him to the common sense of any one moderately acquainted with the history of the times. If he does not, what is the meaning of the flourish about "one Luther changing the thoughts and habits of millions"? Why on earth should it be the business of a true philosophy of history to show "why the average of Augustine monks, the average of German men, did not, by being exposed to the same average circumstances as Luther, become what Luther was?" That question, were it capable of solution, might be of some interest to the psychologist. The biographer of Luther will naturally have some theory on the subject. But the historian who should discuss it would proclaim his unfitness for the task he had undertaken. We are perfectly ready to admit that Luther's genius and character may have to some unknown extent reacted upon and coloured the reformation in Germany, and that if any other man had headed the movement the dates might have stood somewhat differently in our chronological tables. We do *not* think that in any case they would have belonged to the seventeenth century, or that the scene would have lain in Paris or Rome.

Mohammed, Bacon, and Napoleon are instanced by Mr. Kingsley as men who, like Luther, have "changed the thoughts and habits of millions." We would refer him to the masterly pages of Dr. Milman if he wishes to know how inevitable was the appearance and success of Islamism in all its main characteristics; where, again, we shall not be concerned to dispute the personal colouring given to that religion by its founder. Even that we shall deny to the Baconian philosophy, which like all other purely speculative systems influenced the world precisely in proportion to its truth. The genius of Bacon is no more imprinted on the inductive philosophy than that of Watt is on the steam engine. In speculative systems or mechanical inventions, whatever rests on no better reason than the authority of an individual, must be either superfluous or defective, and in either case will certainly be soon superseded. Both alike are called into existence by the corresponding state of progress whether intellectual or material. If Bacon had lived a century earlier or later, the inductive philosophy would have been the glory of another name. When Mr. Kingsley has considered the matter a little more attentively, he will, perhaps, see reason to believe that the mechanical skill of modern times is caused by the ever-increasing necessity for economizing human labour, and he will then cease to lift up his hands in helpless wonder at "the unexpected, complex, subtle, all but miraculous spiritual results of printing and the spinning-jenny." So simple an invention as printing was certain to come into use as soon as the demand for books became greater than the copyists could supply. If Mr. Kingsley can do nothing

better than wonder, and has no more satisfactory explanation of the phenomena of history than that they are unexpected and miraculous, we would suggest to him that he can do little for his pupils which they could not do equally well for themselves.

Napoleon was one of the few men of genius who have tried to reverse the laws of progress. Every one knows whether he succeeded. If a proof was wanted that his power, while it did last, was based not on his genius but on the fact that he at first understood and represented a strong and rational popular sentiment, it would be found in the final victory of that sentiment under the auspices of a man of far inferior genius, in spite of the temporary check consequent upon the violent intervention of the allied sovereigns. Waterloo is reckoned among the decisive battles of the world. We would call the attention of Mr. Kingsley and Sir E. Creasy to the fact, that it caused a parenthesis in French and European history which lasted exactly thirty-six years.

None of Mr. Kingsley's examples, unless it be the last, can be called crucial. They are compatible with his theory or ours. A great man was the organ of his contemporaries. He embodied their thought. The movement he initiated was crowned with success. He left on it the impress of his name, and it may be of his character, and superficial observers cannot be expected to distinguish accurately between the secondary influences that modified the phenomenon and the deep-seated forces which determined its essential characteristics; especially when the former are connected with the most prominent and picturesque features of history, while the latter are, from their very nature, abstract and difficult of detection. In history as in political economy, there is often, as M. Bastiat says, a vast difference between *ce qu'on voit* and *ce qu'on ne voit pas*.

We propose to follow Mr. Kingsley's example, and illustrate our theory by applying it to facts. Our object is not so much to verify a law as to exhibit its meaning in a concrete shape, since minds unfamiliar with the scientific treatment of human phenomena are apt to take fright at the necessarily sweeping and rigid terms of an abstract generalization.

The almost unanimous verdict of ancient and modern times has declared that Julius Cæsar was what Shakspeare calls him—"the foremost man of all this world." Never before or since has human being exhibited in so high a degree all the qualities, noble as well as useful, of a born ruler of men. Never had a great man a grander rôle to play. To preside over the most important crisis in the history of the most important branch of the human race—this was a task which could not but fall to a great man. It fell to the greatest. Here then, if anywhere, we shall see destiny shaped and bent by human genius. For once

the future of a nation, or rather of the world, is bound up in the life of an individual. He sees his way, this hero, and always has seen it. From early manhood, nay, almost from boyhood, has the great plan been maturing in the splendid calm of that self-contained, self-counselling mind. For nearly half a century he has marked the signs of the political horizon. No word has he breathed of his inner purpose. To the Pompeys, and Catos, and Ciceros he has been but a party-chief like themselves, dealing with events as they turned up. Pharsalia, Thapsus, Munda, have not opened the eyes of the aristocracy. They see his ambition, they feel his strength, they fear or affect to fear that he aims at royalty; but the Empire—the combination of the dictatorial and tribunitian powers, to be wielded in the interest, not of Rome nor of Italy, but of the world—that is an idea which one brain alone has grasped. One obstacle after another has been swept out of the great statesman's path. He stands, at length, where he always meant to stand. His true work lies before him, absolutely untouched, when a detestable conspiracy cuts him off, and the Empire, so far as it depends on the genius of Cæsar, is an air-built castle. What follows? The old situation is reproduced with really curious accuracy. The chances of the aristocracy may be estimated at about the same value. They have lost prestige, but they have gained experience; and there is no such foe to front them as Cæsar. The game is played over again, with hardly a variation in the moves; and at Philippi the reactionists are at length made to comprehend that they are beaten. How far was the history of Rome altered by the murder of Julius? His idea is reproduced and realized by a man every way his inferior. That it lost in nobleness and worth by the circumstances of its second birth, and the personal character of Augustus, no one will deny. But in the ordinary course of nature, Julius would probably have been dead by about 30 B.C.; so that, curiously enough, even the date of the accession of Augustus to the undivided rule of the Roman world would have stood as it does at present.

Our next instance shall be one that teaches the same reason, though in a different way. If we except Julius Cæsar, no great man has had such a magnificent field for the exercise of political ability as Charlemagne. With military and administrative talents of the highest order, he ruled Central Europe for forty-six years. Never was society in a more impressible and plastic state. The displacements consequent on the barbarian migrations had hardly ceased. Various races, forms of government and society, laws, customs, languages, religions, were in collision, not marshalled in opposite camps, but mingled in one weltering mass of discord and confusion. The Imperial organization was a

wreck, the feudal undeveloped. The traditions and institutions of the past, whether Roman or Teutonic, were alike incompatible with the new situation. Europe might seem to be a *tabula rasa* for a political genius of the first order. If the business of Caesar had been to adapt existing constitutional forms to new exigencies, with the smallest possible amount of change while radically altering the spirit of the system, on Charlemagne seemed to be imposed the necessity of at once creating the whole machinery of government, and supplying the force which should set it in motion; and this, while a large proportion of his subjects were utterly averse to his rule in any shape whatever. Great as the difficulties were which such an undertaking presented, there was at least room for originality of design; and since it fell to a man of such extraordinary capacity, it would be natural (on Mr. Kingsley's theory) to expect that the civilization then inaugurated should have reflected unmistakeably his mind and character, and have borne the ineffaceable impress of the aspirations that dictated his policy. Yet so far is this from being the case, that although Charlemagne gave his name to his dynasty and his epoch, although it is undeniable that his reign was the starting-point of modern civilization, it is a common remark that he left no trace of himself in history. If by this is meant that his actual work was ineffectual, and produced no change in the condition of Europe, no statement could be more erroneous. But if it asserts that his most cherished ideas did not fructify, gave little or no colour to political progress, perished, in short, with himself, then it is strictly and literally true. The real work of Charlemagne was done in those fifty-three campaigns which gave to Christendom that degree of security and order without which any progress was impossible. The results were negative rather than positive, and they are in consequence more easily overlooked. Central Europe was not again shaken by Teutonic or Saracenic invasions; for the predatory excursions from Scandinavia are not to be classed with the earlier migrations. That was the contribution furnished by Charlemagne to modern civilization. Any able ruler would have pursued the same policy at that epoch, according to the measure of his ability. When the Roman Emperors abandoned the traditions of the Republic, and relinquished the hope of extending the limits of the Empire, the offensive or conquering stage of war was for ever at an end.

Charlemagne spent his life in securing civilization against barbarism. Aurelian, Theodosius, Stilicho, Aetius did the same before him, and Alfred, Henry the Fowler, and Godfrey of Bouillon after him. Is it to be supposed that the necessity for such action was not seen by hundreds and thousands of their contem-

poraries; by the legionaries who raised one able general after another to the post of danger and responsibility; by the seven Saxon kings who consolidated the English monarchy; by the wise rulers who, for nearly two centuries, poured the chivalry of Europe on the centre of the Mohammedan power? They were the organs, more or less efficient, by which the tendencies of their times were expressed. The success of their respective efforts was no doubt determined, in a secondary degree, by the personal character and genius of the men. They moved on a track marked out for them; but the vigour and steadiness of their action depended upon themselves; in other words, on causes which baffle our investigation. A greater man than Charlemagne might have annexed Denmark; a smaller might have stopped short at the Weser. In either case the general laws which determined their conduct would have been the same, and equally accessible to our investigation. Or, again, if no great genius of the first order had arisen to preside over the crisis, it is impossible to doubt that the same work would have been accomplished by the combined or successive exertions of several leading men gifted with the ordinary good sense and energy which such a position implies, especially in stirring times.

But it will be said, was not the vast administrative system organized by Charlemagne all his own? Could an inferior mind have conceived and carried out the bold idea of reconstructing the empire of the Western Cæsars? Was this, too, but an expression of the tendencies of the age he lived in? Certainly not: the best proof of which is, that the magnificent edifice crumbled to pieces soon after the death of its founder. It was thoroughly personal in its origin and aim. It was eminently unsuitable to the needs of the age, and out of harmony with its tendencies. We do not care to insist here on the want of originality in the conception. We will not press our own opinion that its realization even for a time was only rendered possible by the warm co-operation of so impersonal an agency as the Church; a co-operation which was withdrawn when the special ends for which it had been given had been attained. It is enough to know that it failed, and failed precisely because it represented not the general reason of the many, but the genius of an individual. Nor was this failure partial—a mere distortion of the projector's purpose, producing a result, although unforeseen, yet still striking and permanent. No trace remained of the Imperial organization but the empty title of the German Cæsars. Everything fell back into the old ruts. The feudal system asserted its inevitable claim to preside over the European evolution, and he would be a bold man who should venture to specify one feature of French government or society under the early Capetians which would not have existed in much

the same state had Charlemagne been a simple mayor of the palace, like his grandfather.

We have examined the history of two great epochs. We have seen that the spontaneous evolution of society pursues its course uninfluenced either by the failure or the success of the man of genius. The guide who knows the road is snatched away at the critical moment; the guide who has mistaken it remains and does his office with unparalleled authority. But Nature is independent of both. She dispenses with the one, she counteracts the other; her majestic uniformity pervades and reigns over all.

Let us take a third instance, presenting conditions of yet another kind. No historical speculations are more attractive than those which have for their object to determine the results which would have followed from the non-existence or modification of some given antecedent. Every one remembers the brilliant remarks of Gibbon on the battle of Tours, and those of Arnold on Zama, and the catastrophe of Quintilius Varus. In such speculations the imagination will always be tempted to paint the most startling contrasts, and to take full advantage of the licence allowed by the hypothesis. Even Mr. Mill has expressed the opinion (surely a hasty one) that the battle of Marathon, even as an event in English history, is more important than the battle of Hastings, and that if the issue of that day had been different, the Britons and Saxons might still have been wandering in the woods.* When we couple this opinion with the deliberate judgment of Mr. Grote, that ordinary spirit and conduct must have crowned the Persian arms with success ten years later, it is perhaps worth while to inquire whether the personal character of Xerxes was really such an important element among the forces that have determined human progress.

Mr. Grote's conclusion is based on solid grounds, and does not admit of dispute. The question then is, how far would the Greek mind and character have been modified by an Oriental conquest? Now it is, we think, pretty clear that the occupation would not have lasted many years. Spite of appearances, the decadence of the Persian power was even then commencing. The most remote satrapies were naturally the first to fall off, and when Alexander landed in Asia the empire was already moribund. Nor was it only the virtual independence or open rebellion of ambitious satraps that boded the approach of dissolution. Egypt revolted as early as B.C. 486. Another revolt occurred in B.C. 460. Half a century later she achieved complete independence, and three more native dynasties were added to the long list of Pharaohs. What Egypt accomplished in B.C. 414 would not Greece have

* "Dissertations and Discussions," ii. 283.

reached half a century sooner? It is impossible to doubt that she would have shaken off the Persian yoke in B.C. 460-455, at the latest, when the whole power of the great king could hardly reduce the revolted Egyptians. Unquestionably Greece would have suffered from her subjugation. We cannot tell what modifications of her political and intellectual career would have been the result. The former, indeed, is of very little consequence, except so far as it influenced the latter; and it must be borne in mind that the paltry nature of political questions in Greek States was the main reason why the more eminent minds turned to speculation. But though the corresponding state of society must react powerfully on the intellectual movement, we are not sure that the evils of a Persian occupation, transient as it would have been, would have materially lessened the value of those treasures of thought that Greece has bequeathed to us. A war of liberation would have generated an exalted spirit of patriotism and self-sacrifice that must have gone far to purify the national character from all taint of slavery. We see in Italy, to-day, the moral effects of such a crisis.

The succession of the intellectual phase of polytheism to the theocratic was a necessary step in the human evolution. It was a step that could neither be omitted nor repeated. So much a comprehensive survey of the past permits us to establish. But the degree of development which the intellectual movement was to realize, the point to which it was to be emancipated from theocratic repression on the one hand and from military preponderance on the other—that would depend on the material conditions under which it took place, such as soil, climate, conformation of territory, and, in a less degree, race. It would naturally arise where these conditions were most favourable. No one will deny that Greece possessed them in greater perfection than any other country in Europe. If they had been more perfect, which we can without difficulty conceive, the intellectual movement would have gained, perhaps in rapidity, perhaps in diffusion, perhaps in intensity. If they had been less perfect it would have suffered proportionately. We think that even with the drawback of a Persian conquest the natural advantages of Greece would still have made her the seat of intellectual polytheism rather than Sicily or Italy. She did in fact undergo a revolution not very favourable to her appropriate work. What may not the world have lost by the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus? In any case we cannot admit that a different issue at Marathon would have affected the Britons and Saxons any more (to quote Sydney Smith) than a grain of calomel put into the Rhone at one end of the Lake of Geneva would physic all the Calvinists at the other.

The natural tendency of the human mind to hero-worship is a

healthy one, nor is it in any way checked or discouraged by such a theory of history as we have laid down. It has been asked how we can feel love or gratitude towards the human organ of a *necessary* progress? We are not curious about metaphysical dilemmas. It would be enough to answer that the recognition of necessity does not as a matter of fact exclude those feelings. But why should it exclude them? Parents are a necessary condition of our existence. If the injunction to honour our father and mother is one that commends itself alike to our sober reason and our instinctive sentiment, why should our gratitude to a Caesar or an Alfred be chilled by the reflection that they played as necessary a part in the history of humanity as any given generation of our progenitors who continued their species on the earth? If we had reason to suppose that those great men had benefited mankind against their own will, that the grand results which followed their lives had formed no part of their motives of action, that self-gratification had been their guiding principle, then, indeed, we might feel even less love and gratitude towards them than towards a happy geological formation or a fertilizing river. But those who loved humanity with so thoughtful and deep a passion, shall we not love them? What more irresistible *φίλτρον* than the feeling that we are loved? Does the son value his mother's affection the less because he knows that she could not withhold it even if she wished? It is the most sophistical of the tragedians who makes his hero disclaim all obligations to the woman who had saved his life with the base retort—

Ἔρωσ σ' ἠνάγκασε
Τόξοις ἀφύκτοις τοῦμόν ἐκσῶσαι δέμους.

If consequences are a test of truth it is worth remembering that the philosopher who created the scientific theory of history, and who realized to himself all the ideas it involves with a distinctness and conviction of which, perhaps, no other mind is at present capable, was also so deeply penetrated with love and gratitude to the great ones of the past that hero-worship became with him not a vague sentiment but a living faith, not a speculative tenet but a daily practice. We are not of those who believe that such a *culte* is destined to supersede the reverence of man for God. But it may be taken as an evidence of the sentiment which the scientific conception of history is calculated to evoke.

We are sorry to say that no passages in Mr. Kingsley's lecture are more worthy of censure than those, few as they are, in which his position is sound and his arguments in accordance with common sense. If there is one way of damaging an opponent more disingenuous, and therefore more irritating, than another, it is the trick of warmly defending some principle which commends

itself to the good feeling or common sense of every one in order to create the impression that it has been attacked. This is a favourite manœuvre of Mr. Kingsley, and deserves to be noticed as affording the measure either of his information or his candour. Thus, whenever he wishes to discredit the scientific study of history he calls it "the exact science of history," an expression and an idea alike unknown to the school which he is attacking. Take another instance. On the text that "the fruit of righteousness is wealth and peace, strength and honour; the fruit of unrighteousness, poverty and anarchy, weakness and shame," he bursts forth into this rhapsody of truisms:—

"Not upon mind, gentlemen, not upon mind, but upon morals is human welfare founded. The true subjective history of man is the history not of his thought but of his conscience; the true objective history of man is not that of his inventions, but of his vices and his virtues. So far from morals depending upon thought, thought, I believe, depends on morals. In proportion as a nation is righteous—in proportion as common justice is done between man and man, will thought grow rapidly, securely, triumphantly; will its discoveries be cheerfully accepted and faithfully obeyed, to the welfare of the whole commonwealth. But when a nation is corrupt, that is, when the majority of individuals in it are bad, and justice is not done between man and man, then thought will wither, and science will be either crushed by frivolity and sensuality or abused to the ends of tyranny, ambition, profligacy, till she herself perishes amid the general ruin of all good things. Self-interest may become, and will become, more and more blinded just in proportion as it is not enlightened by virtue, till a nation may arrive, though thank God but seldom, at that state of frantic recklessness which Salvian describes among his Roman countrymen in Gaul, when, while the Franks were thundering at their gates, and starved and half-burnt corpses lay about the unguarded streets, the remnant, like that in doomed Jerusalem of old, where drinking, dicing, ravishing, robbing the orphan and the widow, swindling the poor man out of his plot of ground, and sending meanwhile to the tottering Caesar at Rome, to ask, not for armies, but for Circensian games.

"We cannot see how science could have bettered those poor Gauls. And we can conceive, surely, a nation falling into the same madness, and crying 'Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die' in the midst of railroads, spinning-jennies, electric telegraphs, and crystal palaces, with infinite blue-books and scientific treatises ready to prove to them what they knew perfectly well already—that they were making a very unprofitable investment both of money and of time.

"For science indeed is great, but she is not the greatest. She is an instrument, and not a power; beneficent or deadly, according as she is wielded by the hand of virtue or of vice. But the lawful mistress, the only one which (*sic*) can use her aright, the only one under whom she can truly grow and prosper, and prove her divine descent, is virtue." (p. 55.)

The inference from all this is that certain people whose philosophy Mr. Kingsley dislikes undervalue righteousness and place science above morals. The principal exponent, however, of that philosophy expressly claims for it that it destroys root and branch the proud pretensions natural to the early growth of the scientific spirit which asserted the supremacy of the intellect over the moral sentiments. Sanctioning, he says, the universal experience of mankind, it explains why private happiness and public welfare depend far more on the latter than on the former.* What more would Mr. Kingsley have? But though human welfare depends more on the heart than the intellect, it is none the less true that human progress has depended on the latter. The heart must rule, the intellect must serve; but upon the intellect devolves the solution of the problems which it is for the heart alone to propose. They may be proposed for ever without any progress if the intellect cannot solve them. Our welfare depends upon our power of breathing and digesting still more than on our moral condition; but there has been no progress in those functions within the memory of man; and every one would see the absurdity of insisting that the true subjective history of man is the history not of his conscience but of his lungs and stomach; the true objective history not that of his vices and virtues but of his respiration and digestion. History is not concerned with statical but with dynamical relations. A history of vices and virtues is a simple impossibility. Let Mr. Kingsley try to make a rough sketch of one.

The best of it is, that, after his usual fashion, he innocently admits everything we contend for a page or two later. "As a people behaves so it thrives; as it believes so it behaves." (p. 59.) What is this but to subscribe without reserve to the thesis of Mr. Mill, that "there is one social element predominant and almost paramount among the agents of the social progression—the state of the speculative faculties of mankind; including the nature of the beliefs which by any means they have arrived at concerning themselves and the world by which they are surrounded?"† This great canon, to which Mr. Kingsley has (unconsciously, we are sure) given in his adhesion, is the foundation of the scientific theory of history. It was perceived by Condorcet. It has been demonstrated and developed by Comte. It is adopted and formulated by Mr. Mill. The first duty of the historian is to trace the successive stages of belief through which man has passed, and to connect each with the corresponding social state. His beliefs, observe, in *every* department of human knowledge, and

* Comte, *Système de Politique Positive*, i. 14.

† *System of Logic*, ii. 511.

by *whatever* means acquired; we must not, therefore, think of limiting our investigation to his beliefs about the supernatural, or to such only as are founded on revelation, or on instinctive sentiment. In every age the intellect has constructed some hypothesis to harmonize all that it accepted as truth, whether subjective or objective. This hypothesis is none other than its religious belief, which is therefore in necessary connexion with the whole field of human thought. Hence it has been that every theological system has had its cosmogony. Hence the opposition that every advance in truth has experienced, until it has been finally incorporated in the *orthodox* belief. The antagonism has not been between religion and science, as is popularly supposed, but simply between the old and the new. The religion which contradicts science has ceased to be religion. It is true, that the conflict has been much more conspicuous in the domain of physical than in that of ethical science; the reason being that the benevolent feelings inherent in man's nature, and their manifest consilience with his interests, caused him long ago to recognise the fundamental truths of morals. Morals, however, have not been wholly stationary, as Mr. Buckle maintains. Toleration, for instance, which is the result of something else than mere scepticism, is a modern idea. Even now, principles of international morality that will one day be consecrated by the universal consent of mankind, are not only habitually disregarded by statesmen, but openly denied by the guides of public opinion.

Whether, then, we look at physical or moral science, we see an unintermitted growth implying a corresponding change in religious belief. This is the true efficient cause of human progress. Mr. Kingsley admits the relation between one branch of speculation and material prosperity; or, as we should prefer to say, progress. "Men make the gods in their own likeness; then they copy the likeness they have set up. But whichever be cause, and whichever effect, the law, I believe, stands true, that on the two together depend (*sic*) the physical welfare of a people." (p. 60). But, surely, this is a very inadequate account both of the cause and of the effect. Religion, of whatever kind, consists, and has always consisted, of two parts. Man's beliefs have been either demonstrable, that is scientific, or undemonstrable, that is theological. The division is exhaustive, and of universal application. Any given synthesis, from the imaginary starting point of pure feticism to the latest phase of Christianity, has contained its element of theology; but it has also contained its element of science. Analyze it, and you find the theological element to be the margin or complement to the scientific; the former ever narrowing as the latter expands. Will

Mr. Kingsley ascribe so deep an influence on human affairs to the one and deny it to the other? Religion is something wider than a set of rules for propitiating the Deity; and thought is not confined to the invention of spinning-jennies. Undoubtedly it is hard to "see how science could have bettered those poor Gauls," or, we would add, theology either. If Mr. Kingsley had a clearer conception of the import of those terms, and their relation to one another, he would not talk of applying science to a diseased society, like a blister or a bolus.

We have now done with Mr. Kingsley's Lecture. We have not scrupled to speak plainly, because the occasion seemed to us to demand it. If the Professor has not made any valuable addition to the philosophy of history, he has at least thrown considerable light on his own powers, and on his qualifications for the particular post he has been selected to fill. The lecture is a bad one, from the title-page to the conclusion—bad in conception and in execution, in argument, in style, and even in grammar. Even those who share his opinions must admit that they have but little reason for feeling proud of their champion; and however landable they may think his spirit, however sound his principles, they will view with some apprehension his confirmed habit of publishing. But from that we have no wish to deter him, and the world will, no doubt, be apprized from time to time of the progress he is making in his new study. Fiction and theology are put aside—

"Nunc itaque et versus et cætera ludicra pono,
Condo et compono quæ mox depromere possim,
Ac ne forte roges, quo me duce, quo lare tuter;—"

But we must continue in his own words:—"it will be henceforth the main object of my life to teach modern history after a method which shall give satisfaction to the rulers of this University." There was a time when another career seemed marked out for the author of "Yeast" and "Alton Locke." But we are inclined to think that after all he has made a judicious choice; and if he can succeed in "dissipating the prejudice that exists against him on account of certain earlier writings," the repentance of even one sinner will probably be no small consolation to the orthodoxy of Cambridge in this day of trouble, rebuke, and blasphemy. The public, we suspect, will continue to prefer those earlier writings, and if Mr. Kingsley's name is remembered in the next generation, it will not be in connexion with a Lecture on the Limits of Exact Science as applied to History.

ART. II.—THE SICILIAN REVOLUTION.

1. *Relazione presentata dal Consiglio Straordinario di Stato convocato in Sicilia con Decreto Dittatoriale del 9 Ottobre, 1860.*
2. *Rapporte al Prodittatore dai Segretari di Stato.*

IF there be one part of Italy which would seem to recommend itself more naturally than another to the sympathies of England, that portion is Sicily. Her insular position, her ancient liberties, which grew up under a race of kings kindred to our own Norman sovereigns, her commercial capacities, her seafaring population, are all so many claims on our interest. To the antiquarian, to the ethnologist, to the merchant, she offers special objects of study. Within one small island, the first may observe and compare the monuments of many distinct races, and while he examines in turn the Cyclopean ruins near Cefalu, the remains of Grecian art at Syracuse and Girgenti (Agrigentum), the almost perfect Roman temples of Segesta and Selinunte, or the semi-Byzantine style of the Norman period, exemplified in the cathedral of Monreale, and the Palatine chapel at Palermo; the second may find matter for inquiry in the singular mixture of peoples which has resulted in the actual Sicilian, neither Greek, Arab, Norman, nor yet Italian in his nature, though with a visible admixture of the peculiarities of each of these types; and the third direct his attention to products rare, or even totally unknown, in the rest of Europe. But all these are specialities, interesting only to individuals, or at most to a portion of our community. Sicily, however, has yet another claim, and one of more general interest: she was occupied by our troops during the wars at the beginning of the present century; and her ancient constitution was revived and rendered applicable to modern exigencies under English influence, to be a few years later destroyed or made nugatory by the connivance, and even aid, of an English minister. These facts alone should excite our interest in the well-being of Sicily, and make us rejoice with more than a common joy when we see her chains broken, and the road to liberty and progress open before her. It is not our purpose here to revert to the acts either of Lord William Bentinck or Sir William A'Court, already elucidated in a recent number of this Review: the story of the last year offers events of fresher interest, and if we have alluded to the past, it was to remind our readers of the historical

connexion between their own island and that to which we now wish to direct their attention.

Under the Bourbon dynasty, the whole of Sicily resembled one vast State prison. Her position at the extremity of Europe enabled her rulers to draw, as it were, a sanitary cordon round her; a system of passports and custom-house vexations odious to freemen repelled the visits of foreigners. Neapolitan steamers alone visited the port of Palermo, and if that of Messina, on the high road to the East, was not so strictly guarded, the short stay of the foreign vessels, the precautions taken to prevent the landing, even for a few hours, of any passenger unprovided with a regular *visa*, effectually debarred strangers from any free communication with the inhabitants. Yet there were certain facts which could not fail to strike even the most superficial and unobservant of the few travellers who visited the island. In the days of the Greek Republics, the population of single cities was but little inferior to that which now occupies the whole island,* and Sicily, under the Empire the granary of Rome, was by the Bourbons reduced so low, that all stimulus to agriculture being gone since the prohibition to export grain, the fields were left untilled, and the production fell below the quantity requisite for the bare wants of the people. These facts testified to grievous bad government, and the existence of discontent could not be doubted when it was known that the King of Naples actually dared not levy recruits for his army in Sicily, lest, on the expiration of their period of service, they should impart some rude notions of military discipline to their fellow citizens, and so render more formidable the insurrections which periodically menaced his sway.

But all this was little known. For foreigners to take an interest in the cause of an oppressed people, it is necessary that their sufferings should be before the world, the theme of active discussion in the press, brought into relief by new and exciting events. Otherwise—especially in a busy country like England—fresh subjects start up to engross public attention; and as Spain, Greece, and Poland had successively been the objects of the liveliest interest and then sunk again into oblivion, so Sicily, after exciting our sympathy in 1848, was again forgotten amid the exciting events of the following eleven years. Schoolboys might still read of her as the scene of the first Punic war, traders in sulphur knew her as the market whence they obtained their goods, but by politicians her existence was scarcely even recognised. During the last year, the curtain has been raised, and before it again falls—this time, we trust, over peace and happiness instead of oppression—we could wish to place before our readers a

* 2,400,000.

somewhat connected view of the period of the revolution in Sicily, comprised between the 4th of April, 1860—the day on which the tolling of the tocsin in the convent of La Gancia, at Palermo, summoned the islanders to arms, and the 18th of February, 1861—when the representatives of Sicily first took their places beside those of the other Italian regions in the parliament-house at Turin. We are the more desirous of doing this, as hitherto only a portion of this period has been made known to the public, whose interest was roused by the arrival of Garibaldi, and when he crossed over to the mainland followed in his wake, unable to turn, even for a moment, from that most marvellous and romantic expedition, unparalleled in daring, unless by the march of Hernan Cortes and his Spaniards upon Mexico.

For ten years Sicily had lain in the deathlike sleep of despair. A few partial attempts at a rising, instantly and cruelly suppressed, had served rather to extinguish all hope than to animate the spirit of the people, and the police lorded it over the island without dread of a day of retribution. But during the latter months of 1859, a change gradually came on. Lombardy, the Romagna, had become free, why not Sicily also? and some bold hearts began to dream of the possibility of a movement. Still, though hearts might beat high, the chances, when calculated by the cold light of reason, were fearfully unequal, with an unarmed and undisciplined populace opposed to land and sea forces numerically powerful, furnished with all the engines of modern warfare, and in a position to destroy all the principal cities by bombardment. The attempt was deferred, but the idea had taken root and was making its way among the masses, less able to count probabilities, and therefore more hopeful of the issue. Thus, the excitement grew from day to day, and from week to week; arms were secretly introduced from without, explosive bombs were manufactured in the city itself. Maniscalco, the chief of the police, and his agents, felt insurrection to be in the air, and made arrests right and left; but, as in the days of the Sicilian Vespers so six centuries later, the conspiracy was in the minds not of a few individuals only, but of the whole people, and in order to arrest its march it would have been necessary to throw all into prison.

During Lent, the popular demonstrations in Palermo against the Government began to assume a bolder and more hostile character. At the Opera, during the performance of *Pisani*, when the chorus of “Viva Vittore” was sung on the stage, the pit responded by loud shouts of “Viva Vittorio,” in allusion to the King of Sardinia, and the theatre was in consequence closed—such are the fears and susceptibilities of a government relying on force alone. At length, during the night of the 4th of April, a

party of patriots, consisting almost entirely of the lower orders and of monks, assembled in the Franciscan convent of La Gancia, in spite of the police order which forbade any one to leave his home after sunset without special permission, and finding themselves discovered by the sbirri, gave the signal of insurrection by striking the tocsin, in obedience rather to an instinctive impulse than to any predetermined plan of conduct. At this sound, the police agents and the Bavarian mercenaries attacked the church and convent; the small band of defenders made a heroic resistance, but the military occupation of the city prevented any succour from reaching them; many, including several monks, were massacred on the very steps of the altar, which, as well as the sacristy, was immediately despoiled by the soldiery; others, desperately wounded, were dragged away as prisoners; and the remnant, a mere handful, escaped, at the risk of starvation, by taking refuge among the tombs in the vaults, whence they at length emerged, after a weary imprisonment, by breaking a hole through the outer wall, now marked with a tablet as the "*Buca della Salvezza*," the "*Hole of Safety*."*

Palermo itself, occupied with a garrison of twenty thousand men, every street occupied by the soldiery, the principal issues commanded by cannon, under the guns of the forts and the squadron, held down by main force, and precluded from open insurrection, could only express its feelings by daring demonstrations, while Maniscalco marked the last days of his power by excesses as great as ever stained the decline of a dying despot. Fourteen artisans were shot in one day, and ten nobles were flung into dungeons, their lives only being spared the more to overawe their families and connexions, while neither years nor sex were any guarantee against arrest and insult. Monks and nuns, their hair white with age, were torn from their convents and dragged manacled through the streets amid the taunts of the police, and their fate was shared by other prisoners scarcely above the age of childhood. But, in spite of all this violence, the tocsin of La Gancia did not remain without an echo. To keep down the movement, it would have been necessary to occupy every village militarily, and, large as the Neapolitan forces were, they did not more than suffice to hold the larger towns, and to detach flying columns against the insurgents in the country. In the interior, so naturally favourable to guerilla warfare, the peasantry rose in all directions, forming themselves into bands, headed by country gentlemen or parish

* Their escape was assisted by the poor people who inhabit that part of Palermo, and who, after feeding the victims for days through a grating, crowded round the hole that was making, thus finally enabling them to issue forth unobserved by the police.

priests, and though unable to cope with the troops in the field, they kept up the flame of insurrection; the sacking of Carini and other villages, and the massacre of their inhabitants, designed to strike terror, served instead as an incitement to vengeance, while it loosened the bonds of military discipline; and the signal fires, blazing every night on the hills round Palermo, kept up the spirits of the inhabitants by the certainty that their brethren were still in arms.

It may, perhaps, surprise our readers, used to consider the Catholic clergy as being everywhere the agents of despotism, to hear of priests and monks taking the lead in a popular insurrection. But the Sicilian priests differ in many respects from their continental brethren, owing to the peculiar constitution of the Church to which they belong. Bishops and canons there are no doubt many, appointed by the Bourbon government, who inwardly repine at the revolution, and dread the day when their rich revenues will be shorn by the application of the Sardinian law: but the lower clergy are of the people, with whom they sympathize; and it is not so many years since every priest in the interior said mass with his musket laid across the altar, ready for instant use. The problem of the nationality of the Sicilian clergy as a body, however, can only be solved by a historical explanation. Count Roger the Norman, first Christian king of Sicily, who in the eleventh century conquered the island from the Arabs, received in guerdon, from Pope Urban II., peculiar privileges, and being invested, for himself and his successors, with the title of Perpetual Legate, practically became the head of the Church within his own dominions.* Thus all the acts of ecclesiastical supremacy in other Catholic countries reserved to the Pope, are in Sicily performed by a prelate styled the "Judge of the Monarchy," in the name of the king, who, to symbolize his authority, sits on the right hand of the altar, at the head of the clergy, whenever he attends mass in the island. The consequence of this has been, that the Sicilian priests, having no feeling of dependence on the Pope, do not look to him as their natural and immediate sovereign, and Sicily has thus been saved from the evils attendant on an ecclesiastical *imperium in imperio*.

To return from this digression, which may perhaps be excused by the importance which all Sicilians attach to these privileges of their church:—had the insurrection been long left unsupported, it must, no doubt, have succumbed, despite the valour of the leaders and their bands. But Italy was no longer the land of

* It is a curious coincidence that these privileges should be identical with those bestowed on the kings of Hungary about the same period, in return for their voluntary acceptance of the Romish dogma.

internecine feuds between city and city, and while the youth of the whole peninsula panted to assist their island brethren, a chief was not wanting equal to the emergency, and unused to count odds in a patriotic struggle. On the 11th of May, Garibaldi landed at Marsala with that heroic battalion, gathered from every Italian province, which the history of Italy will call *The Thousand*, with a pride kindred to that with which the chroniclers of Greece recite the deeds of the *Three Hundred of Leonidas*. As a proof of the prodigality with which they gave their lives, suffice it to say that, at the end of last year, but four hundred and thirty-five remained alive, many even of these desperately wounded.

The numerical assistance thus afforded to the rising was insignificant, but the sword and name of Garibaldi sufficed to turn the scale: the insurrection broke out afresh in every direction, and the victory of Calatafimi inspired the Royalists with a salutary dread of their patriot adversaries. The latter soon reached the immediate vicinity of Palermo, and the fires on the hills increased both in number and brightness. An ingenious and successful stratagem induced the Neapolitans to send strong columns towards Corleone, in pursuit of a small detachment (for to the honour of the Sicilians be it said, that while every true patriot in Palermo knew the presence of Garibaldi, and messages passed daily between his camp and the city, the Neapolitans, with their army of spies and informers, were still absolutely without reliable information): the chief, profiting by this division of their forces, made a half circle through the hills, in the direction of Miselmeri, reached the city by a night march, surprised and overpowered the defenders of one gate, and before dawn was master of the centre of Palermo, where the two main streets which divide it into regular quarters intersect each other—thus cutting off the Royalists in the forts near the harbour from the larger body of their comrades who held the palace at the opposite extremity of the town—and had established his head-quarters at the municipality, close at hand. The move was masterly, and while it struck all with equal surprise, nothing could have been better calculated to alarm the Royalists, or to reassure the population, which, but twelve hours before, had been alarmed by the posting up of official placards announcing the defeat of Garibaldi and the total destruction of his bands.

The situation was, however, one of fearful danger, for the patriot soldiers had but three or four cartouches each, and their numbers were as one to ten. But fortune favours the brave, and their adversaries were Neapolitans, to whom Palermo, the city of barricades, has ever been a stage of fatal augury. Instead of attacking with the bayonet, and overpowering the enemy by sheer

weight of numbers, the Royalist soldiery in the palace began to plunder the neighbouring houses, while the forts and the squadron punished the city by a bombardment, the traces of which are still plainly visible in almost every street. These tactics, while inflicting great injury on individuals, both in life and property, without distinction of parties—and it so happened that some of the chief sufferers were precisely partisans of the dynasty—did little harm to the combatants, and allowed time for the construction of a formidable system of barricades, which turned the centre of Palermo into a regular fortress.

It would detain us too long were we to enter into the particulars of the bombardment and of the negotiations which ensued between Garibaldi and the Neapolitans, ending in the embarkation of the Royalists with arms and baggage, left to them by the romantic generosity of the victor, who, remembering they were of Italian birth, seemed to love his enemies next best after his own soldiers. The western part of Sicily had previously been evacuated, and by the end of June, or within six weeks of the landing at Marsala, the Royalists were concentrated within the fortresses of Messina, Milazzo, Agosta, and Syracuse, all on the northern and eastern coasts, while the rest of the island, up to their very walls, obeyed Garibaldi, governing as Dictator in the name of Victor Emmanuel.

We have lingered willingly over this epoch of the Sicilian revolution, not only on account of its intrinsic romance, but because during it alone can we give way to thorough admiration and approval of its hero; whom, while considering his marvellous exploits and untainted personal character, we would fain deem above all human weakness. But this is an illusion in which we are forbidden to indulge. After attaining the zenith of his glory as a leader of irregular warfare, and effecting the liberation of a kingdom with a thousand half-trained soldiers, assisted by the numerous but quite undisciplined bands that joined him after his landing, Garibaldi was now to assume other duties, and play the part of a statesman, for which he was unfitted both by nature and education, while he thought to supply all deficiencies by rectitude of intention, and trusted blindly to those around him who enjoyed his personal affection, and but too many of whom were unworthy of his confidence. It affords a sad criticism of his government when we note that the most eminent Sicilian patriots, whether we look to those who had spent eleven years in exile, or those who had remained within the island, were fain to hold themselves entirely aloof, or, after undertaking office, to resign it again in a few days, finding it utterly impossible to carry the measures they deemed most essential to the good of their country, while their places are taken by men comparatively obscure, and who, how-

ever honest, could therefore effect much less good at a time when the whole power of government consisted in its moral influence.

The first and chief error of Garibaldi was what we must deem a misconception of his own position. On a large scale, the duties of a dictator much resemble those of a trustee, both being appointed for a special purpose, with powers that cease as soon as that object is attained. This is the essential difference between a dictatorship and an absolute monarchy: both have the right of using despotic means; but the latter exists of itself, without a defined object, whereas the former, being but a delegation, all authority belongs in theory to those by whom it was delegated, that is, to the nation, by whom it may rightfully be resumed as soon as the object is attained, or if the dictator swerves from the path marked out for him to follow. As a whole people cannot exercise this right, a dictator is accountable to the Parliament, legally chosen, wherever the constitution of the country provides such a body. Practically absolute, in theory a dictator has only the choice of the means he shall employ: he has no right to change, or even to modify, the object he undertook to achieve when he assumed office. Modern Italy has copied the institution from ancient Rome: the history of the Republic amply proves the fundamental truth of the maxims we have just laid down. We read, in fact, that at home a dictator was always chosen for a fixed time, and that if the danger, to provide against which he was appointed, ceased before that period had elapsed, he was bound to resign his extraordinary powers.

If we apply these principles to the case before us, we find that Garibaldi was acknowledged as dictator by the guerilla chiefs who joined him on his march to Palermo, and by the municipalities of the towns of the interior, for the special purpose of driving out the Neapolitan garrisons, and of restoring to the Sicilian people the rights of which they had been deprived during eleven years. The standard of insurrection having been originally raised in the name of Italy and Victor Emmanuel, he could not hesitate as to the rallying cry he should adopt; but as soon as the island was free, it was his duty to summon the Sicilian Parliament, conformably to the constitution. We are far from blaming Garibaldi for his refusal to adhere to the petition for immediate annexation to Northern Italy, voted by the newly elected municipal council of Palermo at its first meeting, though he need not have accompanied that refusal by severe censure, nor by the menace of abandoning Sicily if his measures were to be criticised. We are rather inclined to regard as an illegal stretch of power the decree of October, by which he finally ordered the vote of annexation to be taken by universal suffrage; but we cannot but

consider his hostility to the Parliament as a most grave and grievous error. That assembly, one of the most venerable in Europe, not only theoretically possessed the right of disposing of the crown, but had actually exercised it, not only in the middle ages, by conferring Sicily successively on the Houses of Suabia and Arragon, but as recently as 1818, by electing the Duke of Genoa as king; and the violence and tyranny of the Neapolitans during eleven years assuredly did not suffice legally to abrogate the ancient laws. It is therefore obvious that the Parliament alone had the right of disposing of the country, of constituting a regular government, and of innovating on more antique forms, by ordering a vote by universal suffrage to ratify its own decision; and it was the unanimous adoption of these views by the most distinguished Sicilians at this period (later, some of them advocated the immediate appeal to universal suffrage, alleging, as they could not defend it in principle, that it was the readiest means of escape from the abnormal conditions of the Dictatorship), which excluded them from the confidence and councils of Garibaldi, leaving him surrounded by Sicilians of a very different stamp, or by his followers from Northern Italy, naturally unacquainted with the wants and peculiarities of the island, and without any special interest in its welfare.

The truth was, that both Garibaldi and his secret counsellors regarded Sicily as a means to an end. The chief, naturally a man of the most romantic disposition, had just enjoyed the rare privilege of realizing a project wild as a dream; and deeming no obstacle could stand against his own good fortune and the bayonets of his volunteers, saw in the island a stepping-stone from which he might proceed to liberate Naples, Rome, and Venice, and even to reconquer Nice; and he feared that a Parliament would impose limitations on his power, and prevent his turning all the resources he had just acquired to the realization of his favourite schemes. His advisers, without the honesty and singleness of mind which throw a halo of poetry over even the gravest faults of Garibaldi himself, encouraged him in these ideas, and lashed into fury his sentimental dislike of all those who had had a hand in the alienation of his native province—for they had views of personal aggrandizement and vengeance, which would have been thwarted either by an immediate annexation, or by the formation of a government of really independent men, responsible to a Parliament.

This error, with its consequences, became the source of great evil to Sicily, from which she suffers at this hour, and will continue to suffer for a considerable time. Friend was set against friend, brother against brother, the truest hearts, the wisest heads, being set aside; energies which, harmoniously exerted,

might have been productive of great good, were paralysed or consumed in fruitless struggles. During the first absence of Garibaldi from Palermo affairs went comparatively well. Depretis, a Piedmontese by birth, who acted as pro-dictator, inspired confidence by the liberality and moderation of his character; and he was known to be personally favourable both to the Parliament and to a prompt termination of the existing abnormal state of things: but his patience was tired out by seeing his decisions continually overruled, and his acts reversed by superior authority: Garibaldi, first in a public speech made at Palermo in the last days of August, and then in a written proclamation sent from Naples, denounced as a traitor whosoever should advocate immediate annexation, and followed this up by the appointment as pro-dictator of Mordini, a man whose political antecedents and private reputation were not such as to inspire blind confidence in his professed desire to see Italy united under one sceptre; and though after the event we are inclined to believe him sincere—we cannot wonder if he met the fate of the boy in the fable, who cried “Wolf” so often in sport, that when he really required help he was no longer believed. Parties now rose high. The unconditional annexionists, suspicious of the issue, and fearing lest an assembly elected under such auspices might prove the theatre of republican intrigues, now urged immediate appeal to the people: the so-called Autonomists, more justly styled Constitutionalists, equally desirous of investing Victor Emmanuel with the crown, were not to be shaken in their opinion that the Parliament alone could legally dispose of the throne, and desired to attach to the gift certain conditions, by which the maintenance of the ecclesiastical privileges, and of the separate civil and judicial administration of Sicily should be guaranteed; while the restless spirits who in quiet times are kept under by the general accord of society, but ever rise to the surface in periods of revolution, sought to sow doubt and division by insinuating that the royal government of Northern Italy only desired the annexation of the South, in order to enlarge Piedmont and form a centralized State, thus stirring up the passions most capable of inflaming the minds of Sicilians, who have suffered too much from centralization under the Bourbons, not to dread the very mention of such a system.

These parties were agitating, but to a great extent holding each other in check, when the issue was precipitated by two events extraneous to the island—the one the vote by which the Parliament of the North authorized the king to accept and confirm, by royal decree, the spontaneous and unconditional offers of annexation; the other the unexpected resistance of Capua to the troops of Garibaldi, which obliged the latter to seek the assist

ance of the regular army of Victor Emmanuel, already on the Neapolitan frontiers, after achieving the liberation of Umbria and the Marches. The immediate consequence in Sicily was the revocation of orders just prepared for the election of deputies, and the substitution of a decree ordering a direct appeal to the people. On the 23rd of October, 1860, half a million of votes testified that Sicily was desirous of forming part of the Italian kingdom, while the fact that scarcely more than one vote in a thousand, in a contrary sense, was placed in the urn, served to show that, though their numbers were insignificant, the opposing party enjoyed the fullest liberty of action. Unhappily, however, the unanimity of the vote did not imply uniformity of opinions, the majority was made up of distinct parties, acting from various motives, and serious difficulties were thus preparing for whatever government should succeed that of the pro-dictator, under whom, as a merely temporary authority, they kept quiet, reserving their forces for more serious struggles. The vote was taken, as we have said, on the 23rd of October, but six weeks elapsed before it could be ratified by the sovereign-elect, and during this time the pro-dictatorship continued to be the government of the island, and in justice to it we must, before proceeding further, notice the material position of Sicily under its rule, also the report of the Extraordinary Council of State, which, as a programme acceptable to the greater part of Sicilians, is likely to exercise no small influence over the future organization of their country.

To begin with the finances—the nerve of Government: one of the first acts of Garibaldi was the abolition of the tax on the grinding of grain—one cruelly oppressive to the poorest classes—and of that upon stamps; thus diminishing the yearly income of the treasury by 3,883,000 ducats (776,600*l.*), and leaving it without other resources than the tax upon landed property (amounting in Sicily to twelve per cent.), and the customs. The latter were of little assistance, however, for the heavy dues imposed by the Bourbon tariff had given rise to a vast system of smuggling; and with a view to extinguish this, the duties on foreign trade were reduced, and all restrictions on commerce with the rest of Italy removed. A certain amelioration was thus obtained; but neither this, nor a tax of two per cent. imposed on ecclesiastical property, sufficed to cover the expenses of Government, heavily increased by the necessities of the war. It was necessary to appeal to credit, and a sum of 1,160,000 ducats, or 232,000*l.*, was thus obtained. Altogether we find that, from the 27th of May to the 20th of November, the day to which the published accounts of the pro-dictatorship came down, the total receipts of the treasury amounted to 5,457,817 ducats (1,091,563*l.* 8*s.*), and the payments to 5,364,669 ducats (1,072,933*l.* 16*s.*), of which more

than three-fifths (3,612,362 ducats) were spent for military purposes, as well as another sum amassed from voluntary contributions, and amounting to no less than 925,566 ducats. In addition to the small excess of receipts over expenditure, the treasury also possessed an insignificant sum in gold, the titles of debts owing to it, and a part of the national loan not yet realized, all of which together amounted to 1,318,816 ducats (269,763*l.* 4*s.*), a prospect, on the whole, not very encouraging to the new rulers, who, with receipts diminished by the abolition of taxes, were to grapple with expenses increased by heavy additions to the national obligations.

Such being the expenditure during a period of six months only, we might at least expect to find proportionate results; but the other reports before us are chiefly remarkable by the absence of all salient points, and the small progress made in re-organization. That this should be the case in the department of foreign affairs, which had little to do, and was destined soon to disappear, occasions us no surprise; but we cannot but own to a feeling of disappointment when we read that the principal subjects to which the Minister of the Interior directs attention are reforms in the regulation of the Female Orphanage, of the Board of Public Health, and in the condition of condemned criminals. The Minister of Justice has nothing to record but changes in the personal composition of the courts under his superintendence; while his colleague for Public Instruction, after drawing a most melancholy picture of the systematic neglect of education under the Bourbon rule, has at least to tell us of the introduction of the law of Northern Italy, of the erection of new professorships in the Universities of Palermo, Catania, and Messina; of the increased stipends allotted to the professors, and of the measure by which the confiscated property of the Jesuits was applied to the requirements of primary and secondary instruction. Furthermore, he records the decree by which the concessions that Ferdinand II. had made to the Pope in religious matters were declared null and void. Finally, to conclude with the civil administration, the Minister of Public Security has to state that the change from a tyrannical to a free government was effected without increase of crime, and that the internal peace of the island was preserved almost uninterruptedly throughout the revolutionary period, owing to the zeal and patriotism of the National Guard.

These results of a six months' administration are indeed small; but it may be alleged that the country was at war, and that the chief attention of the Government was thus absorbed; and if we found a corresponding activity in that department, the excuse would be a valid one. Unfortunately, however, the report of the Minister of War is the most disappointing of all, and that of the

Marine is entirely absent from the official collection. No tables are given of the number of men under arms, of the corps already organized, or in course of formation ; for, as is confessed with singular candour, the data for drawing them up were entirely wanting ; but, after announcing the establishment of an asylum for the wounded, the Secretary of State goes on to describe an organization so defective, that by his own account a considerable number of officers had either never been appointed at all to the grades they occupied, or had obtained their nominations in the most irregular manner ; while others, with better written titles, were either quite unworthy to figure by the side of honourable men, or loitered idly in peaceful towns instead of taking their share of the perils of the campaign. The pay of the army was not better systematized than the promotions. Not only were officers in the same corps remunerated according to different scales, but the minister is forced to acknowledge that the pay received was but too often in inverse proportion to the services rendered ; and that while many who did nothing received war rations, others daily exposed to the fire of the enemy were left almost in misery, because they had been neglectful of their own interests. Sad confessions these, especially when we remember that the army was composed of volunteers ; and while they increase our wonder at the results obtained, they fully account for the imperious necessity of breaking up the Garibaldi forces ; for though some salutary rules for organizing the system of pay and promotion were laid down in the last weeks of the pro-dictatorship, they could not strike at the root of an evil which had grown with the growth of the army itself. On the whole, it would appear that the administration was the least defective portion of the military system, for at least we learn that the ministry was able to supply not only the army, but the greater part of the National Guard, with a sufficient quantity of arms and uniforms.

Our readers will probably look to us for some explanation of the disorder and inactivity we have been forced to describe, and which affords so unfavourable a contrast to the state in which the Emilia and Tuscany were handed over to the royal Government but eight months before. In Central Italy all the foundations of a complete civil union were already laid, the newly raised regiments were fit to take their places beside the old soldiers of the north, and on the first trial they have shown themselves nowise inferior either in courage or discipline, while in the south, though the populations were no less enthusiastic, and the vote that emanated from the ballot-box no less eloquent, when the day of annexation came, little or nothing had been done to prepare the way, and the army, in spite of its incontestable valour, was found to afford embarrassment rather than increase of strength to the

regular troops. Why should this be? The explanation, unhappily, is but too easy, and, however painful, it must be given. The rulers of Central Italy were well acquainted with the region they undertook to govern—their path was plain and straight, they pursued no visionary after-thoughts, and thus they could call to their assistance and thoroughly trust the very best and ablest men in their respective provinces. Far different was the case in Sicily: neither Depretis nor Mordini were natives of the island; and while they could not know of themselves what reforms were most urgently needed, they, as we have already stated, were denied the assistance of those most capable of enlightening them. We are disposed to give the ministers they appointed all credit for honesty and good intentions, but in addition it would have required an energy far above the common, and only to be expected from men who could have felt their names were known throughout Italy, and that they had high reputations at stake, to struggle against the conviction impressed on them by events, that details alone were left to their uncontrolled decision, and that all acts of real importance, especially if bearing on politics, were liable to be modified, or wholly reversed, by a ruler at a distance, himself confessedly unacquainted with the elementary principles of administration, and guided by secret and irresponsible advisers. To give an instance of this, Depretis had concluded a contract with a foreign company for the construction of the chief railway lines required in Sicily, on terms singularly advantageous. The works were to begin immediately, and had this arrangement been ratified, would now have been in a fair state of progress. But Garibaldi chose to sign another contract* with a banking-house at Leghorn, assigning to its partners the exclusive right of constructing railways in the Two Sicilies, on conditions so onerous to the State that it will be necessary to annul the whole arrangement before any works can be undertaken—a necessity which entails the loss of a year at least, no small evil in countries the most pressing requirements of which are the opening of communications which may facilitate the development of commercial activity and the revival of industry by offering remunerative labour to a population whom the systematic negligence of the fallen Government left to linger without work. Such a fact as this was indeed discouraging, and the evil was increased by the caprice and vacillation of the supreme authority, which varied with the changes of the political atmosphere as a thermometer with those of heat and cold; for

* We have been credibly informed that the dictator signed this contract *without even reading it*, and we incline to believe the report, for the disproportion between the guarantee required and the advantages proposed could scarcely have failed to strike even one thoroughly unaccustomed to business.

while a victory, by flattering the inmost aspiration of the chief, rendered him hostile to any measure which might impede their immediate realization, a check forced him back to the practical conception of a speedy union with Northern Italy.

A few days before that fixed for the vote by universal suffrage, the pro-dictator Mordini, as if remorseful for the illegal act he had ordered and was about to execute, decreed the convocation of an Extraordinary Council of State, charged to draw up a report on the position of Sicily, and to make recommendations as to her future government. As members of this council he appointed three of his own ministers, the chiefs of the constitutionalist party, and several jurists of distinction. We have already alluded to their report, drawn up by Professor Michele Amari, the well-known and learned historian of the Sicilian Vespers, and unanimously agreed to by his colleagues, and we now propose to return to it somewhat more at length, as this programme had considerable influence on the events which followed the installation of the royal Government, and formed the basis of nearly all the electoral addresses published two months later. The report opens by a general comparison of the systems of administrative centralization and decentralization, and after concurring in the recommendation already made by the Council of State assembled at Turin, that Italy should be organized in regions delineated on a historical basis, and endowed with a representative self-government competent to transact all their internal business, proceeds to show, in the first place, that the geographical position, the traditions and legislation of eight centuries, and the material conditions of Sicily, in all respects so far behind those of the rest of Italy, all unite to render a separate internal administration peculiarly desirable for the island, as a region which would suffer more than any other were all its affairs to be referred for final decision to a distant capital. Secondly, the report demonstrates the inapplicability of various taxes adopted in the north of Italy, but which would be oppressive in Sicily, owing to the comparative poverty of her inhabitants; and particularly deprecates the introduction of the royal monopoly of salt and tobacco, as trade in both of these articles, especially in sea and gem salt, may become a source of great profit if left in the hands of private individuals, proposing to compensate the Treasury by a system of moderate import and export duties. Referring to the small amount of the National Debt in Sicily, it is explained that this is solely owing to the total want of public works, and proposes that if the debt of all Italy be consolidated, and the interest made chargeable on the whole state, Sicily should be inscribed for a sum proportionate to her population, and thus obtain a fund for the construction of roads, the draining of marshes, the building of bridges, and regu-

lation of rivers, to which it also urges the application of the profits of the sale of lands in mortmain. Lastly, the report advocates the maintenance of supreme courts of appeal in the island, and the preservation of all the ecclesiastical privileges attached to the crown of Sicily, embodying its recommendations in twenty articles, the chief of which may be summed up as follows:—The maintenance in Sicily of her ancient laws until they shall be modified by the Italian Parliament; her organization as an administratively independent region under a lieutenant-general intrusted with all executive authority, and assisted by a regional council chosen by direct election, on the basis of one member for fifty thousand inhabitants; the government thus constituted to have full power over the educational establishments, the public works, and charitable institutions of the island, and privileged to impose regional taxes for these purposes; the recommendations as to the preservation of judicial and ecclesiastical independence, and as to the public debt, are also re-stated in a succinct form.

The report naturally had no positive or legal authority; it was but the expression of a wish and a prayer addressed by a number of eminent Sicilians on behalf of their countrymen to the royal Government of which they were about to become subjects; but its recommendations were so reasonable, and for the most part based on grounds so serious, that they met with the concurrence and approval of the great majority of Sicilians; and though many, perhaps, would have been personally willing to sacrifice more of liberty to the grand object of national unity, even they could not but acknowledge that a fusion for which nothing had prepared the way would not offer the desirable guarantees of permanency; and that above all, any system of centralization, so contrary to all traditions and habits, would certainly prove distasteful in Sicily. Thus the document acquired a moral weight extraneous to itself, and it was confidently expected that though some of its recommendations might not be finally adopted, no unnecessary innovations at least would be made without the sanction of Parliament, and without giving the Sicilian deputies an opportunity of making known the circumstances and wishes of their constituents. With this hope, and earnestly desirous of emerging at once from the abnormal position of the dictatorship and from the state of isolation which had precluded her from all external contact for so many years, Sicily awaited, at the end of November, 1860, the arrival of Victor Emmanuel, and of the Government which was to make her an integral part of the great Italian kingdom.

On the first of December the King landed at Palermo, and was received with an enthusiasm which he himself, so used to popular applause and homage, emphatically declared to be unequalled. The next day was accomplished the sixth of those grand and

simple acts for which history affords no parallel, but which, within a year, have raised Italy from a geographical expression into a great State. A formal document, expressed in studiously plain language, declaring the desire of the Sicilian nation to form part of the Italian monarchy, and the acceptance of their votes by the sovereign elect, was drawn up and signed by Victor Emmanuel on his own behalf, and that of his descendants, and by Mordini, as pro-dictator, on that of Sicily, in the presence of the highest administrative, municipal, judicial, and ecclesiastical authorities of the island, who added their names as witnesses of the solemn act.

Sicily was thus transferred from the government of Garibaldi to that of Victor Emmanuel, and it became the duty of his ministry to provide for her government during the provisional period which was still to elapse before the assembling of the future parliament. The popular enthusiasm for the dictator was still intense, and had lately been over-excited by his withdrawal to Caprera, apparently slighted and unrewarded; the people saw in him the Liberator who had broken the yoke of the Bourbons, and had avenged the wrongs of Sicily by entering Naples in triumph; the few only, more capable of judging, and better acquainted with the real state of affairs, saw the faults and omissions of his administration; but even they were so far dazzled by the brilliancy of his military exploits as to be ready to resent any want of outward respect towards him and his as an insult to the country itself. In this conjuncture, which required peculiarly delicate handling, it was unfortunate that Count Cavour, whose eagle eye would not have failed to take in the whole situation at a glance, should have been prevented by pressing business from accompanying his sovereign to Sicily. Judging from a distance, and compelled to act on the reports of others, he fell into a most natural but serious error. Among the Sicilians, with whom their long stay in Piedmont had brought him into contact, were two, La Farina and Cordova, both men of high abilities, and the first of whom had rendered undoubted services to the cause of Italian Unity. Like their fellow-exiles, these gentlemen were anxious to return home after the liberation of Palermo; but instead of being received, or even allowed to land, they were immediately expelled, on the express ground that their known partiality for immediate annexation made their presence dangerous to the dictatorial government. Little thinking that La Farina and Cordova had been the victims of the personal enmity of one who possessed the ear of Garibaldi, Count Cavour argued from these premises, that two individuals who, in their private capacity, inspired such alarm as could alone account, on public grounds, for so arbitrary an act as their expulsion, must be possessed of great local

influence and popularity, and were, therefore, the very men best fitted to be sent to Sicily as the official advisers of the newly-appointed Lieutenant-General, the Marquis of Montezemolo.

As it happened, however, this plausible reasoning had no foundation in fact. To gratify private hate, La Farina and Cordova had been invested with an importance to which they had no claim, and the susceptibility of Garibaldi on the sore point of Nice worked up into acts which had rendered them his deadly foes. ~~As~~ Aware of this enmity, the Sicilian people, sensitively alive to any fancied slight to their Liberator, chose to imagine that the appointment of two men, whose very names had almost been forgotten during their exile, was prompted by the deliberate design of insulting Garibaldi and his friends, and drew a confirmation of this idea from the fact that the Viceroy himself had been Governor of Nice at the time of the cession. Nor was this notion confined to the lower classes; the real personal unfitness of the new Councillors of Lieutenantancy impressed it on the minds of many who could not be considered blind partisans of the Dictatorship; and while the really attached followers of Count Cavour were unanimous in deploring the mistake that had been made, they were almost alone in considering it to be one. The new government was, therefore, received with extraordinary coldness and suspicion. With the most upright conduct and impartial policy, it would have been difficult for them to win public confidence; whereas their very first acts were such as to betray the spirit of personality by which they were animated. For our own part, we are far from considering the bestowal of crosses or ribands as any extraordinary favour calling for the especial gratitude of the individual so honoured: we know of few orders, if any, the recipients of which have always been selected so carefully as to make the wearing of their distinctive badges in itself a proof of unusual desert; but there are, nevertheless, times at which the omission to confer them becomes an act of ungraciousness, or even a marked insult, and we can imagine no occasion more fitting than the spontaneous dedication of a fair and noble province, to inspire the bestowal of marks of favour towards those by whom the act had been consummated. Accordingly, the chief rulers of Tuscany, the Emilia, and Naples, had been invested with the Order of the Annunciata, the highest in the gift of the Italian monarch, and the royal commissaries in Umbria and the Marches, as well as the chief members of the respective five governments, also received distinguished proofs of the appreciation their conduct had merited. It would have been natural to do the same in Sicily: but, on the contrary, Mordini and his ministers were suffered to withdraw unrewarded, under the implied accusation of having been secretly hostile to the annexation; the Duke

of Verdura, one of the ten nobles imprisoned in the beginning of the Revolution, and who as a Prætor (or mayor) of Palermo, had complimented the king on his landing in the name of the city, to whom it was impossible to refuse a decoration, received one of so inferior a class, that its bestowal rather seemed an insult than a reward, and this solely because he has been appointed to his office under Garibaldi; while the very few real distinctions bestowed were reserved for men who had either done nothing, or had been distinguished by their zeal for immediate annexation.

It being well known that the king takes no personal part in the bestowal of such honours, the blame of these childish acts of vengeance fell all the more heavily on the Councillors of Lieutenantancy, to whom the invidious selection was attributed. It may perhaps be thought that such pettiness deserved rather to be punished by the lash of ridicule, than to be visited with serious indignation; but, as faint flashes of lightning are often the precursors of a violent storm, so these absurd reprisals were the introduction to the series of acts, by which, in the course of twenty-seven days only, La Farina and Cordova (the Lieutenantancy-Council really consisted of five members, one for each department of civil government; but the remaining three exercised an influence so inferior to that of their colleagues, that it is but justice to attribute to the latter, and especially to the first, as president of the council, specially charged with the administration of the interior and public security, the almost undivided responsibility of the faults committed) contrived to make Sicily a theatre of disorder and factious contention, and even seriously to imperil that great edifice of national unity which has need to be both completed and consolidated before it can be pronounced safe from all possibility of damage. It would perhaps be unfair to charge them directly with all the evil that was produced; nay, we are even disposed to admit some of their acts to have been wise and right in themselves; yet, even these were tinged by so strong a mixture of personality and vengeance, as afforded but too favourable a field for the intrigues of that anarchical and republican party which, so often foiled of late by the good sense of the Italian people, has not yet lost hope of renewing the ills it worked in former times, and never fails to raise its head at the slightest sign of dissension among its adversaries, and shrinks from no measure that may assist its aims, even now that, no longer daring to appear under its own banner, it professes to have rallied round that of Garibaldi.

From the moment he assumed power, La Farina had displayed his spirit of hostility towards the friends and ministers of the dictator: within a few days Palermo assisted at the strange spectacle of the minister of a king, who had just been received

almost as a divinity, taking up his abode in the palace, and not daring to quit the asylum where he felt himself safe under the twofold protection of the National Guard and of the regular army; and while the sovereign had shown himself freely among his people, the Councillor of Licutenancy was afraid even to appear in the streets; and while his agents, recalling the time of Maniscalco, were publicly escorted by the police, he himself issued his decree from behind a double row of bayonets. Neither persons nor acts were spared. Whoever had been trusted or employed under the dictatorship seemed marked out for proscription, being either directly superseded or forced into resignation: every act that afforded the slightest pretext for alteration was subjected to ruthless revision. As we have already said, the appointments made during that period in the political and higher administrative spheres had been anything but generally satisfactory, and no doubt many of the decrees then issued might have been advantageously modified, or even cancelled; and had these changes been made in a spirit of fairness and moderation, they might even have proved acceptable; but this could not be the case, when one of the best acts of the pro-dictatorship, that concerning the position of the University professors, was among the first selected for attack, thus clearly proving that the spirit of hostility, not the earnest desire of improvement, was the motive force prompting these changes; while the systematic manner in which the substitution of new officials was conducted, and the fact that the appointments made all consisted of men who had either hitherto taken no part in politics, or were pledged to inveterate hatred of Garibaldi, made even the most just removals seem acts of party enmity.

During his short tenure of office, La Farina naturally had not time to carry out all the changes which the logical execution of his system would have required: his main object was to make himself so thoroughly master of the provincial administration, as to ensure the return of deputies thoroughly favourable to his own views, and he was thus fain to let alone many decrees which he must undoubtedly have inwardly destined ultimately to annul. Nevertheless, he did not fail to exert the extraordinary powers vested in the Viceroy until the meeting of Parliament, in order to introduce many laws of Northern Italy entirely new to Sicily, thus running directly counter to the suggestions of the Extraordinary Council of State, and filling up the measure of his own unpopularity. In a word, he seemed bent on treating the island rather as a conquered province than as a sovereign State which had voluntarily abdicated its political independence for a national object.

It would be difficult to describe the indignation excited in

Palermo and throughout Sicily by these measures. It was deep, strong, and concentrated; and while the well-intentioned sought the means of conciliating their hostility to the minister with their loyalty to the sovereign he served, and were on the watch for some opportunity which might enable them to urge the Viceroy to reconstitute his council, the evil never wanting in popular cities did not fail to turn to account a time when anxiety as to the future had taken possession of all classes, and the attention of the police was exclusively turned to the prevention of political demonstrations, and thus daily accounts of robberies and murders committed increased the general alarm and discontent. This universal agitation grew from day to day, and towards the close of the year, in spite of the strenuous efforts of the most popular and patriotic leaders to preserve order, and avoid all acts of illegality, the peace of Palermo seemed to hang upon a thread, and it was becoming clear that the National Guard was itself imbued with the popular hostility to the minister, and would be more likely to join than to quell any demonstration that might be attempted against him.

The good fortune of Italy was, however, destined to prevail, and La Farina saved the people of Palermo from compromising themselves by a display of hostility, the consequences of which might have hurried them far beyond the point originally designed, by himself overstepping the limits of the law. Unwilling to recognise the fact that his arbitrary rule had incurred the hatred of men and all classes, he chose to persuade himself that the agitation prevailing was the work of a few factious individuals, and that if these were removed all would go well. Fostered in this delusion by the desire of personal vengeance, he overlooked the fact that the Sardinian Statute of Charles Albert, which was already the fundamental constitution of Sicily, expressly provides that no man, unless taken in flagrant violation of the law, shall be arrested without the written order of a judge, and during the night which divided the old from the new year, ordered, on his own responsibility, the arrest of Crispi (the man by whose influence he himself and Cordova had been expelled from Sicily some six months before) and four other supposed chiefs of the democratic party, and at the same time issued a proclamation announcing that all crowds assembled in the streets would be dispersed by force. The illegality of the arrests thus ordered was so apparent, that even the carabinieri sent to effect them hesitated in their obedience to orders, and went about their task so slowly, that two of the destined prisoners were able to escape to safe places of concealment. Three were arrested, forcibly taken on board a steamer, and sent off to Genoa in the course of the day. An act so unjustifiable on the part of a minister in a constitutional

country does not require any comment of ours, and the effect produced in Palermo may easily be imagined. To prevent greater evil, the National Guard removed the placards forbidding assemblages; an armed demonstration began to be organized for the morrow; sinister visages, generally confined to the worst quarters of a populous town, began to creep forth from their usual haunts, and show themselves in the principal streets, attracted by the hope of plunder attendant on a day of barricades; while the best men of all parties consulted together, and resolved on sending a deputation, imposing by the personal weight and influence of its members, to remonstrate with the Viceroy.

All this occurred within the course of a single day. La Farina, who might perhaps not have recoiled from a conflict in the streets, dreaded to see the whole moral force of Sicily arrayed against him; and, while his prisoners were scarcely out of sight of land, he and his colleagues hastily gave in their resignations during the evening of the 1st of January. Scarcely was the fact made known the next day, coupled with the announcement that the Marquis de Torre-Arsa was entrusted with the task of forming a new Council of Lieutenancy, when the public excitement calmed down, as if by enchantment, with a rapidity which must have been at once gratifying to the self-importance of and mortifying to the pretensions to popularity of La Farina, who could at least leave Palermo with the boast that his presence had alone sufficed to imperil the peace of his country.

The new President of the Council was one well calculated to regain for the Government the public confidence it had forfeited. His high personal character and eminent qualities had insured to him the respect of all parties during his long exile: summoned to preside over the first Ministry of Garibaldi, he had withdrawn, after a few days, rather than swerve from his professed opinion in favour of an immediate appeal to the Sicilian Parliament; and later, he had shown his zeal for annexation by consenting to the vote by universal suffrage rather than risk any longer delay. To confirm the favourable impression created by his own appointment, Torre-Arsa selected as his colleagues men thoroughly possessed of the public esteem; and while his own name sufficed to assure the Turin Ministry that the general interests of annexation would be promoted, that of Emeric Amari—a name known and revered throughout the Italian peninsula—proved to the Constitutionals that the ancient laws and institutions of Sicily would not be unnecessarily interfered with; that of Baron Turrisi was a guarantee that those who had served the dictatorship might henceforth expect to be treated with even-handed justice; and the other members of the Council, though less eminent, were chosen with special regard to the requirements

of the offices over which they were to preside. Torre-Arsa being thus engaged in securing his position within, his hands were strengthened from without by the intelligence that Count Cavour, though deeply annoyed at the discovery of the mistake originally made, had strongly disapproved the arbitrary arrests ordered by La Farina; and, to show his sense of their illegality, had liberated the prisoners on their arrival at Genoa, with earnest expressions of regret at what had occurred.

Thus, the new Administration assumed office under the very best auspices; and it had need of all the strength that public confidence could give it, for it was about to charge itself with a most difficult task—that of applying a new electoral law, thereby enabling the island to choose its deputies within little more than a fortnight. In Northern Italy, where the law was already familiar—except as regarded the modifications consequent on the extension of the kingdom—and the electoral lists were already formed, the time allowed by the royal decree of the 3rd, ordering the elections to take place on the 27th of January, was amply sufficient; but this was far from being the case in Sicily, where the decree itself was not received till several days later, where no elections whatever had taken place for twelve years, and the old law could not even serve as a basis, since the ancient representation numbered a deputy for each commune, irrespective of size, while the new one divided the country into electoral districts of fifty thousand inhabitants each. The difficulties thus created were increased by the fact, that the formalities for registering voters were calculated to occupy nearly a month, while the qualifications required in an elector were almost inapplicable, owing to the financial condition and general poverty of Sicily.

These obstacles would have been insuperable had not a special power of modification been provided by the law itself, in the case of first elections; and by its skilful use, all the formalities really required by the spirit of the law were compressed so as to make it possible to accomplish them within the time prescribed. It was, however, an operation of the utmost delicacy, and one which an unpopular Government could not have carried through without provoking the most bitter criticism; while the fact that not a murmur was heard, proved better than anything else could have done, how great was the esteem in which the public held the whole Ministry, and particularly Amari, who, presiding over the Department of the Interior, was entrusted with the duty of carrying out the law, taking special care that no Government influence should be exerted over the electors, and directing the authorities to turn all their thoughts to the preservation of order.

As the day of election drew near, the different parties began

to hold meetings, and to draw up lists of the candidates they severally proposed to support. Very few elections were unopposed, and nowhere was the contest more exciting than in the capital, where the chiefs of the Ministerialist and Democratic party were pitted against each other. Neither previously, nor on the day of election itself, was the tranquillity of the city disturbed in the slightest degree, and the only outward signs of the contest going on, were the many coloured bills posted up, to announce the names of the different candidates. Before going further, we must explain to our readers that, unlike the English law, which declares duly elected whichever candidate polls a superior number of votes, that of Italy requires, that for the election to be final, the deputy chosen must have obtained the suffrage of one more than the half of the number of voters registered in his district. When the several parties are active or closely matched, this is seldom the case, and in that case, there is a second trial, or ballot, between the two candidates nearest to the head of the poll, after which the victory is adjudged according to the majority of votes deposited. This somewhat complicated arrangement makes contests very uncertain, as it often happens that on the first trial, votes are thrown away on candidates who have no real chance, while on the second they are so combined as to defeat the one who was previously at the head of the poll.

All this made the general result of the elections at Palermo most difficult to foresee ; but the public interest especially centred in the College, where the Marquis de Torre-Arsa was opposed to Crispi, whose name had been popularized by his share in the First Expedition, and by the recent order of arrest issued against him, and in whose favour his party employed every electioneering art, even pretending he was recommended by Garibaldi in a private letter, which they were unable to produce when called upon to do so ; and great was the triumph of the Moderates and the discouragement of the Democrats, when on the first trial it was found that the former had polled nearly two-thirds of the constituency. In another college of Palermo, Emeric Amari was likewise duly elected ; and though at least half of the candidates had to submit themselves to a second trial, these two elections offered a fair sample of the final result throughout the island. In Palermo itself, the three principal members of the Lieutenantcy Council, and one closely connected with them, General Carini, were the deputies chosen ; and in the provinces, either the Constitutionalists, or the more fervid partisans of annexation, were almost universally elected, but a few seats remaining to the democrats, who vainly sought to shelter themselves under the ægis of Garibaldi, for the electors instinctively divined that, protest as

they might, they could never be really desirous of the monarchical unity of Italy.

The carrying out of the electoral law was almost the only positive act of the Torre-Arsa ministry, whose three chief members were now obliged to resign their seats in the Council, in order to go to Turin, to fulfil the new duties imposed on them by their constituents; but as their places were taken by men sharing all their opinions, these resignations induced no change of policy, and the moral importance of this short administration can hardly be overstated. At the beginning of January, Sicily was in a state of confusion—bad in itself, worse from the proportions it threatened to assume: all the moral weight and character of the island were ranged against a ministry whose exclusively political preoccupations had made it alike neglectful of the civil administration and the finances; and the general sense of insecurity was so great, that many persons did not venture to leave their homes after sunset. In the middle of February, when the Sicilian senators and deputies departed for Turin on board a steamer, placed at their disposition by the Ministry of Marine, all was tranquil; the masquerades and fooleries which enliven the close of the Carnival in Italy, had just been celebrated with unusual zest; soldiers and civilians, nobles and populace, engaging in the mimic war of sugar-plums with rare good humour; while, as a solid basis for this restored gaiety and confidence, the finances had been placed in a condition to answer all claims upon them, until such time as the Italian Parliament should impose new taxes to make up the deficit caused by the abolition of old ones, by the realization of the loan decreed under Garibaldi, but not hitherto subscribed for; and order had been re-established both in the administration and the provinces, without the intervention of a single soldier—the whole garrison of Sicily still consisting of but two brigades—the one distributed in Palermo and the chief provincial towns, the other destined to guard Messina from any attempt on the part of the Neapolitan garrison in the castle. Under the Bourbon dynasty it required forty thousand regulars, and probably as many police agents, to keep the island in order.

These were the several phases through which the Sicilian revolution passed, from the 4th of April to the 18th of February:—First, the popular insurrection of despair; then the war; the dictatorial administration; lastly, the first and second Lieutenantcy Councils. This epoch opened under a tyranny of the darkest dye—it closed in peace and calmness, with a hopeful expectation of the good to ensue from the deliberations of the Italian Parliament, whose assembly closed the anomalous period of revolution. But great as is our admiration of the result obtained,

we cannot quite forget the cost at which it has been conquered, nor forego all regret that the same good was not effected without the unhinging of the administration and the destruction of the finances. When the insurrection of the 4th of April had once broken out, the Italian Government had clearly no choice but to support it in the best way possible; and, unable to do so openly and directly, without violating its obligations towards its potent neighbours, the adventurous expedition of Garibaldi was the only resource at hand, and it thus became necessary to accept all the consequences that might ensue. It is of course impossible to trace out the exact course events would have followed had that premature popular movement been deferred, according to the counsels sent from Turin—counsels prescribing patience which might have been rewarded by the withdrawal of the French garrison from Rome before the end of May last, and possibly by the immediate breaking out of war between Northern Italy on the one hand, and the Pope and the King of Naples on the other.

When we revert mentally to the short and brilliant campaign in the Papal States, and especially to the ease with which those provinces, the worst governed, perhaps, to be found in Italy, were placed on a footing of civil equality with the northern kingdom, it is difficult not to repine at the idea that Naples and Sicily might have been liberated in a similar way, and the Eternal City itself restored to its ancient political supremacy. But all such lamentation would now be worse than useless: it may be for the future good of Italy that she should conquer each step towards her independence slowly and painfully, and even the sacrifices she has been obliged to endure may make her inhabitants more sensible to the blessings of a consolidated and national government. It is a great fact, that twenty-two millions of Italians, dwelling between the Alps and Cape Lilybeum, should now be united under a single sceptre; and the general character of the deputies elected to form the first great Parliament assures us that the deliberations and the acts of that assembly will be worthy of a free nation. Every part of the Peninsula has claims upon their attention, while engaged in the task of its civil reorganization, but none more than Sicily, for none has been hitherto more systematically neglected. Without roads, without bridges, her most fertile lands near the coast menaced by constant inundations, or turned into unhealthy marshes, her largest towns left without gas (when petitioned for leave to form a company for lighting Palermo, Ferdinand of Bourbon replied, that honest men spent their nights at home, and that it was sinful to light up a town for rogues), her roadsteads deserted, her most important ports filling up from neglect, and her commerce suffocated by a prohibitive tariff which even cut her off from free communication with

Naples, Sicily presents as fair a field for improvement as a legislator would wish to try his hand upon. The introduction of the really liberal Sardinian tariff will alone suffice to give a great impulse to commerce; and if political events do not absorb the whole attention of the Government, and the spread of material improvements produces the same results in the South as in the North of Italy, we may hope in the course of a few years to see Sicily emerging from her death-like sleep, her industry revived by the application of capital and the opening of free markets; and that, while rejoicing at the development of the rare mineral and agricultural wealth with which Nature has endowed her so prodigally, she will date her prosperity from the day in which she became part of the Monarchy of Savoy.



ART. III.—VOLTAIRE'S ROMANCES AND THEIR MORAL.

Voltaire's Romances and Novels. Romans de Voltaire.

IN Goldsmith's story, our great lexicographer is represented as a candidate for a place in the chariot of Fame, which he claims by virtue of the ponderous Dictionary he bears under his arm. He is informed, much to his surprise, that Fame cares nothing for his *magnum opus*, and intends to assign him a place among those she honours only for the sake of the little romance he thought too trifling even to put forward. Whether right or wrong as regarded Johnson, the fable will apply to many eminent literary men who, labouring hard to overtake Fame in one way, were surprised to find her coming to meet them in a direction entirely unexpected. On what does the renown of Voltaire mainly rest? The vast philosophical dictionary has made but little mark upon the intellect of Europe. The "Henriade" is looked upon very much as people think of a college prize poem. The nations which possess a Shakspeare, a Schiller, an Alfieri, can scarcely warm into enthusiasm even over "Zaire;" and it is difficult to read the "Orphan of China" without a sensation of the ludicrous at the *petit maitre* love-making of the great Tartar conqueror. Even Voltaire the clear and vivid historian is quite overshadowed by Voltaire the satirist and the wit. Of that latter being, the best and most characteristic memorials possessed by posterity are the fantastic, humorous *nouvellettes* and satirical fables known as his romances. A man's true nature, says Goethe, is best

divined by observing what he ridicules. In these romances we can study Voltaire's real nature; for in them we have set before us all he thought ridiculous in society around him and in the general systems of the world. In them he is not playing the philosopher or toiling to be an epic poet. In them we can discern him free of the personal weaknesses with which feeble health, much flattery, self-created vexations, and the injudicious humourings of friends, crusted over his better nature. A man who thoroughly and fairly studied these little stories would probably lay them down with a better knowledge of the real nature and genius of Voltaire than was acquired by Frederick of Prussia, by Madame du Chatelet, or by Madame Denis.

It was unfortunate for the development of Voltaire's special gifts that he should have been proclaimed, because of a few bold utterances, a prophet by one party of listeners, and a blasphemer by another. It is unfortunate for the true appreciation of his genius, that so many people still persist in regarding him as an audacious infidel philosopher, or a great progressive sage. The truth is, that nature, character, and circumstances quite disqualified Voltaire from becoming what can with any propriety be termed a philosopher of any kind. He was unable to take a large and general view of most subjects; to balance the good and the evil; to discern how much of either was accidental to a system, and how much was inherent and ineradicable; to trace out patiently the connexion of effect with cause. Voltaire's was what Condorcet correctly termed an impatient spirit. The absurdities or the defects of anything actually coming under his own notice, Voltaire could expose to ridicule and contempt as no man else could. If a system had a weak point, Voltaire could in the fewest possible words place its weakness in the most ludicrous light. But he was not a man whose opinion of the general character of the system should have been accepted unconditionally by any one. Few men of his day were less qualified to judge of Christianity as a system of religion; but no man could so effectively expose the errors and inconsistencies into which the professing Christians plunged when they set up their own self-conceit and prejudice as the interpreter and standard of Christian doctrines. It is amazing to observe the dread and horror with which many people even still shrink from the perusal of Voltaire's writings. Supposing him to have been an anti-Christian, a more harmless opponent Christianity has seldom encountered. That man must in our days indeed be simple whose Christian faith could be affected in the slightest by the keenest of Voltaire's arguments. Even where Voltaire had a clear view of the truth, he frequently failed to take a tenable position in its favour. He founded a variety of arguments against Popery upon the contrast

between the personal immorality of many Popes and their supposed spiritual infallibility. But he seemed to forget that Roman Catholics do not claim personal infallibility for a Pope acting merely as an individual ; and that Roman Catholic doctrines, true or false, are no more affected by the blunders or the crimes of a single Pope than the truths of any part of the Old Testament by the human errors of David. Voltaire is generally as weak in his theological arguments as in his famous explanation of the vestiges of shelly formations found in the Alps, by the hypothesis of pilgrims having let fall their cockleshells while crossing the Great St. Bernard. It is astonishing to find many people even still fall into the unspeakable absurdity of regarding Voltaire as an atheist, in ignorance of the fact that some of the only serious and dreary passages in his satires are those which he devotes to the superfluous labour of demonstrating the irrationality of Atheism. Indeed, Voltaire all but detested atheists, and firmly believed he had himself given to the world some splendid confutations of their errors. Unfortunately, the individual who set up for an atheist must have been a very dull personage indeed if he could not answer some of the arguments which Voltaire pompously parades for his confusion in the dialogue between the pious Englishman, Freind, and the infidel companion of the youth who bears the peculiarly British prenomens of Lemni. The explanation is, that Voltaire really felt little interest in abstract truths of any kind. A genuine human grievance, a downright human folly, quickened him into intense animation ; but he had not a nature which sympathized much with the mere maintenance of principle. His genius was altogether of the partisan order. He did not much trouble himself by a laborious investigation of both sides of a question ; but where his instinct led him right, he could hit with a keen force which philosophy alone could never master. All his interests were thoroughly human, thoroughly wrapped up in the movements of ordinary life. Many of his philosophic sayings and dogmas, which were received in his own day with reverent admiration or with shouts of denunciation, are universally recognised now as the mere commonplaces of truth, or as paradoxes whose extravagance needs no refutation. But the satirical wit which he brought to the exposure of some actual grievance or genuine folly remains immortal—keen and fresh as ever, although the grievance and the folly have long passed away. One popular idea of Voltaire is that of a mere scoffer at sacred things, a ribald reviler of the best human sentiments. Another common notion of him is that of a cold sceptic, who subjected everything to the test of a narrow reasoning process ; a man who cared nothing personally either for good or evil ; who was all brain and no heart. If these romances fairly reflect the real nature of Voltaire, they exhibit the

character of a very warm-hearted, sensitive, indiscriminating man, who sickened over human suffering and human persecution, and who employed, with an almost reckless prodigality, against the enemies he hated most, the instinctive weapon of wit which served him best.

As mere stories, these romances have little value. No reader can be warmed into any interest by their personages or their incidents. No one can for a moment forget that Voltaire is speaking to him, and not the Princess of Babylon, or the luckless Candide. No child could care to read them. The very simplest student of fairy-tale literature could not be deceived into believing that they breathed the genuine atmosphere of the East. There is no rich colouring in them; no heightening of beauty, as Mary Wortley Montagu said, by the idea of profusion; very little simple pathos; scarcely a gleam of hearty, exhilarating good-humour. Some one said no pure mind could understand them. Taken in its literal meaning, the criticism was entirely unjust; but it was very correct indeed, if it merely meant to signify that no one, ignorant of the evil ways of the world in Voltaire's age, could appreciate or even comprehend them. They are simply the satirical hooks on which Voltaire gibbeted, for exposure to the world and posterity, all the evils of human origin which he saw crushing down humanity in France. His satire is often too comprehensive and sweeping; often, indeed, entirely unjust in its personal application. Whatever Voltaire did of his own impulse, he did earnestly, and sometimes extravagantly. He did not go to war for an idea; he embodied every opponent, and hated it like a personal enemy. The same headlong generosity and headlong animosity which characterized him in his dealings with individuals entered into his satirical review of events and systems. Right or wrong, Voltaire was thoroughly practical, and when he touched the shield of an opponent, hit fiercely and straightforward with the point of his weapon. What shortens the average lives of Frenchmen; what makes men poor, and keeps them so; what embitters domestic life; what renders children blessings instead of curses; what stifles free thought; what turns philosophy to a sham—these were the questions with which his sympathies tormented Voltaire. He thought that the state of society around him gave answers to many of them, which he determined to interpret into intelligible language. These satirical romances are valuable because they contain Voltaire's explanations of the condition of France in his day. War, religion, hypocrisy, religious intolerance, court domination and court intrigue, superficial or quack philosophy, idlers, soldiers, and priests—these Voltaire looked upon as the national evils of France; therefore his romances are simply satires directed unchangingly and perseveringly against

all these enemies. But for the never-failing wit which makes the dullest theme sparkle with the most varying lights, they would be positively monotonous, so uniform is their pervading purpose.

War of any kind seemed to Voltaire a pure, unmitigated evil. He saw nothing in it but scenes such as he has described in "*Candide*"—slaughter and licentiousness, blazing roofs and mangled bodies. Religion he almost invariably identified with its professors, as Mr. Bertram, in Scott's novel, could only think of the king's revenues as embodied in the persons of the gaugers. Voltaire looked around society, and saw that bigotry and lazy priests were common there. He heard doctrines of the most savage intolerance promulgated as if they were gospel truths. He knew that men and women—harmless, industrious, and moral people—had been turned out of house and home because they differed from the ruling church on the question of Transubstantiation, or the unqualified Supremacy of the Pope. He had spoken with those who could tell him of the scenes which followed the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He saw that to persecute the religious opinions of others was very often accepted as an atonement for personal immorality and irreligion. After reading one of Voltaire's descriptions of a bigot and a priest, it is painful to have to believe that in many instances the strength of the satire lay in the unexaggerated correctness of its application. A man must not be charged with deliberate impiety, even if he sometimes was extravagant in his scorn of religious teachings which their own exponents maintained must necessarily conduct to the intolerance they practised. Voltaire was a nervous man, with a keen dread of physical pain. He quivered all over at the idea of bodily torture. He saw that throughout the course of history one point of resemblance had connected almost all the great religious sects of the world. Each, in its day of power, had, at some time or other, endeavoured to enforce its views by the infliction of bodily torture. Voltaire was not sufficiently impartial to recognise the fact, that it was but the possession of unlimited power by arrogant human creatures which had led to the employment of such modes of persecution. A man of feeling rather than of reasoning power, it was enough for him to see that in France there was neither happiness nor freedom; that something calling itself religion presided ostensibly over society, and represented to the world the Divine Providence as a kind of exaggeration of the character of Louis XIV. It was sufficient for Voltaire to observe this; and, gifted with the most powerful weapon in the world, he used it like a partisan, and not like a philosopher.

Voltaire was particularly angry with some of those who invented consolations for men's misery. He flamed up especially against those who endeavoured to satisfy unquiet minds with the

shallow quibbles which passed for optimism, and whose whole secret consisted in calling a disagreeable thing by a fine name. The Lisbon earthquake, which took place in 1755, had, no one needs to be told, an especial effect on the mind of Voltaire. It seemed to him that such a calamity utterly confounded the self-satisfied dogmas of those who sought to philosophize a beneficent scheme out of the events of this world alone, without reference to any supplemental and higher state of being. Well-meaning persons furnish terrible weapons to a man like Voltaire, when they endeavour to vindicate God's providence by ingenious arguments about the fitness of things, and the physical and human good directly arising out of everything. The Lisbon earthquake taken by itself—and Voltaire would not take it otherwise—appeared to him a mere destruction of human life, an uncompensated and unconditioned evil. It was idle to tell Voltaire that the earthquake which destroyed so many human beings must be regarded as a beneficent process, because a certain condition of physical nature or of society demanded a purgation. An intellect very much below that of Voltaire could not fail to perceive the absurdity of such an argument, or, indeed, of any argument which takes upon itself to interpret and explain the secrets of Providence. Few will forget that, in the town of Frankfort, a bright-eyed precocious child began to argue himself into infidelity because of that same Lisbon earthquake. A genius of a more exalted and poetic kind effaced the morbid impressions drawn out of this calamity more readily from the mind of Goethe than from that of Voltaire. The reasoning of Voltaire upon this and kindred subjects is not indeed a whit better than that of the moral philosophers who argued against him. Taken in Voltaire's point of view, a single twinge of tooth-ache ought as distinctly to interfere with the belief in a beneficent Providence as the destruction of countless lives in Lisbon. If we accept Voltaire's reasoning, that physical suffering caused to a human being is nothing but evil, and that a beneficent Power cannot cause or tolerate evil, the momentary pang of a single individual is quite as efficacious for the argument as the ruin of a city. But Voltaire's reasonings upon the Lisbon earthquake explain, in great measure, the character of the man, and excuse much that seems unmeasured in his satires. He looked only at the outside or shell of everything, and weighed all questions by their relation to man's physical happiness. Optimism jarred most harshly against Voltaire's special ways of thinking. The romance of "Candide" contains in the person of Dr. Pangloss one of the strongest, coarsest caricatures satiric literature can produce. It is impossible not to be amused at the whimsically pertinacious manner in which Pangloss clings to his philosophy, despite of all

external shocks : and at the naïve credulity and naïve scepticism of *Candide*, equally absurd when he believes and when he doubts. But the satire is extravagantly overdone, just because the satirist felt his subject warmly, and determined to draw his caricature in such thick deep lines that no one could fail to recognise the portrait. The story, too, is spun out beyond all reasonable endurance. *Candide's* travels want variety. Nobody could read the work merely as a story : and a satirical tale, whatever its merits, is so far a failure if it cannot be admired for its mere narrative. "*Candide*" cannot be read as people read "*Gulliver's Travels*," or "*Gil Blas*." It entirely lacks warm descriptive power, and shows little skill in the delineation of character. No man had a keener eye for human whims, weaknesses, and follies than the satirist of Cirey : but while he could set these off in the most ludicrous light, Voltaire could not draw a full individual character. He did not even trouble himself to develop whatever capability of that kind he may have possessed. His interest was not in the narrative he told, or the people he described, but in the follies and vices he satirized ; and so long as he made his meaning plain and vivid, he was little concerned for the artistic perfection of the narrative. He concentrated his eyes upon the peculiar object he wished to satirize, until at length its proportions became magnified to his vision. Pangloss is a personage of preposterous absurdity ; so extravagantly drawn that the traits sometimes fail to have any genuine satirical force of application. It is curious to observe how inartistic and ineffectual Voltaire is when compared with Swift upon a parallel subject. *Gulliver* is about the size of a Brobdignagian's little finger. We can all see the relative proportions, and can appreciate the humour of the situations in which such a pigmy is placed when encompassed by such giants. We can at once conceive what *Gulliver* looks like on Glumdlutch's knee. But of Voltaire's *Micromegas*, who is so large that he takes a whale upon his thumbnail, and requires a microscope to discern the shape of the leviathan, we can form no conception whatever. The extravagance of the disproportion renders it quite impossible to realize, and so deprives it of the power even to excite our wonder. What *Micromegas* is to the Brobdignagians, Pangloss is to Don Quixote.

Is it not a mistake to talk of the knowledge of human nature displayed in "*Zadig*" and "*Candide*" ? Where is there in these stories a single personage like any ordinary man or woman ? Where is there any capacity evinced for moulding and blending together the variety of traits which make up even the most insipid of human characters ? To discern that some men were honest and some hypocritical ; that most women of the age were overfond of gaiety and of pleasure ; that priests were sometimes sen-

sual and sometimes deceitful ; that magistrates were occasionally corrupt ; that courtiers were not uncommonly parasites ; and that philosophers not unusually got into depths where they could neither stand nor float—to discern all this surely required no very profound penetration of human nature. Yet the groundwork of all Voltaire's satires sinks no deeper than this. Even on some of his favourite themes Voltaire was occasionally quite incorrect in his general views of the human character. Hypocrisy was one of the vices he most delighted to satirize. Yet he never appeared to appreciate the fact, that scarcely any human being ever believed himself to be a hypocrite, and admitted himself to a full, bare knowledge of his own falsehood. Voltaire's idea of a hypocrite is the old stage villain who deceives others, but not himself. Voltaire delighted to expose bigotry, but his picture of a bigot was almost invariably that of a mere religious swindler—a man cruel in the repression of antagonistic belief, but himself without either faith or morals. Indeed, Voltaire generally delineated human nature as a very much more simple and less complicated kind of thing than any really comprehensive observer would have drawn it. One of the commonest of errors is to ascribe to a man a profound insight into human nature because he is quick in ferreting out certain special foibles or vices. Ordinary individuals in gossiping conversation commonly display an abundance of this kind of penetration into the moral constitution of their neighbours. The majority of Voltaire's men and women are mere lay figures on which to hang his scraps of satire. The Princess of Babylon is not distinguishable from Cunegonde or Astarte, except by the difference of the adventures. Even the adventures themselves are frequently flat and colourless in effect. Compare the travels of Candide with the voyages of Sinbad ! Compare the sketches of gay life with those of Gil Blas ! Compare the portraits of eccentric or humorous characters with those of Molière ! Compare the extravaganza incidents with those of Swift ! Compare the Oriental correspondence of Amabel with the " Persian Letters " of Montesquieu. Nowhere does Voltaire sink for a moment his own identity. Less egotistical than Rousseau so far as direct allusion to himself was concerned, he was far more so in the perpetual introduction of his own peculiar notions upon every subject. Other of the great charms of every species of fiction are also wanting to these stories. Scarcely a gleam of beauty, even of the sensuous kind, shines upon them. Beauty of style is not the thing wanting, for in their own way the style of these stories is incomparable. But no sensation is diffused by any one of them to show that their author thrilled with any emotion for beauty in nature or in art. Even a beautiful woman is only described by a dry catalogue of charms like that pronounced by Olivia in " Twelfth

Night":—"I'm, two lips indifferent red ; item, two grey eyes ; item, one neck, one chin, and so forth." There is not so much of a recognition of the beautiful throughout the whole of these romances as is expressed in the few lines of the Roman satirist about the valley and springs of Egeria. There is little of human affection in them : little even of genuine human passion. For aught these satiric fables teach us, men and women might be only good from a sense of propriety or honour, bad because they happened to have no such feeling. Parting and death—those most pregnant themes of the story-teller of every age—have scarcely any real share in the interest of these romances. In the story of the Huron, L'Ingenu, and his beautiful and ill-fated mistress, Voltaire most nearly approaches to a sympathy with the pangs of parted lovers ; and yet it may be very well questioned whether any human eyes ever moistened over the separation and sufferings of the pair he describes. It is only by observing the deficiency of Voltaire in so many of the great leading qualities of a story-teller and a satirist that it is possible to appreciate fully the surpassing power of the special attributes by which he became so successful in each capacity.

The purpose which animates almost every one of these tales, and the wit which gives force and brightness to every one of them, are the characteristics for which they merit to be immortal. No cold sceptic, working with unimpassioned heart and bitter tongue, is discernible to the reader who gives them an impartial study, but a sensitive and impulsive man, whose earnest nature lent fire to his matchless wit. That weapon of wit which in these satires Voltaire wielded honestly for the sake of his fellow-men, was surely the very keenest of its kind ever employed in such a cause. Some of these romances preserve its finest achievements. Voltaire's wit is not like Molière's, for it never exuberates ; or Pascal's, for it never acknowledges earnestness : or Le Sage's, for it is never sprightly and careless ; or Goldsmith's, for it is never child-like ; or Swift's, for it is never savage ; or Sydney Smith's, for it never plays upon words ; or Douglas Jerrold's, for it never outwardly exhibits bitterness. Time and change have indeed somewhat cooled much of the interest which the world felt in Voltaire's satire, as well as in that of Pascal. We no longer feel very keenly the evils against which those great masters of sarcasm lifted up their voices. Let us be glad to think that Father Fa Tutto is gone along with the intellectual supremacy of the Jesuits. We feel as little immediate and personal satisfaction in the humiliation of either, as in the exposure of Margaret of Navarre's detested Cordeliers. But Voltaire's wit is of a kind which owes nothing of its preservation to its subject. On the contrary, there could be no topic so ephemeral and trifling which,

encased in the amber of that incomparable satire, would not remain preserved for ever. It seems to have come to its author by instinct, and to have come from him without effort. None of the great humorists and satirists of the world's literature seem to have been gifted with a faculty of sarcastic expression at once so powerful and so easy. It sparkles forth so readily that it appears to have been spontaneous and out of its author's control. It is so full of meaning and so perfect, that long labour might have been given to its preparation, and that no further attempt at emendation or improvement could do anything but spoil it. Half a dozen light, apparently careless words, and behold a whole generation's folly so completely turned inside out, that the dullest must see its drollery, and the gravest must laugh at it. One is reminded of the expert German executioners who boasted that they could sweep their sword blade through the neck of the culprit so lightly and so dexterously that he died without feeling the thrill of his death-blow. What an admirable essay on the wisdom of the decree which sentenced Byng to die, is wrapped up in the immortal words carelessly let fall in "*Candide*":—"Dans ce pays-ci il est bon de tuer de temps en temps un amiral pour encourager les autres!" Probably since Voltaire wrote the lines no words have been more often quoted in his own country and in ours. People who never read one line of Voltaire, people who never bestowed a thought upon the source or the origin of the quotation, are every day repeating and applying its concluding phrase. Even the never-dying "*Nous avons changé tout cela*," and "*quo diable allait il faire dans cette galère*," of Molière scarcely show themselves so often in print. Every page of these romances supplies a sentence just as pregnant with humour, just as whimsically effective in its application. Take, for instance, at random a page in "*L'Homme aux Quarante Ecus*"—that which describes the debate between the theologians concerning the soul of Marcus Antoninus. When all the chief reasons have been urged which sustained those who believed no worse fate than purgatory had befallen the great emperor, the argument is brought to a climax by adding, "Moreover, there is some respect due to a crowned head—'*il ne faut pas le damner légèrement*.'" In how many different shapes has this sentiment been imitated and reproduced, by how many different writers, and who ever made it half so true, telling, and humorous? The Oriental Amabed, describing in his letters one of the "*vice-dicux*," as he terms the Popes, who has just expired in Rome, pictures him as "an old, turbulent soldier, who loved war like a madman; always on horseback, distributing blessings and sabre-cuts, damning souls and killing bodies," and adds, with a comic naïveté as untranslatable as irresistible, "*Quel diable de vice-dieu on avait là!*" In the "*Travels of Scarmentado*"

we are told of a certain famous bishop whose boast was that he had decapitated, drowned, or burned ten millions of infidels in America. "I cannot help thinking," gravely adds Scarmentado, "that the bishop exaggerated; but even if we reduce his sacrifices to five millions, *cela serait encore admirable*." Such illustrations might be multiplied through page after page. They need no searching and no selection. They lie, scattered by the prodigal hand of the great wit, everywhere over his lighter works. It must be added that many keen witticisms are couched in phrases which must not now be translated at all. Not all the adventures or the observations of *Candide* or *Cunegonde* or *Charme-les-yeux* will bear to be reproduced for any English readers of this day. Voltaire fell too freely into one of the errors of his age, and the seriousness of the error must not be treated lightly. But that age was not as ours is, and it is only fair to the memory of Voltaire to say, that he wrote but as others wrote and spoke—that his writings did not contrast with the literature of all the world besides, as the novels of Balzac, and Paul de Kock, and Dumas Fils, and so many of the *chansons* of Beranger more recently did. Many of the passages which no one now can read aloud were once recited by the lips of Voltaire himself to groups of accomplished and irreproachable women, who only laughed at their plain speaking and thought no harm. Possibly we are better than our great grandfathers and grandmothers in this respect at least; but we must not anathematize Voltaire in especial. Voltaire's, too, let it be added, was only plain-speaking. He was not more plain-spoken than Fielding or Swift; and he never approached the corrupting, heartless, unmanly indecency of Congreve or Wycherley. Even Addison, the pure and good, with "a Sabbath shining on his face," will not bear to be read aloud now, unexpurgated and word for a word, to a female audience. We must not condemn our authors by an *ex post facto* law; above all, we must not single any special one out, and while allowing all the rest to go scot free, apply the retrospective clause to him alone.

The story of "*L'Ingenu*" is that which bears the nearest resemblance to a romance, according to our English meaning. There is more of feeling in it than in any of its companions. Not thoroughly original itself, it has been the parent of many a romantic tale. A young Canadian savage, sprung from European forefathers, comes by chance to live with his surviving relatives in France, where his simple nature is opposed, startled, and thwarted at every turn by the meanness, hypocrisy, and falsehood of civilized ways. The young Huron is, of course, the famous "noble savage" of poets and romancists: the ideal being, endowed with all the best qualities of man in his most perfect condition, and free from any of the weaknesses and errors of

civilization. Generous, truthful, temperate, loving, and brave, this Huron, it must be owned, in no wise resembles any of the dirty, lying, drinking, treacherous, and remorseless savages with whom some of Voltaire's countrymen made unhappy acquaintance at a day not much later. The Huron, who for his noble simplicity is styled "L'Ingenu," becomes a Christian; and, studying the Bible, is every day bewildered to observe how little the practices of Christians consort with their doctrines. He falls in love with the beautiful Mademoiselle de Saint Yves, and is loved in return. Chance throws him in the way of gaining an important victory for his countrymen over an invading band of Englishmen (all our heroes of the same day win wonderful triumphs over the French): he goes to court to seek some reward for his services, but falling in with some expelled Huguenots on the way, espouses their cause with an ardour and an openness which bring on him a *lettre-de-cachet*. Cast into prison, he becomes the companion of an old condemned Jansenist, Gordon. From him the Huron learns to appreciate and love literature, and acquires a knowledge of many arts and sciences. The friendship and companionship of this imprisoned pair have suggested to Alexander Dumas some of the most striking personages in his "Chateau d'If." The learning and the piety of Gordon teach the Huron to be a genuine Christian; but, on the other hand, the simple, unsophisticated views and thoughts of the redeemed savage win the Jansenist away from the narrow bonds of his own peculiar sect, and invite him to the broader and more genial paths of Christianity. Those who only associate the name of Voltaire with impiety and ribaldry, would fail to recognise their ideal in the clear, strengthening, and manly tone of thought which pervades many of these passages. But misfortunes crowd upon the poor Huron. His mistress comes in despair to seek him, and learning of his imprisonment, implores a powerful minister for his release. The old story of Lord Angelo or Colonel Kirke is repeated, but with a different catastrophe. A price is set upon the lover's liberation. Saint Yves struggles and resists long; but at last, betrayed by a treacherous friend, prompted by a base confessor, sacrifices herself to redeem her lover, and finally dies of grief and shame. A professional romancist might unquestionably have made a very charming and pathetic story out of these materials. Even as the tale stands written, although its satire is its most prominent part, it has many occasional glimpses of feeling and of tenderness. Gleams of a pathos not commonly belonging to such a style shine here and there through it. But Voltaire did not care to produce an affecting romance; the loves and the unmerited sufferings of L'Ingenu and his mistress were only invented to enable the author more vividly and effectively to

satirize religious hypocrisy and priestly intolerance. But it is a satire such as only Voltaire could have produced. It has no playing upon words, and no extravagant caricatures. Quiet deep thrusts are so lightly given, that they seem at first mere punctures. Pascal might have written the dialogue in which Father Tout-à-tout endeavours to reconcile the conscience of the struggling St. Yves to the act forced upon her. With a quiet satirical power, wholly indescribable, we are told that the confessor was rewarded by his patron with "boxes of chocolate, sugar-candy, citron, comfits, and the Meditations of the Rev. Father Croiset and the Flower of Saints bound in morocco." Some indications, too, are in this story of a sympathy with more delicate shades of human emotion than those evoked by racks and gaol torments. "Ah!" exclaims the unhappy Saint Yves, when almost overpowered by the proffered generosity of her betrayer, "*que je vous aimerais si vous ne vouliez pas être tout aimé!*" L'Ingenu, the reader is told, never after her death alluded to her without a deep sigh—"et cependant sa consolation était d'en parler."

Perhaps, however, Voltaire's happiest style is to be seen in his shorter papers. His capacity for producing effective and precious trifles was something wonderful,—not mere curiosities, but condensed morceaux of genuine satire, whose meaning grows and deepens as they are studied. What, for instance, can surpass the concise humour of Searmentado's Travels? Or "The Blind Judges of Colours," with its whimsical conclusion, in which, after the recital of all the quarrels and battles which took place among the blind disputants, each of whom claimed to be an infallible judge of colours, we are gravely told that a deaf man, who had read the tale, admitted the folly of the sightless men in presuming to decide questions of colour, but stoutly maintained that deaf men were the only qualified musical critics? Or Bababec and the Fakirs? A Mussulman, who is the supposed narrator of the tale, and a good Brahmin, Omri, visit the Fakir groups by the banks of the Ganges, at Benares. Some of these holy men are dancing on their heads; some inserting nails in their flesh; some staring fixedly at the tips of their noses, in the belief that they thus will see the celestial light. One, named Bababec, is revered for special sanctity because he went naked, wore a huge chain round his neck, and sat upon pointed nails which pierced his flesh. Omri consults this saintly sage as to his own chances of reaching Brahma's abode after death. The Fakir asks him how he regulates his life. "I endeavour," says Omri, "to be a good citizen, a good husband, a good father, and a good friend. I lend money without interest to those who have need; I give to the poor, and I maintain peace among my neigh-

bours." "I am sorry for you," interrupts the pious Fakir, "your case is hopeless; you never put nails *dans votre cul*."

Such specimens, however, are only like the brick which the dullard in the old story brought away for the purpose of giving his friends an idea of the beauty of the temple. Admirably as the French language is adapted for the expression of dry, satirical humour, Voltaire developed its capability in this way to a degree equalled by no other man. So much sarcastic force was, probably, never compressed into so few and such simple words as in many of these little fictions. The reader is positively amazed at the dexterity with which subjects are placed in the most ludicrous light possible, and the easy manner in which the *legerde-main* is performed. Sometimes Voltaire's ideas become extravagant, but his style never does. Sydney Smith frequently lacks simplicity, but Voltaire is always simple, and never strains. What an admirable pamphleteer Voltaire would have made had he but been an Englishman! What inextinguishable ridicule he would have scattered over a Ministry or an Opposition! How irresistibly people would have been forced to think anything he laughed at deserving of laughter! How he would have written up some measure of emancipation, and made a reluctant Government afraid to refuse it! That Voltaire appreciated English freedom of speech no one needs to be told. Had he but understood the genius and the worth of our best literature as well, it would have been better for his critical, and, perhaps, for his dramatic fame. Voltaire, of course, made fun of English ways now and then. My lord *Qu'importe*, or *What-then*, who said nothing but "How d'ye do" at quarter-hour intervals, is the prototype of many a caricature drawn by succeeding hands. But in the very chapter which contains this good-humoured hit at our proverbial insular taciturnity, he calls the English the most perfect government in the world, and adds, with a truth which prevails at this day more than ever, "There are, indeed, always two parties in England who fight with the pen and with intrigue, but they invariably unite when there is need to take up arms to defend their country and their liberty; they may hate each other, but they love the State; they are like jealous lovers, whose rivalry is to see which shall serve their mistress best."

A noble weapon was that Voltaire owned, for one who used it rightly—who understood, as Sydney Smith said, how to value and how to despise it. It would be idle to deny that Voltaire sometimes used it unfairly. Fantastic, hot-tempered, sensitive, spiteful by nature, how could such a man have such a stiletto always unsheathed, and not sometimes give a jealous stab, and sometimes thrust too deeply, and sometimes wound those who were not worth piercing at all? He often imported petty per-

sonal spleens into his satires, and used his giant's strength upon some poor ephemeral pigmy, some Freron, or some Boyer. But so did Horace, and Pope, and Swift, and so has Thackeray done even in our own milder days. Voltaire has got a worse name for meanness of this kind than almost any other man of kindred genius, and yet seems, after all, to deserve it less than most of the great satirists of the world.

Indeed, posterity has, upon the whole, dealt very harshly with Voltaire's errors, and made scant allowance of the praise which his purposes and efforts so often deserved. Few of the leading satirists of literature ever so consistently and, all things considered, so boldly turned his point against that which deserved to be wounded. Religious intolerance and religious hypocrisy, the crying sins of France in Voltaire's day, were the steady objects of his satire. Where, in these stories at least, does he attempt to satirize religion? Where does he make a gibe of genuine human affection? Where does he sneer at an honest effort to serve humanity? Where does he wilfully turn his face from the truth? Calmly surveying those marvellous satirical novels, the unprejudiced reader will search in vain for the blasphemy and impiety with which so many well-meaning people have charged the fictions of Voltaire. Where is the blasphemy in "Zadig"? It is brimful of satire against fickle wives and false friends, intriguing courtiers, weak kings, intolerant ecclesiastics, and many other personages tolerably well known in France at that day. They might naturally complain of blasphemy who believed themselves included in the description of the learned Magi who doomed Zadig to be impaled for his heretical doctrines touching the existence of griffins. "No one was impaled after all, whereupon many wise doctors murmured and presaged the speedy downfall of Babylon," was a sentence which probably many in Paris thought exceedingly offensive and impious. Possibly yet greater offence was conveyed to many minds by Zadig's famous candle argument. Zadig became sold to slavery, and fell into the hands of a very humane and rational merchant, named Setoc. "He discovered in his master a natural tendency to good and much clear sense. He was sorry to observe, however, that Setoc adored the sun, moon, and stars, according to the ancient usage of Araby. . . . One evening Zadig lit a great number of flambeaux in the tent, and when his patron appeared, flung himself on his knees before the illumined wax, exclaiming, 'Eternal and brilliant lights, be always propitious to me!' 'What are you doing?' asked Setoc, in amazement. 'I am doing as you do,' replied Zadig. 'I adore the lamps, and I neglect their Maker and mine.' Setoc comprehended the profound sense of this illustration. The wisdom of his slave entered his soul; he lavished his incense no more

upon created things, but adored the Eternal Being who made them all."

Is it impious to satirize the glory of war, the levity of French society, the practice of burying the dead in close churchyards in the midst of cities, the venal disposal of legal and military offices? All these are the subjects on which the author pours out his gall in the "Vision of Babouc." The travels of Searmentado simply expose religious intolerance in France, Spain, England, Italy, Holland, China, &c. The letters of Amabel denounce fanaticism coupled with profligacy. Anything said against the manner in which the vices of Fa Tutto are exposed, must apply equally to Aristophanes and Juvenal, to Rabelais and Swift, to Marlowe and Massinger. The "History of Jenni" is a very hum-drum argumentation against Atheism; inefficacious, we fear, to convert very hardened infidels, and serving only to demonstrate the author's good intentions and his incapacity for theological controversy. "The White Bull," if it have any meaning whatever beyond that of any of Anthony Hamilton's Fairy Tales, means to satirize the literal interpretations of certain portions of the Old Testament in which very stupid theologians delighted. To accuse of blasphemy every man who refused to accept the interpretations which Voltaire in this extravagant parable appears to reject, would be to affix the charge upon some of the profoundest of our own theologians, some of the best and wisest of our thinkers. It is unquestionable that Voltaire was deficient in that quality which we call veneration. He had no respect even for what Carlyle terms the "majesty of custom." With all his hatred of intolerance, he was himself singularly intolerant of error. He did not care to *menager* the feelings of those whose logical inaccuracy he ridiculed. Frequently and grievously he sinned against good taste—against that kindly, manly feeling which prompts a gentle mode of pointing out a fellow-man's errors and follies. But there is nothing in these volumes, at least, which affords any real foundation for a charge of blasphemy, or wilful impiety; and these volumes more truly and faithfully than anything else which remains of him reflect to posterity the real character and spirit, the head and heart, of Voltaire. In these we learn what Voltaire thought deserving of ridicule: and with that knowledge, on the great German's principle, we come to know the man himself.

What is the moral of all these satires? Voltaire gave them to the world with a moral purpose, and, indeed, marred the artistic effect of many of them by the resolute adherence with which he clung to it. Do they teach anything else but that truth, unselfishness, genuine religious feeling, freedom, and love are the good angels of humanity; and falsehood, selfishness, hypocrisy,

intolerance, and lawless passion its enemies and its curses? Why accept Juvenal as a moral teacher, and reject Voltaire? Why affix to the name of Voltaire a stigma no one now applies to that of Rabelais? Voltaire mocked at certain religious teachings unquestionably; and it is not, under ordinary circumstances, amiable or creditable to find food for satire in the religious ceremonials or professions of any man. To do so would now be unamiable, because it would be wholly unnecessary. Where each man has full and equal freedom to preach, pray, and profess what he pleases, nothing but malignity or vulgarity can prompt any one to make a public gibe of his neighbour's ceremonials of worship, even although his neighbour's moral practices may appear somewhat inconsistent with true worship of any kind. To satirize the practices or doctrines of the Established Church of any civilized country now argues, not courage, but sheer impertinence and vulgarity. There is no need to scoff at that which no one is constrained to reverence. But things were very different when Voltaire wrote. To set the world laughing at certain religious ceremonials was a very pardonable act when those who conducted them arrogated to themselves dominion over the worldly and the eternal happiness of any one who declined to join in their mode of worship. Where it might entail banishment, worldly ruin, or even death, to speak a free word of criticism upon the doctrines or the hierophants of the dominant church, it was not merely a very excusable, but a very necessary and praiseworthy deed to expose the folly of some of the teachings, the inconsistency and immorality of some of the teachers.

Gessler may wear his hat any fashion he chooses, and only ill-breeding would laugh at him so long as he does not insist upon any one performing any act of homage to his humour. But when he sets his beaver upon a pole in the centre of the market-place, and orders imprisonment or exile for every subject who will not fall down and worship it, that man does a brave and a wise act who sets the world laughing at the tyrant and his preposterous arrogance. The personages who sang comic songs and danced the clog-dance during the performance of divine service at St. George's-in-the-East were vulgar and culpable boors. Whatever they might have thought of the service, they were not compelled to attend it, and in our days theological differences are not decided by mobs and hobnailed shoes. But if the incumbent of the church had the power to bring down penal disqualification, or exile, or worldly ruin upon the heads of all who declined to acknowledge his ceremonials as their worship, the first man who raised a bold laugh at the whole performance might be very justly regarded as a hero. Something, at least, of this qualified character is to be said in palliation of the irreverence of Voltaire. Much

which was stigmatized as blasphemy a century ago most people regard as plain truth now. Much even of the most objectionable of Voltaire's writings may be excused by the circumstances of the time, by the feelings with which he wrote, by the distorted and hideous form in which Christianity was presented in the dogmas of so many of its professional exponents. Much, indeed, may be admitted to be wholly inexcusable—for did he not produce the "Pucelle"? But no one claims for Voltaire an immunity from some severe censure. All that is sought for him is a more general and generous recognition of the praise he merited and the motives which impelled him, a mitigation of the sentence which so many have pronounced upon him. No other man from his own birth downwards, not even excepting Rousseau, has borne such extravagance of praise followed by such a load of obloquy. He was not a profound thinker; he was not a hero; he was not a martyr for truth; he was not a blameless man. But he had at least half-glimpses of many truths not of his own time, and which the world has recognised and acknowledged since. He had probably as much of the heroic in him as a man constitutionally nervous and timid could well be expected to have. No one would ever have relished less the endurance of the martyr's sufferings in his own person, but he made odious and despicable those who had caused or connived at their infliction upon others, and he did something to render any future martyrdoms impossible. For his time and his temptations his personal offences were not very many or very great. If people would but cease to think of him as a great philosopher either of free thought or of infidelity, and would merely regard him as a great political and social satirist, they would recognise in his satirical works not only the memorials of a genius unrivalled in its own path, but the evidences of a generous nature, an enlightened perception, and an earnest desire for the happiness and the progress of human beings.

ART. IV.—THE UNIVERSITIES AND SCIENTIFIC EDUCATION.

1. *Report of the Committee of the Senate of the University of London, appointed to consider the Propriety of Establishing a Degree or Degrees in Science, and the Conditions on which such Degree or Degrees should be conferred.* 1858.
2. *On the Educational Value of the Natural History Sciences.* By THOMAS H. HUXLEY, F.R.S., London. 1851.
3. *On Natural History, as Knowledge, Discipline, and Power. A Lecture delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain, Feb. 15, 1856.* By THOMAS H. HUXLEY, F.R.S.

IT is not a little strange, but it is not the less true, that the nation which is pre-eminently distinguished for the number and the vastness of its practical applications of Science, and which owes to those applications its position among the leading powers of the world, should be that one among the three most intellectual nations in Europe, in which there is the least recognition of the value of Science as a means of educational discipline, or of the title of its cultivators to take rank as such with members of the "learned professions."

In most, if not all, of the Universities of Germany, scientific attainment takes an equal rank with literary culture, as a qualification for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy; and although this degree has been conferred by some of these universities on foreign candidates with most reprehensible facility (provided certain pecuniary conditions were fulfilled), yet no German can attain this distinction without undergoing a very severe examination, generally on one principal and two subsidiary subjects, which are selected by the candidate from a pretty numerous list. In France the Academical recognition of science is still more complete; candidates possessing the requisite qualifications being designated by a title which marks the character of their attainments as distinct from what is commonly termed "scholarship;" and the education of such candidates being directed by a well-devised scheme, of which the object is to secure a basis of general scientific knowledge with some literary cultivation as a qualification for the lower degree of Bachelor, whilst a much more thorough acquaintance with one of the three principal departments—mathematical, physical (including chemistry), and natural—is required on the part of candidates for the higher degrees of Licentiate and Doctor. The degrees in Science take in every respect a corresponding rank with those in

Letters, and are, we believe, at least as highly esteemed as an evidence of cultivated intellectual ability.

In Great Britain, on the other hand, the tenacity with which our older academical bodies cling to the traditions of the past, has led them practically to ignore the fact, that in addition to the four divisions of human knowledge admitted by common consent as entitled to University distinction—arts, theology, law, and medicine—a fifth has established at least an equal claim to a like recognition. Science—the systematic study of the laws of natural phenomena, apart from any direct application of such laws to the arts of life—has indeed rather been looked upon as an intruder into our great educational institutions, than been welcomed as an honoured coadjutor; and though particular departments have benefited by special foundations in their behalf, yet the general influence of the universities has been much more against than in favour of its cultivation by its members. This, we believe, is essentially due (as regards Oxford and Cambridge at least) to the manner in which the universities have been absorbed by the colleges, and the professorial system subordinated to the tutorial. For it is hopeless to expect a set of men who are for the most part looking to enter the Church, and who occupy themselves in the drudgery of tuition merely until a college living falls to their turn, to emancipate themselves from the routine in which they have themselves been brought up; they come actually to believe in their own system as the only proper and liberal method of training the minds of the young men whose education is committed to them; and in the administration both of the university and collegiate endowments, every encouragement has been given to the few branches of learning professed by themselves, every discouragement to the progressive sciences of whose very elements they gloried in their ignorance.

Although the spirit of the age has so far made itself felt even within the precincts of these time-honoured institutions, as to make it generally felt that “something must be done for science,” and although (as we shall presently see) certain modifications have been introduced into the Arts curricula of Oxford and Cambridge which are intended to encourage the study of science by admitting proficiency in certain departments as a substitute for a portion of the ordinary studies of these universities; yet these changes stop far short of the requirements of the time; and it has been strongly felt among many of our most eminent men of science that a more distinct recognition of its claims was needed, both to utilize it effectually as an educational instrument, and to give to its cultivators the academic rank to which they are justly entitled. It was thought desirable to seek such a recognition in the first instance from a younger university, unfettered by tradi-

tional systems ; and two memorials signed by a large proportion of the most eminent physicists, chemists, naturalists, physiologists, and geologists of this country, were addressed between three and four years ago to the Senate of the University of London, urging upon it the propriety of recognising Science as a discipline and as a calling, by establishing special degrees in science, which should take rank with those it confers in arts, law, and medicine. It was forcibly pointed out that even this university, "though especially instituted to meet the wants of modern times, can confer no degree upon the first chemist or physicist of his age unless he possess, at the same time, a more than average acquaintance with classical literature ; nor would she acknowledge a Cuvier unless he were also a surgeon and physician far more highly accomplished than the majority of those in actual practice." "We conceive such a state of things as this," continue the memorialists, "to be not only anomalous in itself, but in the highest degree injurious to the progress of science ; for those who have the direction of youth, finding science unrecognised as a profession, discourage it as a pursuit ; and the Englishman who pursues a purely scientific career is obliged, if he desire a degree in science as an evidence of his qualifications, to obtain it from a foreign university."

It is virtually assumed in this country by those who regard themselves as the most competent judges, that high literary (especially classical) culture is "learning," and that high scientific culture is not. But surely it would be at least equally just to designate as "ignorant" a classical scholar possessing no scientific knowledge even of "common things," as it would be to call a man of high scientific attainments "ignorant" or "uneducated" merely because he possesses no classical lore. The common sense of mankind is gradually coming to discover this ; and is likewise beginning to appreciate the fact that literary culture without scientific tends to make a man far less fit for the ordinary business of life, than scientific culture (if real) with but a small modicum of literary study. And the reason of this is obvious. Science, as Professor Huxley has well remarked, is *nothing but trained and organized common sense* ; and its vast results are won by no other mental processes than those which are practised by every individual in the humblest and commonest affairs of life. The man of science, in fact, simply uses with scrupulous exactness the methods which we all, habitually and at every moment, use carelessly ; he brings these methods of inquiry to bear, however, not upon the trivial details of ordinary life, but upon the grand operations of nature : and it is one of the greatest advantages of scientific culture, that the mind of the student is thus continually placed in contact with *things* instead of with intellectual abstrac-

tions, and is taught to look to observation and experiment, instead of to prescription and authority, as the final court of appeal in the cause of Truth *versus* Error. What man of scientific culture can look without a mixture of pity and contempt at a Bench of Bishops endeavouring in the latter half of the nineteenth century to stifle theological inquiry by judicially condemning that which its members are utterly incompetent to vanquish in legitimate argument? or at a knot of clever *littérateurs* and wonder-seeking ladies yielding up their common sense to their love of the marvellous, and not only themselves believing, but trying to induce the world to believe, that one of their party has been enabled by spiritual influence to fly over their heads, and make a mark on the ceiling above them? Both these performances are alike worthy of the "dark ages;" and both will be looked upon a century hence as proofs of the wonderful tenacity with which certain "dominant ideas" were transmitted from generation to generation, until the light of science* had dispersed the mists of prejudice and credulity, and its power had overborne the greatest of all obstacles—educated ignorance.

No intelligent person can watch the course of events at the present day, without perceiving that science is taking a constantly increasing share in the affairs of the world, and that its ideas are becoming more and more blended with the ordinary course of thought. It has made its way into the works of our best poets; and even the mere man of letters who affects to ignore and despise it, is unconsciously impregnated with its spirit and indebted for his best results to its methods. Surely, then, it is the duty of our Universities to look at the tree of human knowledge as it now is, and as it is likely to become; and not to attempt to fetter it by limitations which tend to repress its growth, and which it will inevitably, sooner or later, burst through. Considering the immense influence which they exert upon all the higher education of the country,—their indirect influence through the schools to whose course of education they give the tone, being immeasurably greater than their effect upon the few thousand students who are annually subjected to their discipline,—it becomes them the more carefully to estimate the requirements of their position, and to consider whether what has been not inac-

* We lately heard that one of our most eminent Physicists having been invited to a "spiritual *séance*," when the room had been darkened and the performances were about to begin, was found to have ensconced himself under the table, and to have provided himself with a lantern for the purpose of "throwing light" upon the inquiries. Of course no "spirits" could be evoked under such an ordeal. The contrast between the two kinds of "spirits," that of fraud and mystery, and that of truth and openness, could scarcely have been more forcibly brought out.

curately described as the education of a young Roman Christian in the third or fourth century is suitable to the British civilization of the nineteenth. It seems to us most clear that the youth who is preparing himself for the work of his life by toilsomely making his way through a systematic course of scientific study, has a right to feel that he is not less worthy of the distinction conferred by an Academical degree than is the companion of his school days, who continues to work up to the regulation standard of classical and mathematical lore, in blissful ignorance of anything but the mere names of those sciences to the acquirement of which his quondam companion may be devoting a far higher measure of intellectual energy. And the man who has prepared himself for the special pursuit of some one department of science by a comprehensive survey of its whole range, has a right to claim a title that shall be an authoritative attestation of his having done so, and shall distinguish him from the mere Chemist, the mere Geologist, the mere Botanist or Zoologist, who knows nothing beyond the boundaries of his own particular field, and has not been trained in those general philosophical principles that shall guide him in any venture he may make into new paths of inquiry. Further, if it be right for an University to give to men who are making Medicine or Law the business of their lives, an authoritative attestation that their proficiency in Medical or Legal studies has been tested by an adequate system of examination, and that they are judged competent to enter upon the practice of their respective professions, we cannot see how the like attestation can be refused to men who desire to devote their lives to Scientific pursuits, whether they do so with the special purpose of extending the boundaries of human knowledge, or with that of applying science to the various material needs of man, or with that of using it as an instrument of mental discipline in the education of the rising generation. In whichever of these modes, or in whatever combination of these modes, a man makes Science the business of his life, it is as truly his *profession* as Medicine or Law can be, and equally claims to have its *status* acknowledged by Academical distinction. We have known several instances in which men who have decided upon making science their profession have felt themselves compelled to go through a course of medical study, at a great waste (to themselves) of time, money, and mental labour, with the sole view of obtaining a medical degree, which should give them the starting-point they desired. More frequently such persons have proceeded to some German University, and have obtained from it the degree of Doctor of Philosophy; but this degree may mean anything or nothing, according to the conditions on which it is conferred by the different universities of Germany; and it has of late been

brought into such disrepute by the obvious incapacity of many of its holders who had obtained it by mere purchase, that some of the most distinguished of our own men of science have preferred to discard a title which they had honestly earned.

It would be unjust to our older universities to say that they have done nothing in recognition of this want; for both Oxford and Cambridge have admitted the study of Science in exchange for a portion of the course ordinarily prescribed to Candidates for Degrees in Arts. But the possession of the Degree of B.A. does not in itself afford either evidence of scientific culture, or attestation of scientific attainment; and it is only by obtaining Honours in some special department, that the student who "goes out" in Science can mark the distinctness of the curriculum he has followed from that pursued by the general body of students in his University.

According to the present regulations of Oxford, every Candidate for the B.A. degree has to pass three Examinations; first, the Responsions, commonly known as the "little go," for which he should present himself before the 6th Term; second, the First Public Examination, which the Candidate should pass between his 7th and his 10th Term; and finally, the Second Public Examination, for which he should be prepared between his 12th and his 18th Term. At the Responsions the subjects required are simply Classics and Elementary Mathematics; the prescribed amount of the latter being two books of Euclid, Arithmetic to the extraction of the Square Root, and Algebra to Simple Equations.—At the First Public Examination, the subjects are still Classics (an option being given between the Greek Text of the Four Gospels and an additional Greek author), and either Logic, or three books of Euclid with Algebra as far as Quadratic Equations, at the choice of the Candidate. Thus far, then, Science is entirely excluded from the B.A. course; and every student, whatever may be his predilections and his ulterior destination, must have devoted the principal portion of his time and attention to the mastery of the ancient languages, with such a modicum of Mathematics as is below the level of the higher classes in any ordinarily good school, and (if he prefer to substitute this for the small addition to the mathematical demand subsequently made upon him) the syllogistic logic still taught at Oxford mainly on the Aristotelian model.—At the Second Public Examination, Classics, with the Greek Text of the New Testament and Scripture History (or an equivalent addition in Classics on the part of those who are not members of the Church of England), are still exacted from every Candidate for the B.A.; and it is only as one of those additional subjects among which a choice is permitted to him, that Science appears on the B.A. programme. Besides passing in

the School of *Literæ Humaniores*, he must go up in either Mathematics (for which no more than the first six books of Euclid, or the first part of Algebra, are required), in Natural Science, or in Law and Modern History; these four departments ranking at Oxford as the four *Schools*, pretty closely corresponding to the Cambridge *Tripeses*.—The creation of the third and fourth of these Schools dates from 1850. In the Natural Science School there are three principal subjects, Mechanical Philosophy, Chemistry, and Physiology; and the Candidate is expected to show himself acquainted with the principles of two of these, and with “some one branch of Science which falls under Mechanical Philosophy,”—these branches being enumerated as Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Pneumatics, Sound, Light, Heat, and Electricity. It is manifest from the details given in the programme, that a very moderate amount of acquaintance with these subjects will enable the Candidate to pass; and it would obviously be unfair to expect more from youths who are still required to devote the larger proportion of their time and attention to classical study. Why the choice of the student, however, should be limited in respect of the special “branch of Science” he brings up, to the set of subjects somewhat inappropriately grouped under the designation “Mechanical Philosophy,” we must own ourselves at a loss to comprehend. He might have a turn for Chemistry, and be fairly proficient not only in its general principles, but in its practical details; or he might have acquired a special acquaintance with Animal or Vegetable Physiology; yet these studies would avail him nothing. In what respect can it be said that they are less valuable as means of intellectual discipline, or as contributing to fit a man for the ordinary business of life, than the study of Mechanics or Optics, of Heat or Electricity? And why, if the principle of option is admitted so far, should it not be extended so as to include Botany and Zoology, Mineralogy and Geology, among the subjects a knowledge of whose principles should be accepted by the Examiners of the School of Natural Science? We can scarcely suppose that the University is afraid of encouraging the study of either of those sciences, since it gives them a place in the list of subjects which may be brought up for Honours, and there places them on a level with Physical Science; and considering that the natural taste of many young men leads them to follow one or other of them as recreations, there would seem to us a great advantage in inducing such to lay a good foundation for their continued pursuit of it in a higher spirit, by accepting an adequate measure of real scientific knowledge in either of these departments, in place of the modicum of Physical Science required by the present regulations.

Candidates for the Honours' Examinations of Oxford and Cambridge, as most of our readers are probably aware, are exempted from appearing at the Pass Examinations of the same School or Tripos; but every Candidate for Honours in Natural Science at Oxford, however distinguished the place he may be prepared to take, must first have passed in the School of "*Literæ Humaniores*." Every such Candidate is required to evince an acquaintance with the principles of all the three great divisions of Natural Science—Physics, Chemistry, and Physiology—and with "an exact knowledge of some one or more of the particular Sciences comprehended under the general head of Natural Science," in the enumeration of which we find ample scope for the exhibition of proficiency in any department, to the study of which the Candidate may have specially devoted himself.

But to whom will it be supposed that the University of Oxford entrusts the duty of testing the attainments of the aspirants for its Honours? Does it seek the assistance, as its Examiners, of the highest authorities in Mechanics, Light, Electricity, Heat, Chemistry, Physiology, Ethnology, Comparative Anatomy, Palæontology, Geology, Physical Geography, Botany, Zoology, and Mineralogy? Or does it limit such appointments to its own members; and are there men among these who rank so high in all these departments, as to inspire public confidence that the Examinations which they conduct are worthy of the University to whose Honours those examinations are the passport? Our readers will scarcely be prepared to credit the fact, that the duty of examining in any or all of the subjects just enumerated devolves on three Members of the University, one of whom seems expected to be conversant with the whole range of Physical Science, another with every department of Chemistry, while the duties of the third must embrace Animal and Vegetable Physiology, Zoology, Botany, and Palæontology,—Geology and Physical Geography being held, we presume, by the one that happens to be most conversant with them. Now any one who looks at the list of gentlemen who have held the office from the year 1853, in which the School of Natural Science first came into operation, must be painfully struck with the utter inefficiency of such an arrangement. In the first year the Examiners named were Dr. Daubeny, Dr. Acland, and Mr. Walker, than whom the University could not have selected more unexceptionable representatives of Chemistry, Physiology, and Physical Science, considered generally; but for the University to impose upon these gentlemen the duty of examining not only upon the details of any portion of their several departments, but also upon Geology, Physical Geography, and Mineralogy, was surely expecting too much from their zeal in its behalf. They were not, however, severely tasked; for in that year

only one Candidate was named for honours, his place being in the third class. In 1851, Dr. Ogle was substituted for Dr. Acland; and we then find two Candidates attaining the Honour of a First Class, and one that of the Second. Among the Examiners since appointed, we find Prof. Philips the Reader in Geology, Mr. N. Story-Maskelyne the Reader in Mineralogy, and Dr. Rolleston, lately appointed to the new Professorship in Physiology; but we likewise find, occurring over and over again, the names of H. J. Smith, C. T. Coote, J. A. Dale, F. T. Conington, and H. Reynolds,—gentlemen whose qualifications, whatever may be thought of them at Oxford, are utterly unknown to the scientific world outside. It is not surprising that under the discouragements of such a system, in addition to those of other kinds, the Honours of the School of Natural Science should be sought by only a small proportion of the total number of graduates; and we cannot believe that its First Class will take rank with that of the Schools of Literæ Humaniores and Mathematics, so long as it shall be awarded by men who have themselves given no public evidence of being themselves worthy of the same distinction.

Cambridge, like Oxford, as yet so far adheres to her ancient traditions, as to abstain from instituting any special Degree in Science; but she more fully admits proficiency in Science, engrafted upon the stock-subjects of the ordinary University Course, as a qualification for Degrees in Arts. There are only two public appearances required from the Candidate for a Cambridge B.A. Degree; namely, the Previous Examination or “little go,” which may be passed after the completion of the fifth term, and the Final or Degree Examination, for which nine Terms must be kept. The subjects of the Previous Examination are nearly the same as at Oxford; viz., the Greek Text of the Gospels, Paley’s “Evidences of Christianity,” one of the Greek and one of the Latin Classics, Euclid as far as the Third Book, and Arithmetic. On such, however, as intend to seek their Degree in the Natural Sciences’ Tripos, or to be Candidates for Honours in either of the other Triposes, it is incumbent to pass in certain Mathematical subjects additionally imposed at the Previous Examination; viz., the 4th and 6th Books of Euclid, Algebra as far as Quadratic Equations, and Elementary Mechanics.

A student who has passed his Previous Examination, and completed his additional period of study, may obtain his B.A. Degree in several different modes. If satisfied with the ordinary course, he has only to pass a Classical and Mathematical Examination of no great severity; the Mathematical subjects required being but little in advance on the “additional subjects” of the Previous Examination. But if he thinks himself qualified to contend for

Honours either in the Classical or in the Mathematical Tripos, he is excused from passing in the remaining subjects, and is thereby enabled to devote himself unrestrictedly to the one he has selected. In like manner, such Candidate as may "pass with credit" either in the Moral Sciences or in the Natural Sciences Tripos, is admitted to his Degree without being required to pass any other examination; whilst Candidates who may have obtained Honours, either in the Classical or in the Mathematical Tripos of any year, may acquire additional distinction in either of the Science Triposes. Thus the Cambridge student who desires to "go out" in Science is quite free to devote himself to the study of it during the whole of the latter portion of his University course; and a much higher measure of proficiency may fairly be expected from him. The scheme of Examination at present embraces five principal topics, (1) Chemistry, (2) Mineralogy, (3) Geology, (4) Botany, and (5) Zoology with Comparative Anatomy and Comparative Physiology. In eleven out of the twelve Examination-papers, the questions are so distributed, that every paper contains one or more questions in each of these five departments; the twelfth paper being composed of questions relating to the History and Philosophy of these Sciences. It is by no means expected, however, that a Candidate should exhibit even a moderate acquaintance with all five departments; in fact, the scheme is framed with the intention of giving him an option even wider than that which is allowed at Oxford. If the Candidate simply desires to pass, he is not expected to show special proficiency in any one subject, but may gain the required number of marks by giving evidence of moderate attainment over a wider range; receiving no credit, however, for any one subject, unless he can satisfy the Examiners that he possesses "a competent knowledge" of that subject. But he may attain the Honour of a First Class, by giving evidence of high proficiency in some one of the first four subjects just enumerated, or in two at least of the subdivisions of the fifth; provided that he also come up to the standard of a "competent knowledge" in some other department.* It is obvious from this arrangement that those who framed the Cambridge scheme desired, on the one hand, to exclude the mere superficial smatterer in Science, and on the other to encourage thoroughness of acquirement within such a circumscribed range as the Candidate may choose for himself. But they have not thought proper to exact from their Candidates for the highest honours in this Tripos, that which it seems to us the great merit of the Oxford scheme to require, a knowledge of the *principles* of each of the three great departments of Physics, Chemistry, and

* Though this last condition is not expressed in the Regulations, we have authority for stating that it is practically the mode in which they operate.

Physiology (or, as we should prefer to term it, Biology). Thus a Candidate may obtain a place in the First Class by exhibiting satisfactory evidence of high attainment in Chemistry, with a moderate knowledge of Chemical Physics and Mineralogy, although totally ignorant of Botany, Zoology, and Geology; or by high proficiency in Geology, and some acquaintance with Mineralogy, Systematic Botany, and Zoology, though entirely unacquainted with Chemistry; or by high proficiency either in Botany or in two out of the three subjects grouped under the head of Zoology; or, if his taste should happen to lie in the direction of Mineralogy, by making that the special subject of his performance, and limiting his answers to the parts of Chemistry and Geology most intimately related to it.

The Cambridge system, then, does not aim to educate the student of Science in the fundamental ideas and principles of *all* its principal departments; but merely, in fact, allows the student who may have a scientific turn, to substitute Chemistry and Physics, or Geology and Mineralogy, or Botany and Zoology, for the Classics and Mathematics he would otherwise be studying during the latter portion of his academic course as a preparation for his B.A. Degree. And though a First Class in Natural Science may take rank with the corresponding place in Classics or in Moral Science, it is not to be expected that the former shall obtain its due position in the University, so long as its highest honours are reserved for proficiency in Mathematics and Mathematical Physics alone; and a man may become a Senior Wrangler and First Smith's Prizeman, who does not know the difference between oxygen and hydrogen, is perfectly destitute of the most elementary knowledge of Geology, and believes a whale to be "a fish," a bat to be "a beastly bird," and a daisy or a dahlia to be a simple flower like the rose!

The Examinations in Natural Science at Cambridge are placed under the direction of a Board, consisting of the Professors of Anatomy, Chemistry, Botany, Geology, and Mineralogy, together with the Examiners for that Tripos in the current and two preceding years; and this board is charged not only with framing the details of the scheme, but with the nomination of the Examiners, whose election, however, rests with the Senate. It is provided that two Examiners should be elected in each year, and that they should serve (if re-elected by the Senate) for two years; four Examiners being thus in office at once. Now, this arrangement is obviously open to the same objections as those which we have laid to the charge of the Oxford system, and even in graver measure; for whilst in the latter there was a whole Examiner to each of the three principal subjects included in the scheme, the Cambridge system requires *four* Examiners to undertake the duty

of conducting the Examinations in the *five* or rather *seven* subjects to which it gives primary importance; so that either some one Examiner must undertake two subjects, or each Examiner must go a little beyond his own province, and perform five-fourths of the entire duty. Even if, as we understand is contemplated, a fifth Examiner should be added, this will only give a single Examiner to each subject; and however conscientious and painstaking he may be, it is scarcely possible but that the character of the Examination should be influenced by his own individual bias toward some particular department of it. Thus few men are equally well versed in Organic and Inorganic Chemistry, in Physical Geology and Palæontology, in Systematic Botany and Vegetable Physiology, or in Systematic Zoology and Comparative Anatomy and Physiology. And if such men are to be found, there should be a much wider range of selection open to the University than is afforded by its own members. The composition of the Cambridge Examining Board, however, has been throughout much superior to that which the Oxford Board has latterly presented; the distinguished Professors who occupy the Chairs of Science having taken an active share in this duty, instead of delegating it to men of inferior reputation.

In the Scottish Universities no alteration of the old curriculum has yet been made to meet the demands of modern science; but we understand that changes in this direction are under the consideration of the University Commissioners, though nothing more is contemplated (if we are rightly informed) than to give Certificates of Proficiency to Candidates who may pass creditable Examinations in certain specified departments of Science, after having gone through the ordinary process for obtaining the B.A. degree. In the B.A. curriculum of the University of Dublin, a place has long been assigned to those departments of Physics which are capable of being treated Mathematically; and Experimental Physics may be substituted in the last two years for Classics; but neither in the Pass nor in the Honours Examination is there any allowance made for the highest proficiency in Chemistry or in any department of Biology. In the newer Queen's University of Ireland, these Sciences receive more encouragement; all Candidates for the B.A. degree being required to pass in Classics and Mathematics, but an option being allowed them between three groups of subjects—viz., (1) English Philology and Criticism, Logic, and Metaphysics; (2) Chemistry and Natural Philosophy; (3) Zoology, Botany, and Physical Geography. Honours are awarded by subsequent separate Examinations in Natural Philosophy experimentally treated, in Chemistry and Chemical Physics, and in the Natural Sciences, under which last head are included the Principles of Animal and Vegetable

Structure and Classification, the Elements of Geology and Physical Geography, and the Laws of Geographical Distribution of Plants and Animals. Candidates for the degree of M.A., which in the Queen's University can only be obtained by the ordeal of a higher Examination, may make their election among four branches of knowledge—viz., (1) Classics, including a modern language; (2) English Philology and Criticism, Logic, and Metaphysics; (3) Mathematics and Mathematical Physics; and (4) Experimental and Natural Sciences, including Experimental Physics, Chemistry, Structure, Functions, Classification, and Geographical Distribution of Animals and Vegetables, and the Elements of Geology and Palæontology, Physical Geography, and Crystallography and Mineralogy. This scheme has the great merit of making proficiency in the Experimental and Natural Sciences the passport to the highest Academical Distinction; but it does not differentiate the Graduate in those Sciences from the Scholar, the Mathematician, or the Metaphysician.

The University of London is the only British Academical Institution that has yet shown a full recognition of the claims of Science as an instrument of educational discipline, and applied itself in good earnest to meet them. When its B.A. curriculum was framed more than twenty years since, although the system of the older Universities was for the most part adopted as a basis, there was a strong desire on the part of many influential members of its Senate to encourage the study of Science, by requiring that every candidate for Degrees in Arts should give evidence of having mastered the fundamental principles of its primary departments. The advocates of the older learning, however, so far prevailed as to limit this requirement to a very small modicum; and the Candidate for the Matriculation Examination is at present only expected to show an acquaintance with the rudiments of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry: while from the Candidate for the B.A. degree nothing additional is required in Experimental Physics or Chemistry; the application of Mathematics to Mechanical Philosophy, together with the principles of Animal Physiology, being the only scientific subjects included in the Pass Examination. Prizes and Honours, however, are awarded at the Matriculation Examination in Zoology and Botany, as well as in Chemistry; and at the B.A. Examination in Chemistry, Animal Physiology, and Botany. For these, however, there is but little competition, except among Candidates who have already entered upon the study of Medicine; the literary requirements of the Pass Examinations being such as fully to occupy the time and attention of all but those who have made unusual progress in their preparatory studies.

After having gone through a minority of twenty years, however, and acquired a right of independent action, in virtue not

only of its mature age, but of the evidence it has given of vigorous activity, the University of London has taken a course which gives it the lead among its compeers in the recognition of the claims of Science, and should entitle it to the lasting gratitude of all such as desire to see that recognition universal. By the New Charter which it obtained three years since, the University was empowered to grant Degrees in Science, as well as in Arts, Laws, and Medicine; and on this power its Senate speedily proceeded to act. Taking into their counsels several of the most eminent of the scientific men who had brought the subject under their consideration by the Memorials already referred to, and making themselves fully acquainted with the systems already pursued by the principal Continental Universities, they proceeded to consider, first, the general plan, and then the details of the scheme which should most effectually answer the desired purpose; possessing the advantage on the one hand of being able to profit by the experience of all the older Academical Institutions, whilst on the other they enjoyed the inestimable privilege of being entirely unfettered either by authority or by tradition. After no longer a delay than was desirable for the mature consideration of its scheme, the University announced in its Calendar for 1860 its readiness to confer the Degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Science upon such Candidates as may succeed in passing the prescribed Examinations, together with certain Honours and substantial rewards in the shape of Exhibitions and Scholarships for those who, having passed the ordinary Examinations, could give evidence of a high degree of proficiency in certain specified subjects.

The importance which we attach to this step, in its direct and indirect effect upon the scientific education of our country, induces us to place the leading features of the Scientific curriculum of the University of London fully before our readers; and we think they will agree with us, that although it may present some features which rather invite criticism, it is on the whole extremely well-devised for the fulfilment of the two main objects which the Senate seem to have kept in view in framing it—viz., that the *lower* degree should be an attestation of an adequate acquaintance with the fundamental principles of *all* the principal departments of science; the curriculum prescribed for it thus serving for the guidance of such as desire to follow a sound and comprehensive course of scientific education;—whilst the *higher* degree should be the distinction of such only, as shall not only have passed through the whole of the general preliminary course, but shall have displayed evidence of distinguished attainments in some special department; thus holding out an encouragement to that limitation of the attention to a particular pursuit, which, if the previous

training has been adequate, gives the fairest prospect of future eminence in the path of original research. The tendency of the one part of the scheme, taken by itself, would doubtless be to promote a mediocre superficiality; that of the other part, if acted on alone, to foster a narrow specialism, which would be alike undesirable in itself, and inconsistent with the meaning of an Academical degree; but, taken together, they seem to us to present a most happy combination of means for the attainment of the advantages of each system without the disadvantages incident to it. And we have the more confidence in the efficiency of its operation, because it is conformable to that great principle of progress from the general to the special, which we have on so many occasions pointed out to be the law of all organic development, psychical and social, as well as physiological and individual.

It is required by the University of London that Candidates for degrees in Science, as for those in Arts and Medicine, shall, before commencing their career as Undergraduates, give evidence of their preparedness to enter upon a course of Academic study by passing a Matriculation Examination; the subjects of which are those which they may be fairly expected to master (though it is only in a really good school that they *are* mastered) during the ordinary period of scholastic training. A very moderate acquaintance with Greek, Latin, and either French or German, a competent knowledge of the first four books of Euclid, with Arithmetic, and Algebra up to simple equations and the doctrine of proportion,—an acquaintance with the leading events of English History, and with the grammatical structure of the English Language,—and a knowledge of such elementary facts and principles of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry as every decently-educated youth ought to possess, if only to put him on a level with the boys taught in the better class of our National and British Schools,—constitute the whole of the requirements of this Examination; and it is a lamentable proof of the inefficiency of many of our middle-class schools, that a considerable proportion (at the recent January Examination nearly one-half) of the candidates who present themselves at it, are rejected for incompetency, their failure being for the most part in several subjects. That no exception can fairly be taken to the stringency of this examination, is obvious from the fact that it is passed with facility by well-trained lads who have only just attained the minimum age of sixteen years; a smaller proportion of these being rejected, and a larger proportion being ranked in the first class, than is the case with older Candidates. Nevertheless we think it open to question whether some further option might not be advantageously allowed to Candidates;—whether, for example, instead of requiring both ancient languages and *either* of two modern,

it might not be well to allow a Candidate to come up in *either* Latin or Greek and in *both* French and German. The results of the Oxford and Cambridge middle-class Examinations, in which a wide range of option is allowed, plainly show that in a large proportion of the private schools throughout the country, Greek is not taught as a regular part of the school work, but as an *extra* to such pupils as have some special purpose in acquiring it; and thus it comes to pass that, as we have good reason to know, there are not a few among the Candidates for the Matriculation Examination of the University of London, who have to "get up" their Greek by a process of hard cramming, which is perfectly useless in its results (the smattering thus obtained being soon forgotten), and is anything but beneficial to the brain of the recipient. If the same time and labour were devoted to the study of German, an amount of knowledge of that language could be easily attained, which would afford a most useful basis for that more thorough subsequent acquirement which no sensible young man who has got over the first difficulties of that language will be likely to neglect. To the student of Science, in particular, an early familiarity with German is essential; without it he is cut off from the opportunity of acquainting himself with what is being done by a large proportion of the most earnest and successful cultivators of every part of this vast domain; and we know men who would willingly make any sacrifice in their power to recover, for the thorough mastery of that language, a quarter of the time that was bestowed in their earlier days upon classical study. We have taken some pains to inquire among our most distinguished men of science, what has been the amount of acquaintance with the Greek language they have ever attained, how much of it they still possess, and to what extent they are inconvenienced by any deficiency they may experience; and we have not found any case in which regret was expressed that a larger measure of time and attention had not been given to the early acquisition, or to the subsequent cultivation, of a knowledge of that language. We should far rather make a youth a really fair Latin scholar, by restricting his attention to that one, than, by dividing it between the two dead languages, prevent him from gaining more than a superficial acquaintance with either. And it appears to us that a good teacher of German has it in his power to make the study of that language a not less valuable instrument of mental discipline than the study of Greek is in the hands of even our best classical scholars, and is likely to impart far more real good to his pupil than can be gained by the cramming process as carried on by the routine "grinder" or "coach."

Another option might we think be afforded with advantage.

The Natural History Sciences are at present excluded from the programme of the Pass Examination ; and they certainly could not be introduced in addition to the present requirements, without unduly burthening the Candidate. But considering how important it is to bring the mind into contact with those sciences, at that early period at which the observing faculties are most active and vigorous, we should be glad to see some encouragement given to the pursuit of them, by allowing Candidates who may have attained some degree of proficiency either in Zoology or in Botany to substitute that subject for either Natural Philosophy or Chemistry.

We have no doubt whatever that the Matriculation Examination of the University of London is a far more severe test of the general attainments of the Candidate in the *Literæ Humaniores*, than the "little go" either of Oxford or Cambridge ; for although the amount of classical learning exacted may not be so high, yet the addition of a modern language, of English Grammar (of which Oxford and Cambridge graduates often show themselves lamentably ignorant), and of English History, more than compensate for inferiority in this respect ; whilst not only are the mathematical requirements higher, but the further addition of the elements of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry constitute a serious difficulty in the way of such as have not had their minds brought practically into contact with these subjects. The Student who has passed this preliminary Examination has "three courses open to him," being qualified to proceed to the Bachelor's degree either in Arts, Science, or Medicine. The curricula for the Degrees in Arts and in Science are framed upon the same general plan, and in part include the same subjects, viz., Mathematics and Mechanical Philosophy, Logic and Mental Philosophy, and Animal Physiology. But instead of the Classics, English, French (or German), and History, to be mastered by the Student in Arts, the Candidate for the Degree of B.Sc. devotes his attention to Chemistry, Experimental Physics, Botany, and Zoology. He is free to study these subjects both where and how he finds that he can do so most conveniently and effectively ; the University concerning itself, not with the business of education, but only with its results, as tested by the stringent Examinations to which every candidate is subjected.

At the *first* of these Examinations for the B.Sc. degree any Candidate may present himself who has matriculated at least a year previously ; but there is nothing to prevent him from prolonging the interval if he should prefer to do so. The subjects of this Examination are Pure Mathematics, as far as Quadratic Equations and the elements of Analytical Geometry and of Plane Trigonometry, Physics (chiefly Experimental), Inorganic Che-

mistry, Botany and Vegetable Physiology, and Zoology; the amount of acquirement expected in Physics, Chemistry, and Biology being specified as that which may fairly be attained by attendance on a Course of Lectures on each of these subjects, extending through an Academical Session. Any Candidate who has succeeded in passing this Examination may present himself for Honours in either or all of the three following branches; (1) Mathematics and Mechanical Philosophy, (2) Chemistry and Natural Philosophy, and (3) Biology, including Structural, Physiological, and Systematic Botany, and Zoology; and to the Candidate who shall most distinguish himself in each, if he come up to the required standard of merit, an Exhibition of £10 per annum for two years is awarded, provided that he have not passed the age of 22 years.—The subjects of the *second* B.Sc. Examination, at which any Candidate may present himself who has passed the first Examination at least fifteen months previously, are Mechanical and Natural Philosophy treated both Experimentally and Mathematically, Organic Chemistry, Animal Physiology, Geology and Palæontology, with Logic and Moral Philosophy; the amount of acquaintance expected with each topic being pretty clearly indicated by the detailed programme. Any Candidate who has passed this Examination may present himself for Honours in either or all of the following subjects; (1) Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, (2) Chemistry and Biology, (3) Logic and Moral Philosophy, (4) Geology and Palæontology; and to the Candidate who shall most distinguish himself in each of these subjects, a Scholarship of £50 per annum for three years is awarded, provided that he shall not have passed the age of 23 years.

Of course it is not to be supposed that a Candidate, however diligent, should be able to master within two years more than the principles and leading facts of each of the great divisions of Science included in this comprehensive scheme; and there might seem much advantage in giving the option which is allowed at Oxford and Cambridge, between some of the principal departments of Science, and exacting a higher standard of attainment in the subjects thus selected by the Candidate. We know that such a plan was under the consideration of the Senate; but they were led to prefer the existing scheme, partly by the desire that such as proceed to the degree of Doctor should first have shown themselves to possess that broad foundation of general scientific knowledge which can alone afford a sure basis for the truly philosophic cultivation of any special department; and partly by the assurance which they received from scientific Teachers of experience, that when the *whole mind* of the Student is given up to the acquisition of scientific knowledge, any one who possesses a

fair average of cultivated intelligence may acquire the amount which is expected from him within the minimum time prescribed, the variety of the mental food placed before him rather favouring than opposing his power of digesting it. In the first two years of the Medical Curriculum, in fact, the well-trained student finds it possible to master a considerable knowledge, practical as well as theoretical, of Anatomy, Physiology, Chemistry, *Materia Medica*, and Botany, whilst devoting some share of his attention to Hospital practice; and the demand thus made upon his time and powers is at least equal to that which is imposed on the aspirant for the B.Sc. degree. Moreover, it is open to every Candidate who may desire to display his special proficiency in any of the principal subjects of Examination, to become a Candidate for Honours; and if we may judge of the probable working of this scheme by the analogy of the Medical Examinations, it is not unlikely that Candidates may present themselves possessing so high a proficiency as to obtain Honours and even Scholarships in more than one subject. Great encouragement is thus given to thoroughness of attainment in the departments of study to which the particular predilections of each Candidate may cause him to incline most; whilst security is taken that he has gone through that extended course of training, and possesses that amount of general scientific information, of which it is intended that the Degree of B.Sc. shall be the attestation.

The lower degree once attained, however, the Candidate for the higher degree of D.Sc. is encouraged by the University to limit his aims within a much narrower range; the whole tendency of modern science being towards specialization; and the extension of the boundaries of knowledge being to be sought, not by vague purposeless wanderings along the borders of the region already explored, but by a definite search in fixed directions, sagaciously marked out as likely to lead to valuable results. The whole assemblage of subjects from which a Candidate for the Doctor's degree is allowed to select, is grouped under the four principal divisions, Physical Science, Biological Science, Geological and Palæontological Science, and Mental Science; but the first two of these divisions include several branches, the total numbers being sixteen; and the Candidate is required to show a thorough practical knowledge of the *Principal Subject*, and a general acquaintance with the *Subsidiary Subjects*, specified as belonging to the Branch he may select. In many of the branches, moreover, a further latitude of choice is allowed by the mode in which the principal and the subordinate subjects are allowed to be interchanged; thus the Candidate who may select the first Branch, Mathematics, may make either *Pure* or *Applied* Mathematics his principal subject, and treat the other as subsidiary;

and in Branch VIII., which includes Physical Optics, Heat, and Acoustics, the first with either of the last two is to constitute the principal subject, the remaining topic serving as the subsidiary. So, again, we find the Candidate who may come up in Chemistry not only left at liberty to make either Inorganic or Organic Chemistry his principal subject, and to treat the other as subsidiary; but he may adopt Mineralogy, Crystallography, and Chemical Technology in its relations to Inorganic Chemistry as the subsidiary subjects in the first case, and Chemical Technology in its relations to Organic Chemistry, with the Chemistry of Animal and Vegetable life, as the subsidiary subjects in the second. In the distribution of the Biological Sciences there is provision for a still greater degree of specialization as regards one important part of the Examination; thus under Branch X., Comparative Anatomy, there is required as the principal subject a knowledge of "the typical structure, and the chief deviations from it, of every class in the Animal kingdom; together with a special acquaintance with the anatomy of some particular Class, to be selected by the Candidate, and approved by the Examiner." So in Zoology, Systematic Botany, and Palæontology, besides a knowledge of the structural and physiological characters of the principal divisions of the Animal and Vegetable kingdoms respectively, there is required a critical knowledge of the genera and species of some particular group, in the choice of which the Candidate is left perfectly free, subject to its approval by the Examiner. The whole scheme bears evidence not only of very careful elaboration but of a thorough appreciation of the existing relations between the different departments of Science, to which it seems to us to have been most sagaciously adapted. With the progress of scientific inquiry these relations may be expected to change in the ensuing quarter of a century, as they have done in the preceding; and fresh departments of knowledge may have to be introduced, the very names of which would now be as strange to us, as the titles *Histology*, *Morphology*, and *Development* would have been to the framers of the earliest curricula of the University. But in Science everything is progressive; and we feel sure that the Academical body which has thus taken so prominent a place in advance of its sister Universities, will not be likely to lose that place by any remissness in its attention to the changing requirements of the future.

But no scheme of Examinations in Science, however well arranged and symmetrically framed, can be effective in securing the competence of the Candidates admitted to these Degrees, unless it is worked by Examiners who have themselves given evidence of distinguished ability in the departments they respectively undertake. For without such security the Degrees will take

no rank in public estimation as attestations of scientific proficiency, and will become of no greater value to their possessors than the German Ph.D.; and it cannot be expected that Candidates will present themselves to be examined by men whose qualifications they may have reason to regard as little (if at all) superior to their own. The University of London, however, is not less fortunately circumstanced in regard to its choice of Examiners, than in its freedom from the trammels of an antiquated routine; for it is perfectly free to avail itself of the services of the best men that can be found willing to discharge this responsible duty; and it has been fortunate enough to obtain such a list as comprises some of the highest talent that this country can afford in each department. Moreover, it now goes on the principle of appointing two Examiners for each subject, so as not merely to exclude the influence of any bias in favour of particular doctrines or systems to which either Examiner taken alone might be supposed liable, but also to give the most advantageous effect to the special knowledge which each Examiner may possess, a consideration which is not unfrequently of considerable importance. In Mathematics, Pure and Mixed, the examinations are conducted by Messrs. Routh and Besant, gentlemen who have both obtained the highest honours in these subjects at Cambridge (and the former of them in London also), and have been entrusted with the like duty in their own University; in Natural Philosophy the Examiners are Prof. Tyndall and Mr. G. D. Liveing, the former known to the whole scientific world, the latter a gentleman of high Cambridge reputation; and Chemistry is most worthily represented by Prof. W. A. Miller of King's College, and Prof. Williamson of University College. In Botany names of higher reputation could nowhere be found than those of Dr. J. D. Hooker and Prof. Lindley; in Zoology and Animal Physiology it would be difficult to name the superiors of Mr. G. Busk and Prof. Huxley; and every one who is in the least conversant with Geology and Palæontology, would recognise in Profrs. Ramsay and Morris two of the most distinguished of the younger band who are worthily stepping into the places from time to time left vacant in the now attenuated ranks of those by whom these sciences may be said to have been created. The merits of Mr. Alexander Bain and Mr. T. Spencer Baynes are not less appreciated by those who have devoted themselves to Psychological studies; and the recent appointment of Mr. Bain to the Chair of Logic in the University of Aberdeen, made in the teeth of strong local and clerical interest, has drawn public attention yet more strongly to the evidences of his distinguished ability. Altogether, we venture to affirm that it would be difficult to bring together a brighter galaxy of talent than

that which has been collected in the Committee Room at Burlington House on the occasion of the Science Examinations ; and our only fear is that when these gentlemen may be forced, by the limitation of their tenure, to retire from their respective offices, it may be difficult to find substitutes of anything like equal merit.

But complete and efficient as this staff will doubtless prove in the conduct of the Examinations for the Bachelor's degree and its attendant Honours, the Senate obviously do not contemplate throwing upon it the whole responsibility of the award of the Doctorate ; for the speciality of knowledge which is encouraged in the Candidate should of course be possessed in a yet higher degree by the Examiners ; and there are no two living men who can be expected so fully to meet *all* the requirements of their several departments, as to inspire the needed confidence in the value of the tests they impose. Whenever the occasion may arise, therefore, special Examiners will be appointed in the particular subject brought up by the Candidate ; and the readiness with which so many of our ablest men of Science have already come forward to perform the more onerous portion of the duty, leaves us in no doubt that the right men will be found for these special occasions, whenever the University may require such assistance.

We trust that the example thus set by the University of London will not be without its effect upon her older and richer sisters. It is in the power of Oxford and Cambridge to give a most potent stimulus to the study of Science, by holding out as rewards for scientific attainment a fair proportion of those vast endowments which are at present reserved almost exclusively for Classical scholarship and Mathematical proficiency, and by thus giving to their honours that substantial attestation of Academical value which is necessary to ensure their due estimation by the public. We maintain this to be the duty of those Universities, because their endowments were intended for the encouragement of the highest learning, not of any one time, but of all time ; and what learning is higher than that which makes Man the "*minister et interpres Naturæ* ?" And we are sure that it would be for their interest ; for unless, by some decided step in this direction, they keep themselves in sympathy with the highest intelligence of the British nation, their moral influence must assuredly decline, and their *prestige* be left resting only on their material wealth and the remembrance of their past greatness.

ART. V.—EARLY INTERCOURSE OF ENGLAND AND
GERMANY.

Bilder aus alt England. Von REINHOLD PAULI. Gotha:
Perthes. London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate.
1860.

THE name of Dr. Pauli is already naturalized in our historical literature as an esteemed, though not a popular narrator of English story; as a writer of painstaking research, who goes back beyond the printed annalists to original and documentary authorities. The volume he here presents to his German readers of our national history, embraces some episodic topics which could not be introduced into the columns of his "History of England" without overloading his pages. He has thrown this superfetation of his historical work into twelve essays. They relate almost without exception to the Plantagenet period, and should be read as excursions to accompany his text. The nature of them may be gathered from the titles.

1. Canterbury. Conversion and Pilgrimage. 2. Monks and Friars. 3. Parliament in the 14th Century. 5. The Emperor Louis IV. and King Edward III. 7. Gower and Chaucer. 8. Wiclif. 9. Henry V., and King Sigismund. 10. The Maid of Orleans. 11. Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester. 12. London in the Middle Ages (with a plan).

The very titles will show that these fragments are designed for the German, rather than the English reader. The materials are derived from books already accessible to us. There are few traces of fresh research or new matter produced. Some of the papers are mere *résumés* of English books, as the first on Canterbury is derived, verbatim, from Dr. Stanley's Memorials of Canterbury. In others, original matter supplements a rather flat treatment of trite themes; and even when travelling over the best-worn ground, Dr. Pauli's study of first-hand sources gives a security to his step and a correctness to his language, which induces the reader to trust him. Nos. 4 and 6, it will be noticed, are omitted in our list. One treats of England's earliest relations to Austria and Prussia; the other of the Steelyard. These essays have a character of originality beyond their companions. And though No. 6 appeared in part some years ago in the Bremen *Sonntagsblatt*, and was at the time noticed in some English periodicals, the information contained in both will probably be new to the greater

part of our readers, and well deserves the devotion of a few pages to it.

One great merit of Dr. Pauli's history is that, in writing even of the middle ages, he makes us feel their bearing on our own age. With most historians the past is the bygone. We may be interested in the Plantagenets, because they were Kings of England, and we are Englishmen. We have parliamentary government and representative institutions; and it is curious to look back to times when things were so different; to an epoch when what was called a parliament was an assembly entirely different from that with whose incapacity we are familiar. Such is the spirit in which the history of our ancestors is ordinarily propounded to us. With Dr. Pauli, things are different. When he tells us what was doing in the 13th or the 14th century, we are made to feel that it had a bearing—remote indeed, but real—on what is being done now. The current of English life has been constant and continuous. As the child is father to the man, the 19th century is what it is as the sequel, not of the 18th only, but of all the centuries that have preceded it. It would be easy, of course, to exaggerate this truth of the continuity of history into a falsehood; but Dr. Pauli does not exaggerate it; he lets it just be felt through his narrative—no more.

If any one part of the English system rather than another could be claimed as a modern growth, it is her foreign policy. The Reformation, by creating an entirely new political interest, the Protestant interest, and a new classification of the States of Europe into Protestant and Catholic, must, it should seem, have revolutionized our foreign policy. This, however, is only very partially the case. The physical conditions of our island home, the preponderance of our commercial interests, and lastly, our national character, have been ever the weightiest influences in determining our continental connexions. These material and moral interests have outweighed the religious tie. But these interests have been all along the same, and existed before the Reformation no less than since. When England, in common with the rest of Europe, was Catholic, these interests drew us towards North Germany, and away from France. The attraction has been neither greater nor less since North Germany, in common with England, has become Protestant. Our island has indeed been conquered by Italians, and conquered by French. But only Jutes, Angles, Saxons, and Danes, emigrants from Northern Europe, have succeeded in nationalizing themselves here. The Norman element itself was half Danish, and was soon absorbed in the earlier Saxon race.

A good history of our foreign policy from the earliest period would be very useful. The apathy shown on that topic by the

middle class of this country is the result of ignorance. Where they know the bearings of a question of foreign politics, they are by no means indifferent. They are enthusiastic for Garibaldi; for a war between an oppressed people and an oppressing tyrant is a situation which it requires no historical knowledge to comprehend. But when, instead of a national insurrection, it comes to diplomacy, our ideas get confused. Simple fighting, John Bull can understand, but in a negotiation he can't see his way. Hence it is that kings in the old times, and cabinet ministers in modern, have been allowed to trifle with our interests, and to fool away our resources without a murmur on the part of the people. At other times the people themselves, incapable of discerning where their true interest lay, have cheered on their government into French wars and continental alliances which wasted our strength and incumbered us with debt.

One of Dr. Pauli's dissertations is devoted to tracing the various connexions of England with Germany during the feudal times. It is very slight and cursory. The writer allows himself to be led by his materials, rather than takes the pains necessary to collect the materials required to elucidate the subject. He has happened, however, to light upon some records which have never been produced before, or which do not appear in our ordinary histories. Henry II. laid the foundation of a true foreign policy for England. The position of this sovereign, as having to struggle against the advance of the Romanizing principle in Europe, led him almost inevitably to look for support to the old Saxon institutions of the realm. The same influence led him abroad to marry his daughter to Henry the Lion, Duke of Brunswick. When, however, on the fall of Otho IV., the posterity of Henry the Lion lost the imperial crown, and by the partition of their Saxon territory reduced the position of their house in North Germany, England began to look in another quarter for support against France and the Pope. In 1235, Isabella, the sister of Henry III. was married to the Hohenstauffen emperor, the hereditary foe of Rome, Frederic II. This was a step in the right direction. But the weakness of Henry III. would not suffer him to commit himself heartily to a Ghibelline policy. The crown of England, always at strife, and often at open war, with its own barons, had a continued tendency to support itself by alliance with the Church. The idea of a powerful coalition of northern princes to resist the encroachments of Rome, backed by France, was not yet understood in England as the true national policy.

There was, however, always a Ghibelline party and a Ghibelline feeling, in the nation. After the overthrow of the Hohenstauffen, the Ghibelline candidate for the empire, Alonzo the Wise of Castile, had the favour, if not the support, of England. Even after

the German princes had elected Rudolf of Hapsburg to the imperial crown, (1273), Edward I. makes a pressing application to the Pope in favour of Alonzo. He still professes to address Alonzo as "King of the Romans," and promises him counsel and aid against Rudolf "Count of Almaine." In the course of another year, however, better information was obtained in England as to the character and position of Rudolf of Hapsburg. German historians have complained that so little notice is to be found of Rudolf in contemporary annals out of Germany. The English State-paper Office has supplied Dr. Pauli with convincing evidence of the close attention which was paid in England to every step and movement of the new emperor.

In 1276, we find the Emperor and the King of England in constant communication; it grows more and more friendly as they perceive that they have so many interests in common. We find no further mention of Alonzo. Very shortly a treaty is on foot for a matrimonial alliance between the houses of Plantagenet and Hapsburg. It was the design of Rudolf to endow his second and favourite son, Hartmann, with a splendid sovereignty in South Germany. He designed to consolidate the possessions of his house in Swabia, Alsace, and Switzerland, and to annex to them those districts of the ancient kingdom of Arles which he could recover for the empire, and to erect the whole into a new principality, of which Hartmann was to be king. The match, brilliant for Edward I., was not without its advantages for the emperor. It is true that Edward's possessions in Languedoc were much restricted in comparison of those which his ancestors had once held. The territories of the King of England were no longer conterminous with the kingdom of Arles. But the mother of Edward I. was the daughter of a Count of Provence, her uncles and cousins were Princes of Savoy. It would occasion no surprise, then, if the first overtures for this match came from the side of Hapsburg. This is not certain; but Dr. Pauli thinks it may be inferred from the fact, that the earliest notice on the subject which has fallen in his way is an instruction to an English envoy at the court of the emperor, to tender particular thanks to Anne, Rudolf's queen, for the felicitous suggestion. Immediately, *i. e.*, in September, 1277, the Bishop of Basle and another were sent to England with full powers to negotiate the match. By the rich presents made by Edward to the two envoys on their arrival, it is easy to see how much importance was attached to the alliance on the English side. A special envoy, Grandison, Bishop of Verdun, was sent off to Vienna. The preliminaries were signed in London in January, 1278. Edward, on his side, is to give the moderate portion of 10,000 marks with his daughter. Rudolf, on his part, is to give the bride a present of 2000*l.*, to invest Hartmann

with lands to the capital value of 10,000*l.*, and to promise to use his utmost exertions to get him elected King of the Romans so soon as he himself shall have received the imperial crown from the Pope; and further to prevail with the princes of the empire to recognise him as King of Arles. These conditions were not only accepted and ratified at Vienna, but a further addition was voluntarily made by the emperor. He assigns 1000 marks yearly as pin-money to his son's wife, secured upon the Swiss possessions of his house. Edward, with his accustomed prudence, requires his ambassador to observe the young prince, and to inform himself of his character and disposition; but, above all, to send to England exact particulars of the estates and lands of which it was proposed that Hartmann should be put in possession.

So far all went rapidly forward. But when everything was agreed upon, delay intervened, a delay which has seemed so unaccountable that it has been supposed that the emperor was not in earnest in his proposal of the match. The whole tenor of the preceding negotiations negatives such a supposition. The splendid settlement which Rudolf was ready to make upon his son, shows how highly he valued the English alliance. But his attention was diverted elsewhere by the quarrels in which he was engaged on the eastern side of Germany, and especially with Ottocar, King of Bohemia. And the fact that the English princess was, as Dr. Pauli reminds us, only born in 1272, and therefore, at the definitive conclusion of the treaty only six years of age, is of itself a sufficient explanation. Dr. Pauli produces the despatch in which a request for the postponement of the betrothal proceeds from the English court. The imperial envoys had been instructed to propose 8th September, 1278, for the ceremony.

So far from being surprised at delay, we are rather surprised that, after the lapse of a year or two, Edward should begin to evince a little impatience. We say a year or two, because Dr. Pauli is very confused in his dates, and more than once gives the day and the month, without remembering to add the year of an event. We should like to know the date of the letter which the young Hartmann addresses to his father and lord,—so he styles the King of England—but of which Dr. Pauli only informs us that it was on the 10th of September. In this letter he “offers, with true filial reverence, his best thanks to the King for his goodness in promoting his marriage. He promises to become ever more worthy of his fatherly affection, more obedient, and desirous to please him. He is now on the point of setting out for Austria to join his father, to be present at the ceremony of the investiture of his elder brother with the Duchy. He expects to be back by All Saints, and will then await

at Basle the arrival of the expected English courier." The letter is that of a boy, dictated by his preceptor. The preceptor was one Magister Peter, who, whatever his other qualifications may have been, had not earned his promotion by his Latin style. The turgid and fulsome language of this letter, which Master Peter is himself to bring to England, seems to show that it was not first in the 17th century that the German courts learned the *Perruckensprache*.

During this pause in the fulfilment of the treaty, the friendly intercourse between the two courts is not interrupted.

The decisive battle of the Marchfield, which made Rudolf undisputed master of the Austrian provinces, was fought on the 26th August, 1278.

We find, from a household-book of Edward I., that, on 30th October, Herthelm, king-at-arms of the "King of Almaine," receives a present on bringing the tidings of the great victory. On the following 8th November, Edward writes to his ambassador at Vienna, to say that he would have written himself to congratulate Rudolf, were it not, that before he could do so, the great news was already in every mouth, and a letter would have seemed to be out of date. The interest excited in England by events passing in so distant a quarter as Moravia, was, it seems, quite as general in the 13th century as it would be now.

As time went on, the English court grew impatient. On the German side there seems to have been some consciousness of not having redeemed their engagements. The Bishop of Basle (presumably in 1281), writes semi-officially to the King, a letter of excuse. "He had, in more than one interview, pressed upon the young prince to require of his father the settlement of the promised income. He, the Bishop, must confess that the delay was hardly excusable. On the first occasion the prince's journey to England had been put off by indisposition, a second time by urgent affairs. Since then his delay in setting out was due to pure procrastination and dilatoriness. This he could not excuse, but it was truly not his (the Bishop's,) fault; and he hoped the King, whose steady temper and prudence were known to all the world, would not on this account withdraw his royal favour from him. He would gladly come to England again in the business, were he not so loaded with debt, incurred in the campaign against the King of Bohemia, and were he not in expectation of being summoned by his sovereign to his aid in his impending campaign against Hungary."

At last the young Landgrave was ready. On the Sunday before Christmas, 21st December, 1281, he embarked on the Rhine at Breisach, in Baden. A thick fog, as usual at that season, rested on the river; they had not dropt further than

Rheinan when their barge came too close in shore, and its mast was caught in the branch of a tree. The frail craft capsized, and Hartmann, with nearly every soul on board, went down in her.

The catastrophe was immediately announced in England; but it was not till 17th August, 1282, that Rudolf, who felt deeply the tragical loss of his favourite son, himself communicated with Edward. His letter is then only one of ceremony, to excuse his long silence and to renew the assurance of his friendship, which was not diminished by the sorrowful event.

This, however, for nearly two centuries, was the only approximation between an English dynasty and the House of Austria. The Hapsburg influence lay in South Germany, and was weak in the North. The attraction of England was towards North Germany, to the Guelph and Saxon houses. The marriage of Bloody Mary with Philip II. is the only instance of a union of any English dynasty with the Hapsburg family.

With Northern Germany our connexion was, from the earliest times, most intimate; our intercourse close and constant. Here it was based, not on intermarriage between royal houses, but on the solid footing of commercial interests. It is only in quite recent times that the old bonds of relationship, and community of material interests, have been cemented by dynastic alliances. Our commercial relations with the Baltic cities began with the very earliest existence of those towns, and soon shot up into one of our leading national objects. These later intermarriages seem the natural consequence of the occupancy of the English throne, in the 18th century, by the line of Hanover. Dr. Pauli, however, to whose strong historical vision a vista of a few centuries is nothing, sees in them but the sequel of the day when Otho the Great wedded Alfred's niece. He reminds us that the white horse of the arms of the county of Kent appears also in those of Brunswick-Lüneburg, and that it is nothing more than that ocean-horse (*see-rappe*), in which the poetic fancy of the sea-roving Saxons saw an emblem of their high-prowed vessels.

Our commercial historians, Macpherson (*Annals of Commerce*), &c., date the German Guildhall in London from the concession of Henry III. This is not strictly correct; it was the Hanseatic confederacy which obtained privileges from Henry III. Long before the existence of the Hanse, long before they fixed their factories in Lisbon, Bergen, and Novogorod, a corporation of German merchants was established, with privileges on the Thames. The laws of Ethelred (978—1016) guarantee to those merchants who come hither in ships from the Emperor's country, the same privileges of trade as are enjoyed by the subjects of the realm. In acknowledgment of this concession they shall be bound to deliver for the King's use at Christmas

and Easter, two pieces of gray and one piece of brown cloth, ten pounds of pepper, five pairs of gloves, and two kegs of vinegar. The payment in kind, and not in money, looks like a customary acknowledgment from an old-established guild, and not the imposition of a new tax. We see too that it is assumed that they winter in England.

Hallam dates the establishment of the Cologne merchants in London in 1220. This again is much too late a date. Dr. Pauli cites a patent of Henry II. (as usual, without the date), in which he assures to the men of Cologne *the house they possess* in London, with all the wares it contains, and licenses the sale of Rhenish wine at the same price as French is sold. Richard I., after his return, hastening home, rested one day in Cologne, and in return for the magnificent reception prepared him by the city, he releases the citizens from the quit-rent of two shillings, which they were bound to pay annually for their Guildhall in the city of London. All this was in the century preceding the formation of the Hanseatic federation.

In the following century one North German city after another obtains similar royal letters. King John admits Bremen to the same rights as Cologne. Then follows Hamburg, then Lubeck, and in the course of Henry III.'s reign, Rostock, Wismar, Stralsund, Greifswald. Finally, in 1260, in spite of the murmurs and jealousy of the men of Cologne, a general patent is issued conferring equal trading privileges upon all "merchants of *Almaine* who possess the house in London known as the German Guildhall." (*Aula Teutonicorum*.) This original factory and staple of the German merchants, vulgarly called "The Steelyard" (*Stahlhof*), still stands on the banks of the Thames, not far above the landing quay of the steamers, above London Bridge. It was till quite recent times the property of the German towns, and was distinguishable by the style of its architecture, its green shutters, and two or three green trees, forcibly recalling to the spectator similar establishments in many an old Baltic seaport.

The German traders were, then, fixed in England from unknown antiquity. But it was not till the 14th century that their guild rose into wealth and importance of the first rank. In the reign of Edward III. they had almost a practical monopoly of our carrying trade, as the Italians in Lombard-street had of the money market. The Germans would not meddle with usury; they confined themselves to importing the raw produce of Norway and the Baltic, and the fruits of Spain and Portugal.

During Edward's wars our commerce with France was wholly broken off. English wool and leather were exported exclusively to Flanders. Edward's foreign policy led him to draw closer the

ties which connected our country with Germany. He granted new privileges to the Hanse association, for which they were always ready to pay handsomely. Edward himself travelled up the Rhine in 1338, and had an interview with the Emperor Louis IV., at Coblenz. A few years later, 1315, came the failure of the great Italian bankers, the Bardi, at Florence, owing to their heavy loans to England, which were not repaid. Undeterred by Edward's repudiation, the Steelyard stepped in. Some of the large German houses in London, the Tidemann, the brothers Reule, the Clippings, advanced large sums, taking care, however, to secure themselves by mortgages of parts of the public revenue. The Tidemann farmed for many years the tin-mines belonging to the Duchy of Cornwall. The Crown jewels had been pledged in Cologne for a sum of money; when the day came, Edward was not in a condition to redeem them. The Steelyard advanced what was required, and restored the jewels. From this time forward the Germans began to supplant the Jews and Lombards as negotiators of loans to the Crown. The victories of Crecy and Poitiers may be said to have been won by German capital.

With the end of the French wars the flourishing period of the Hanse traders in London closed. The decline of their greatness was owing in great measure to the rivalry of native enterprise. Hitherto there had been no English merchants who could pretend to vie with the great German houses. But as soon as the French trade was again opened, it fell naturally into the hands of English shipowners. In spite of the destructive struggle between the Red and White Roses, a race of native merchants rapidly rose to wealth and consequence. The opening of the Indies, East and West, revolutionized the channels and the direction of commerce. English enterprise was awakened, and English shipping began to push and elbow the Hansatic, even in their own northern seas. In place of the frail craft which had served for the coasting trade for the Mediterranean and the Baltic, mighty galleons now navigated the Atlantic. The Hanse had overlived itself. Even the size of their vessels had increased; they could no longer pass London Bridge and cast anchor before their Steelyard as formerly. In other respects the Hanse confederation showed no capacity for coping with the new age, and the gigantic spirit of enterprise which was kindled in England and Spain. In proportion as they declined in vigour, the German traders in London insisted with more pertinacity upon the letter of the charters and privileges they had obtained. The English merchant-adventurer sought in the German and Livonian towns of the Baltic the same advantages which were accorded in the harbours of England to the trader

of Lübeck or Dantzic. To his astonishment and disgust, he found himself not permitted even to trade there on any terms, sometimes forbidden even to land. The Hanseatic traders would not understand reciprocity. They imported their own goods duty free into England; they would not suffer the English merchant to import his wool, even at a high duty, into a Hanse port. Several seizures of English cargoes led to reprisals on our part; reprisals led to a naval war. The unequal contest, for such it then seemed, of England's infant navy against the ancient consolidated maritime supremacy of the Hanseatic Confederacy, raged with great fury for several years of the 15th century. Trade throughout the whole of Northern Europe suffered enormously, the destruction of property on both sides was vast. In vain Cabinets endeavoured to mediate; the Hanse would be satisfied with nothing less than free admission to English ports, and exclusion of the English Company from theirs. The English insisted that the Germans should pay the same duties as other nations, since they chose to prohibit English traders from access to their ports. An action for damages done to English merchants was brought against the Steelyard Company, and they were cast in an enormous amount, 13,520*l.* sterling. As they could not, or would not pay, several of the leading merchants were thrown into gaol, and the buildings of the Company seized in execution. The venerable Corporation was in danger of losing at once its old privileges and its property,—nay, the quarrel with England might have led to a more serious catastrophe, nothing less than the fall of the whole Hanse Confederation. For at the very moment when these things occurred, about 1470, an internal dispute had broken out between the western members headed by Cologne, and the Baltic cities represented by Lübeck. The moderation of the English Parliament composed the storm. The House of Commons took the matter in hand. The happy circumstance that it was in Hanse vessels that Edward IV. effected his victorious return to England in 1471, promoted the desire for an amicable arrangement. In 1474 peace was concluded at Utrecht; the German merchants received back both their privileges and their premises on the banks of the Thames.

Once again, in 1597, the citizens of Elbing and Stade dared to put in force their old exclusive policy, and drove the English traders from their port. But the relative strength of the parties was now inverted. Elizabeth's government was not to be trifled with. Drake and Norris in a very short time brought in 60 Hanse vessels as prizes; the Steelyard was seized and turned into a depôt for the Admiralty; the Hanse yielded. The Steelyard Company received back their old Guildhall, in the quiet

possession of which they were never again disturbed by Government. Their premises indeed shared in the general destruction by the great fire of 1666. When the Company proceeded to rebuild, they no longer did so in the massive and imposing style of the 14th century. Heavy vaulting and strong outer walls for defence were discarded. With the exception of a dwelling-house for the master of the Steelyard, the remainder of the area was covered with warehouses and wharves no way different from those on either side of them. But the Hanse no longer existed, and these warehouses were let to private firms. The free towns of Lübeck, Bremen, and Hamburg, as heirs of the corporate estate of the Hanseatic League, became possessed of the Steelyard premises. They had no use for them, and in 1853 they were sold to some English Company for the sum of 72,500*l*.

Has the reader seen the Arthushof at Dantzic? If he has, he may form to himself some notion of what the principal building of the Steelyard must have been before 1666. This was the Great Hall, serving for a council-chamber on days of general convocation, and as a banqueting-room for the oft-recurring festivities. Round the apartment, in recesses, and on every projecting ledge of the heavy wainscot, was displayed in close array the silver and pewter plate, with many a choice gem of workmanship, presents to the Corporation from all parts of the Continent. Among the portraits which hung above were two allegorical pieces by Master Hans Holbein, representing the Triumph of Riches and the Triumph of Poverty respectively. On one side of the Guildhall rose a tower, with a fireproof chamber for the muniments and jewels of especial value; on the other, a stone-vaulted kitchen, where dinner could be dressed for an army of guests. On the west side of the hall was the garden, where a vine or two and some of the finer sorts of fruit were trained, and where, in German fashion, on summer evenings, the elder merchants sat over their pipe and beaker of Rhine wine, while the younger amused themselves with claiish, or *kegelspiel*. The greater part of the area was covered with the lofty warehouses, with booths for the exhibition of samples on the groundfloor, stretching down to the quay. Here every German merchant settled in London had his separate office. Broad landing quays covered with cranes lined the river bank. On the opposite, or northern side, towards Thames Street, ran a lofty, massive front with three fortified and portcullised gateways; over each was an inscription in the German text, in which the moral is better than the point. High above, the Imperial double eagle figured in all its ugliness, like a scarecrow nailed to a barn door. On the three other sides, thick walls and turrets at the angles gave the whole the aspect and the reality of a fortress—a little citadel in the heart of the city. On more than one memo-

rable occasion, the German merchants owed the preservation of life and property to these defences. In the great communistic uprising under Wat Tyler in 1381, when no man of rank or property was safe, the Esterlings—so the English called the Hanse traders—lay in security behind their walls, while the Flemish and other foreign residents fell helpless victims to the rage of the populace.

One corner of the Thames Street frontage was occupied by a wine-house. Here, as early as the 14th century, the wines of Germany and the delicacies of Northern Europe were at the call of the Londoner who chose to pay for them. In the reign of James I., at a time when the world of fashion had not yet migrated wholly to the west-end, the "Steelyard Tavern" was one of the favourite haunts of the gallants. Not only the German relished for his "mornin" the good things, the smoked reindeer tongue, the caviare and the salted lachs, here provided; the nobleman and the bishop, the privy councillor and the judge, even the lord chancellor himself, might be met with. "Let us go to the Stilliard, and drink Rhenish wine," says one of the characters in "Pierce Pennyless." The lover of the Elizabethan drama will readily recal many such allusions. To this day a spirit-shop bearing the name of the "Steelyard" preserves the site, but not the reputation, of the old German house.

In the booths which lined the interior of the court might be purchased all the choicest articles of luxury, before the New World poured in so many objects hitherto unknown to Europe. On the wharves the bulkier commodities might be inspected. Norway sent her iron; Poland and Lithuania, hemp, tallow, wax, and furs. Many a cargo of salt cod for Lent, or for victualling the Navy, was there; before all, the herring, which had not then migrated from the Baltic, and which was accordingly a special delicacy. Sometimes might be found a rare Livonian falcon, for which the English noble was ready to give any price. Rhine wine, and cloths from Flanders, of course formed staple articles. From Spain and Portugal were drawn, besides the products of the Peninsula, oriental articles, figs, dates, and almonds, cinnamon, and all kinds of spices, colours, drugs, even gold-dust and jewels. Such commodities, however, as these found little market as yet in a barbarous country like England, and they were chiefly forwarded to Hamburg or Lübeck. The export trade of the Steelyard was no less extensive than its import; it consisted chiefly in raw produce, wool and hides, corn, beer, and cheese.

The Corporation had its constitution, not materially differing from those of other guilds. Every master had an equal voice in their assemblies; every year they elected from their body an alderman, who was assisted in the business of administering their affairs by

a committee of nine members, in which every Hanse Town was in its turn represented, according to a fixed cycle. By this body all the affairs of the little world were managed. The inmates of the Steelyard were submitted to an almost monastic discipline. Masters and journeymen alike were obliged to remain single. Peace and order were maintained by police regulations of German minuteness and strictness. A blow or an abusive expression subjected the offender to a fine. Severe penalties awaited drunkenness, dissipation, or dicing. The gates were closed at nine o'clock, and on no pretext opened after that hour. The duties of the guild towards the country and city of which they were denizens were strictly defined, and most religiously attended to. Every master was under an obligation, the same as the natives, to keep an iron helmet and harness, and all arms pertaining to a complete furnishing for war. The Germans had their post assigned them in the ward of the city. The maintenance and repair of the northern gate, Bishopsgate, was assigned to them. This obligation they discharged far down into Protestant and peaceful times, long after London had ceased to fear a foreign foe, and the Bishop's Gate had become only a relic of antiquarian curiosity.

All this material wealth and splendour was of course in official connexion with the church. The Steelyard, however, had no chapel within its limits; it was parochial, and the Corporation attended the neighbouring church of Allhallows. It has been even said this church was built by the Germans, which however was not the case; but they maintained in it an altar, and had their own masses said in it on special days. The Reformation did not dissolve the connexion. The Steelyard passed with the rest of the parish by the same easy gradations from the old to the new faith; another proof how entirely the German aliens were rooted in English soil. It might have been anticipated that Luther's doctrines would have made their way early among this little colony of his countrymen. This was not the case; the Corporation of the Steelyard were too well to do in the world to be other than thoroughly English and thoroughly Anglican. In 1526 the persecuting Sir Thomas More made, as Chancellor, a domiciliary visit in search of heretical books. He was not very successful; for though he found several copies of the Old and New Testament, they were all in Latin. Some books of prayers, though in German, were not Lutheran. The members of the Corporation took an oath at the Cross of St. Paul's that they were not heretics, nor harboured heretics among them. As soon, however, as the Reformation was legally established in England we find the Germans, notwithstanding the language, attending the preachings in Allhallows. Several long rows of benches in the

nave were appropriated to them and maintained at their charges. Several painted windows, in which the double eagle held a conspicuous place, were given by them. When the church was restored after the fire, they presented to it that carved oak screen which still separates the nave from the choir. It was the work of a Hamburg artist. Over the door leading to the altar the imperial eagle is again emblazoned, surmounted by the royal arms of England. The inconvenience of service and sermons in the English language was strongly felt. After the great fire, they presented a petition to Charles II., that one of the city churches which it was not intended to rebuild, should be made over to them. A royal brief of 1673, made over to them the little Trinity church which was close to the Steelyard. From that time forward the German settlers in London have enjoyed a service in their own language.

There are now three or four German Protestant churches in London, of which this of the little Trinity is the mother-church.

Dynastic alliances and commercial relations form the two most important chapters in a history of the intercourse between England and Germany. There are others which lie among the byways of history, about which much might still be recovered by minute research. One such is suggested to us in Chaucer's description of his Knight; who

Ful often time hadde the bord beyonne
 Above alle nations *in Pruce*.
In Lettowe had he reysed, and in Pruce
 No cristen man so ofte of his degre.

After the fall of Acre in 1291, the East was closed to the arms of the Christians. The warrior of chivalry, panting for adventure against Paynim hosts, had to seek his opportunity nearer home. In two opposite corners of Europe, a holy war of Christian against infidel was still waged; in Spain against the Moors, in Prussia against the Lithuanians. The latter of these permanent crusades was carried on by the Teutonic Order. The Teutonic knights had been transplanted from Palestine to the more national service of extending the frontier of Christendom and of Germany at the expense of the heathen Masurians and Prussians as early as 1227. In 1235 Hermann von Salza, Grand-Master of the Order, was in England. He came to negotiate the marriage of Henry's sister Isabella with the emperor; but he used the opportunity to make known the nature of the service in which he and his knights were engaged, and to enlist English sympathy in the struggle they were carrying on on the Baltic plains. As a token of this sympathy, and an offering in

the cause of the Church, he obtained from the English treasury a warrant for an annual payment of 40 marks in furtherance of the good cause, a payment which continued to be made for centuries. It was not, however, till the 14th century, that English knights were attracted in any considerable numbers to "reyse in Pruce," by way of fulfilling their vow of fighting against the infidels. In the commercial treaty of Marienburg (1388) between Richard II. and the Grand-Master, Conrad Zöllner von Rotenstein, the English King brings forward as a fact which ought not ungratefully to be overlooked by the other party, how many English knights and squires, without regarding harm of life and substance, had travelled beyond the seas to the aid of the Teutonic Order against the unbelievers.

It was only two years after this treaty that an expedition set out from England on a grander scale than ordinary. A Prince of the Blood, Henry, Earl of Derby, eldest son of John of Gaunt, was the crusading knight. He was not the first of his house who had been in "Pruce;" his grandfather, Henry of Lancaster, had made the same expedition before him. Prudential reasons made it advisable just then that the young Henry should absent himself from the realm, where he had taken too active a part in the opposition to the misgovernment of Richard II. But all his life through, Henry IV. nourished a secret desire to fight for the Cross, and believed he should die at Jerusalem. In the summer of 1390 he took ship, accompanied with several hundred knights and men-at-arms. They reached Dantzic on the 10th of August. Here he fitted himself out with all necessaries for an autumn campaign against the Lithuanians, who were supported by the Poles. Foreign knights, who had been invited, came gradually in from all parts of Germany and France. When all was ready their baggage was sent off by the Haff to Königsberg, and the knightly troop proceeded by land as far as Memel. Here, on the 27th of August, they encountered the foe, and a smart but indecisive battle was fought. September was spent in the siege of Wilna, which the season obliged them to quit, and by the 20th of October the Earl of Derby is back in Königsberg. We hear of at least one of his knights having fallen in the field; but the earl had made captive three youths, sons of a Lettish noble. The four following months were passed in Königsberg. The Christmas festival, from Christmas Day to the Epiphany, was spent in carousal and amusements as usual in the English court. The earl had already become weary of crusading, but would not quit the country without seeing something more of it. In February 1391 he left Königsberg, passed by Bramsberg and Elbing to Marienburg, and so from Dirschau, down the Vistula, to Dantzic. Here he was detained by indisposition the whole of the month of

March. It was on the 12th of March that the election of a new Grand-Master took place at Marienburg. Conrad von Wallenrod was the choice of the chapter. We find him making the English earl, in acknowledgment of his services, the usual present of falcons. While in Dantzic, Henry received a courier to announce that his uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, had set off to join him, but had landed in Norway, and for some reason or other returned home; he also received intelligence that his countess had presented him with a son, afterwards Humphrey Duke of Gloucester.

Easter was spent in Dantzic, and the earl made Easter offerings of princely munificence to the three principal churches of the city, as acknowledgment of the absolution which he had obtained from the Pope from his vow. He took ship at Dantzic, and after a prosperous voyage landed in Hull, from whence he hastened to his castle of Bolingbroke. Ten years later, the Earl of Derby mounted the throne of England. On the frequent occasions when questions relating to the Baltic trade, and the privileges of the Hanse came before the Council, Henry's personal acquaintance with Prussian affairs was of material service. He was the last sovereign of England who has ever travelled further than Berlin. The relations between England and the Baltic cities during his reign deserve inquiry after. The researches of the antiquaries of England and Germany may still bring to light matter of interest upon this chapter of our history.

ART. VI.—THE COTTON MANUFACTURE.

1. *History of the Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain.* By EDWARD BAINES, Esq. London, 1834.
2. *The Cotton and Commerce of India.* By JOHN CHAPMAN. London, 1851.
3. *A Handbook of the Cotton Trade.* By THOMAS ELLISON. London, 1858.
4. *Reports and Proceedings of the Cotton Supply Association, and the Cotton Supply Reporter.* Manchester, 1857, 1858, 1859, and 1860.
5. *The Cotton Trade of Great Britain, its Rise, Progress, and present State.* By JAMES A. MANN. London, 1860.
6. *The Cotton-Circulars of Messrs. Stollerfoht, Sons, & Co.; Colin Campbell & Son, Samuel Kearsley & Co., Maurice Williams, and Samuel Smith.* Liverpool, 1860.

THE industrial system is composed of three elements, the productive, the manufacturing, and the commercial, upon the due co-ordination of which its full and general development depends. By the first the material is obtained, by the second it is converted into a useful form, and by the third it is rendered accessible to those who may stand in need of it. The three thus combine in securing the physical prosperity of mankind, and the extent of this, must be determined in particular places or at particular times by the relations which may subsist amongst them. In the gradual progress of society these economic functions have absorbed the exclusive attention of different classes of men: the agriculturist, the manufacturer, and the merchant perform distinct parts in ministering to the wants of a nation; and nations in this case, to a minor degree, have conformed to the law of the separation of employments, in supplying the requirements of humanity. Thus, some nations have chiefly devoted their energies to the creation of raw products, others to their transformation into serviceable commodities, and others to their diffusion to different portions of the globe.

In Great Britain the manufacturing element has attained an importance far greater than that of the agricultural or commercial, because of the physical advantages presented by our country, and the moral advantages possessed by our race, for the prosecution of that kind of labour. As component parts of the industrial system, their interests in relation to other social powers

are inseparably connected. Within their own general limits this is not always the case; and in the event of collision, experience has taught us in this country, that the interests of the two latter must always be subordinated to those of the first.

The industrial movement is now re-organizing the temporal conditions of society throughout Europe, but the character of this re-organization must in different nations be modified by the relative development of the various elements of which the general scheme is made up. The progress of British industry has been principally represented by the progress of British manufactures, and from them our agriculture and our commerce have derived their energies and their bias. Already they have withdrawn populations as great as those of the capitals of independent empires from the control of institutions which still preside over the lives of those engaged in other branches of labour, introduced new modes of thought and hope amongst them, and modified the relation of master and servant. Already they have effected an important change in the distribution of intelligence, wealth, and political power in the people, formed a new caste of social leaders, and called into being those great labour chiefs who, daily gaining influence amongst us, are steadily taking the places once held by warriors or legists in the imperial councils of the land.

The Cotton Manufacture, as at once the most important constituent and the most perfect type of our special industrial development, claims, particularly at this period of apprehended danger, the careful and patient attention of the public. It surpasses in magnitude, and in the regularity of its course, each other of our manufactures; and its influence upon the working people of these islands, whether material or moral, for good or for evil, is certainly unrivalled by any of them. Occupying more than a hundred millions of British capital, affording direct employment to almost half a million of persons, and indirect employment to three or four millions more, it supplies about a third of our annual export trade; and its branches in other lands, whether they be in the nature of the operations by which the raw material is cultivated, and then brought to our shores, or are extensions of the manufacture whose principal seat is with ourselves, or are the agencies by which the elaborated substance is, in a thousand forms, distributed for the use of a thousand tribes,—raise the whole to an importance perhaps unequalled by any analogous system, whether practised by the ancients or existing in modern times.

The rise of the Cotton Manufacture in this country was simultaneous with the development of the Industrial system in the West, and its progress has continued throughout the period during which that has come to its present maturity. At the accession of

George the Third, the whole trade in cotton was not worth six hundred thousand pounds; in less than a century it was worth more than seventy millions: at that time scarcely thirty thousand persons could have been engaged in its prosecution; at the present day this number is multiplied more than a hundredfold. It was then in the condition in which all manufactures are discovered before the introduction of machinery and a complete division of labour. Their organization, as has been shown by Mr. Herbert Spencer,* homogeneous in its origin, gradually becomes heterogeneous; and their onward course is marked, in obedience to the universal law, by a continually augmenting complexity of organs, and a continually increasing specialization of function. The manufacture was a domestic craft, and the implements used in it were nearly as primitive as those which had been employed in India or in China for perhaps a thousand years before. Spinning and weaving were carried on in the same cottage by members of the same family, the women presiding over the wheels, the men over the looms. Only one thread could be spun at one time, and when the warp of the fabric to be woven was more than three feet wide, it required the labour of two weavers to throw the shuttle. None but the coarsest stuffs were produced, such as dimities and fustians: the warps of these were invariably of linen, and although the demand for them was small, the demand exceeded the supply.

In the period which elapsed from 1760 to 1800, the manufacture was transformed from this imperfect state into the most mature system of industry which the world has ever seen. It was firmly fixed upon the basis upon which it now stands; its organization assumed the form which it now presents, the mechanical appliances which now render its processes so complete were then in principle established, water-power and steam were then substituted for manual labour in working them, and then also arose the factory system.

From the commencement of the century several unsuccessful attempts had been made to facilitate the processes of the manufacture; but the inventors had experienced the neglect which must ever be the lot of those whose projects are given to the world before it is ready to receive them. In 1767, James Hargreaves, a weaver of Blackburn, invented the spinning jenny, and two years afterwards Richard Arkwright, a barber, of Preston, reintroduced the method of spinning by rollers. The jenny appears to have been an original conception, the spinning frame, water frame, or throstle, as the machine of Arkwright has been successively termed, seems

* In his remarkable Essay on "Progress: its Law and Cause," which appeared in No. XXII., New Series, of this Review.

only to have been an improvement upon one invented some thirty years previously by John Wyatt, of Birmingham. The want of originality with which Arkwright can justly be charged is, however, well compensated by the extent and number of the ameliorations to which he submitted the crude inventions of his predecessors, and to him belongs the credit of having systemized the whole range of operations appropriate to cotton spinning. The jenny and the frame were severally patented in 1769 and 1770; by the first, eight, sixteen, and subsequently more numerous threads, could be spun at once, and by the second the powers of the spinner were enhanced fifty, a hundred, or even a thousand times. Differing essentially in their mode of construction, both these machines had been primarily designed to perform the same work, but experience of their peculiarities necessitated the assignment of different provinces to each. The throstle, consisting of a series of rollers, was found to spin a hard firm thread fitted for the warp of fabrics, whilst the jenny was more calculated for the production of the finer weft; they thus aided each other, and from 1770 stuffs commenced to be made in England entirely of cotton. Both Hargreaves and Arkwright were driven from their native county by prejudiced manufacturers or infuriated workmen. The first died in comparative poverty at Nottingham, the second amassed a colossal fortune, and was knighted on the occasion of his presenting, as High Sheriff of Derbyshire, an address of congratulation to George the Third, during one of that unfortunate monarch's temporary restorations to sanity. In 1779, Samuel Crompton, another weaver, by combining the essential principles of the *jenny* and the *throstle*, constructed a machine, which, by reason of its hybrid nature but not of its sterile qualities, was called the *mule*, and by its introduction the spinning department of the manufacture was perfected. Many and great improvements have been made in detail, but in its general outlines it is now the same as when conceived by the minds of these three remarkable men. The throstle is employed for spinning low "counts;" the mule is made self-acting, and is used for spinning yarns up to 80 hanks of 840 yards each to the pound of cotton; and the jenny still retains its place in the production of certain fine kinds of thread.

Until 1785 the weaving of cotton had fallen into arrear of spinning. The markets became glutted with yarn that could not be worked up into fabrics, and was being fast diverted into foreign channels. In that year the Rev. Edmund Cartwright restored equilibrium between the two departments of the manufacture, by the invention of the power loom. He had seen an automaton so contrived as to perform all the moves in a game at

chess; and although the fame of this automaton has since been ascertained to have been founded upon slender grounds, it induced him to speculate upon the possibility of mechanically producing the three simple actions necessary in weaving. The first power-loom was of rude construction and inadequate contrivance; but a more practical acquaintance with the process which he sought to facilitate enabled him to remedy the defects of his original design. In 1789 he took out a patent; a short time afterwards a method was discovered for dressing the warp before it was placed upon the beam, which was requisite to complete the utility of the new loom, and it was then generally adopted in the factories.

The full benefit of the invention of Crompton (who had taken out no patent) was now reaped by the trade. Cartwright was ruined by his undertaking, but he received a Parliamentary grant of 10,000*l.*, as also did Crompton to the extent of 5,000*l.*, about one-tenth of the sum allotted in the same year to the originator of the method of carrying the mails by stage coaches.

The discovery by Scheele, the Swedish chemist, in 1774, of the properties of chlorine, or, as it was then named, of dephlogisticated muriatic acid, in destroying vegetable colours, and its application to bleaching by Berthollet, the latter's various improvements in tinting pigments, and the invention of cylinder calico printing by Bell in 1785, permitted the later processes of bleaching, dyeing, and printing, to share in the advances made in the earlier ones of spinning and weaving.

From this rapid course of progress an important change became necessary in the organization of the cotton manufacture. Hitherto no larger or more stable resting-place was required by the labourer for the few and simple implements of his craft than was afforded by his own residence. The spinning jenny, even could be there employed, but the throstle, the mule, and the power-loom demanded more space than his home could afford, and more force than his unaided arm could wield. Many processes had also been introduced which a few years previously had not been in use: the preparation of the cotton for the weaver had become more complicated, each new process engaged the exclusive attention of a separate class of workmen, and waste of time and risk of loss would have been very much increased had it been necessary to pass the substance at each successive step towards completion from one house to another. Therefore, buildings were everywhere erected, sufficiently spacious to allow of all the requisite operations being performed within them, where the employer could himself superintend the work, and where skilful mechanics could conveniently attend to adjust or repair the machines. In the first mills, also, horse-power was substituted for hand-labour; later in

the day water-power took its place; finally the steam-engine superseded both, and each successive improvement in the application of force made the advantages of a concentration of all the processes of the industry in a single place more and more manifest. Obvious economic causes were thus the means of introducing factories among our people, in its moral results perhaps the most important change to be found in the history of labour.

The machinery which acted directly upon the manipulation of the fibre would have proved of comparatively little avail had it not been for the application of other forces than those of manual power in working them. In Arkwright's first mill, at Nottingham, a team of horses worked the machines; the manager of the New Lanark mills, (which were subsequently the scene of Robert Owen's successes), first applied water-power to this purpose, and soon upon the banks of the Clyde, the Derwent* and the Mersey, arose those mighty piles, whose unsightliness is amply atoned for by the important social office which they discharge. At last almost every stream and streamlet was occupied, and when all those in the locality where the manufacture had first began to flourish had been monopolized, it commenced to spread into other districts. Its diffusion over a wide surface would have been unfavourable to the improvement of machinery, the division of labour, and the cheapness of conveyance. The great advances made in the cotton manufacture after 1790 are almost exclusively due to James Watt. By his improvement upon Newcomen's "atmospheric steam-engine," he brought into use a power of universal

* Dr. Darwin describes Arkwright's factory at Cromford, on the Derwent, in his "Botanic Garden:"—

——— "Where Derwent guides his dusky floods
Through vaulted mountains and a night of woods,
The nymph *Gossypia* treads the velvet sod,
And warms with rosy smiles the watery god;
His pond'rous oars to slender spindles turns,
And pours o'er massy wheels his foaming urns;
With playful charms her hoary lover wins,
And wields his trident whilst the monarch *spins*.
First with nice eye emerging naiads cull
From leathery pods the vegetable wool;
With wiry teeth *revolving cards* release
The tangled knots and smooth the ravelled fleece;
Next moves the *iron hand*, with fingers fine,
Combs the wide card and forms th' eternal lino;
Slow with soft lips the whirling *can* acquires
The tender skeins and wraps in rising spires;
With quickened pace *successive rollers* move,
And these retain and those extend the *rove*;
Then fly the spokes, the rapid axles glow,
While slowly circumploes the labouring wheel below."

application and unlimited extent, equally adapted for working machines, for making them, and for distributing their produce by land or by water.

The kindred manufactures of woollen and linen were the precursors of that of cotton. The woollens and linens of Lancashire and Yorkshire were celebrated in the markets of the Continent for two centuries before the first bale of cotton found its way from the Levant into Britain. In these counties the manufacture originated, but it soon became settled in Cheshire, Derbyshire, and Nottinghamshire, in Renfrew and Lanark. The existence of rivers attracted it to parts of the kingdom the most remote from its original seat; but the steam-engine effected another change. To the want of water were added the wants of fuel and of metal, and although these could be obtained with more or less facility in all the northern counties, the advantages possessed by Lancashire rendered it again the chief seat of the trade. The tract of land which lies between the Ribble and the Mersey is intersected by numerous streams. These in their earlier and rapid course supply water-power sufficient to move several hundred mills; later on a necessary element in bleaching, dyeing, and printing; and when collected into their larger channels, or used to feed canals, offer the cheapest means of transit for raw materials or merchandise. The coal fields in the hundreds of Blackburn and Salford, running into West Derby, to within a few miles of Liverpool, yield the fuel for the steam-power in use; and although Lancashire is nearly destitute of iron for the construction of the machinery and engines, it is no great distance from the iron mines of Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Yorkshire, Furness, and Wales. By coasting and inland navigation, it is as abundantly, and nearly as cheaply, supplied with it as if the mineral were found within its own boundaries. At the ports along its coast it receives from abroad the raw material of its manufacture, and from Ireland the larger portion of the food that supports its manufacturing population, the character of whose industry has thus been principally determined by the accidents of their geographical position.

A modern factory presents indeed a very different spectacle from the cottage of the labourer a century ago. The lover of apocryphal rural innocence and simplicity may perhaps lament the change; but the philanthropist must rejoice at an alteration which, though it may be inconsistent with imaginary sentiment, has multiplied the productive power of the workman more than two hundredfold, has freed him from the heavier portion of his physical toil, and has called into play the peculiar intellectual attributes which are common to the average of mankind. The cotton fibre in its course of transition from a vegetable wool to a

textile fabric passes through a dozen processes then unknown, and is submitted to the action of a dozen machines then un-invented. Mr. Disraeli well describes the impression which was made upon his hero Coningsby by a visit to a Lancashire cotton mill:—

“He entered chambers vaster than  told of in Arabian fable, and peopled with inhabitants more wondrous than Afrite or Peri. For there he beheld in long continued ranks those mysterious forms, full of existence without life, that perform with facility, and in an instant, what man can fulfil only with difficulty and in days. A machine is a slave that neither brings nor bears degradation: it is a being endowed with the greatest amount of energy and acting under the greatest degree of excitement, yet free at the same time from all passion and emotion. It is therefore not only a slave, but a supernatural slave. And why should one say that a machine does not live? It breathes, for its breath forms the atmosphere of some towns. And has it not a voice? Does not the spindle sing like a merry girl at her work, and the steam-engine roar in chorus like a strong artisan handling his lusty tools, and gaining a fair day's wages for a fair day's toil? Nor should the weaving-room be forgotten, where a thousand or fifteen hundred girls may be observed, in their coral necklaces, working like Penelope in the daytime—some pretty, some pert, some graceful and jocund, some absorbed in their occupation, a little serious some, few sad. And the cotton you have observed in its crude state, that you have seen the silent spinner change into thread, and the bustling weaver convert into cloth, you may now watch, as in a moment it is tinted with beautiful colours, or printed with fanciful patterns. And yet the mystery of mysteries is to view machines making machines—a spectacle that fills the mind with curious and even awful speculation.”*

It has been remarked by Mr. Baines that the steam-engine is the heart of the cotton manufacture; the spindles and the looms are its limbs, but from the steam-engine flows all its animation. It is not improbable that, ere long, a great improvement may take place in the application of electricity to the processes of the manufacture. The experiments of Bonelli have gone far to prove the possibility of this in weaving, and then perhaps the legend of Prometheus will again meet with its practical realization.

On the commercial development of the cotton manufacture, as well as upon the progress of our manufactures generally, the series of mechanical inventions which marked the end of the last century had a vigorous and enduring influence. When Burke was lamenting the fall of chivalry, when Hastings was extending our empire in the East, and when Pitt was initiating his retrograde policy, men of that class which should reap the most im-

* “Coningsby,” vol. ii. p. 8.

mediate benefit from the transformation were inaugurating the industrial system, destined to succeed the first, utilize the second, and destroy the third. From the weaver's cottage at Blackburn, and from the barber's shop at Preston, went forth powers as pregnant with consequences to Britain as ever issued from the Parliament-house at Westminster, or the Council-chamber in Bengal. Before the commencement of this era of discovery the English artisans were quite unable to imitate the fabrics of the East. In 1773, Messrs. Arkwright and Strutt produced the first British calicoes; the manufacture spread to Blackburn, Burnley, and Colne, and now forms by far the larger part of our cotton trade. Upon the introduction of the mule muslins were first woven in this country; in 1787 no less than 500,000 pieces were made, and, in 1793 the Directors of the East India Company reported that "every shop offers British muslins for sale, equal in appearance, and of more elegant patterns, than those of India, for one-fourth, or perhaps more than one-third less price." At Bolton, at Glasgow, and at Paisley these fabrics were produced, and each place adopting the description most resembling the goods for which it had previously been celebrated, each maintained a superiority in its own department. The Jaconets and striped and checked muslins of Bolton, the light muslins of Glasgow, the sewed and tamboured muslins of Paisley, became known in the markets; the laces and bobbin-nets of Nottingham, the stockings of that town, of Derby, Hinckley, and Tewkesbury, obtained their present popularity, whilst the dimities, sewing thread, and candle-wicks of the north of England and south of Scotland became flourishing manufactures. Liverpool was established as the great cotton port, and Manchester became the cotton metropolis. In twenty-seven years, the value of the manufacture rose from 600,000*l.* to 3,304,371*l.*; the number of hands employed from about 30,000 to 162,000; and factories, which before had no existence, were, in the United Kingdom, 143 in number. From this time we take our rank as the first manufacturing country in the world, and from it also we ceased to be exporters of grain, as we previously had been.

The cotton manufacture is exclusively the fruit of private enterprise. No other has received so little attention from Government, and to this fact may be attributed some at least of its success. The hand of the Legislature, when stretched forth to foster a branch of industry, has invariably done it more harm than good. The woollen, linen, and silk trades have all suffered from a protective policy, but happily the principles of free trade have almost always been permitted to operate in relation to cotton.

"In the early period of the trade," says Mr. Baines, "no legislation could have aided the English manufacture; in its latter period legislation could scarcely have checked it. There was as great difference in it before and after the inventions as between the dwarf cotton of Timbuctoo and the stately *bombax* of Guinea. The interference of Government could neither have trained the herb into the forest tree, nor have confined the forest tree to the dimensions of an herb."*

Duties were not imposed upon the importation of foreign cotton goods until our own were the best in the world. When our calicoes and muslins were successfully competing with those of all other countries in the markets of Europe or of India, it was thought requisite by the Government that duties of from 65 to 75 per cent. *ad valorem* should be imposed upon foreign cotton goods for the protection of the home trade. These injudicious taxes were commenced in 1798, and were finally repealed in 1844, a measure which gave an earnest of still greater triumphs in the cause of Free Trade.

The following tables may assist us to form some estimate of the growth of the cotton manufacture since the application of machinery to its processes. They give its varying dimensions at intervals of about ten years.

Cotton imported into, consumed in, and exported from Great Britain from 1781 to 1860.

Years.	Importation.	Consumption.	Exportation.
1781	5,198,778 lbs.	5,101,990 lbs.	96,788 lbs.
1790	31,447,605 „	30,603,451 „	844,154 „
1800	56,010,732 „	51,594,122 „	4,416,610 „
1810	132,488,935 „	123,701,826 „	8,787,109 „
1820	151,672,655 „	152,829,633 „	6,024,038 „
1830	263,961,452 „	269,616,640 „	8,534,976 „
1840	592,488,010 „	528,142,743 „	38,673,229 „
1850	663,576,861 „	588,200,000 „	102,469,717 „
1860	1,390,938,752 „	1,053,637,152 „	250,427,640 „

Declared real value of Cotton Manufactures, Yarns, and Twists, exported from Great Britain from 1814 to 1860.†

Years.	Manufactures.	Yarns & Twists.	Total.
1814	£17,279,576	£2,791,240	£20,071,816
1820	13,707,111	2,826,643	16,533,754
1830	15,285,222	4,133,663	19,418,885
1840	17,553,004	7,101,289	24,654,293
1850	21,873,697	6,383,704	28,257,401
1860	42,138,409	9,875,073	52,210,482

* Baines's "History of the Cotton Manufacture," p. 323.

† The Statistics of the Cotton Export Trade up to 1814 have been destroyed.

The apparent decrease in the value of the cotton export trade during the second and third periods mentioned in this table seems to require some notice. Those of our readers who may consult Mr. Mann's very ably compiled statistical returns, will find that although the declared real value of the exports fell about three millions and a half from 1814 to 1820, the official value rose from 17,655,378*l.* to 22,532,079*l.* The official value is no criterion of worth, but it is a criterion of quantity, which it indicates according to a money scale adopted many years ago at the Custom House, and never altered. In 1858, for instance, the official value of our cotton exports was 182,221,181*l.*, whilst the declared real value was only 43,001,322*l.* Many persons, among whom one of the most obstinate was the late Alderman Waithman, have by this discrepancy been led into the error of supposing that we are now giving a much greater amount of labour than formerly for the same amount of money. It should, however, be borne in mind that the fall in the price of the raw material, and the improvements that have from time to time been introduced into the machinery of the manufacture, enable the manufacturer to produce a much larger quantity of goods than he could fifty years ago with an expenditure of the same amount of capital and labour. The price of cotton is now, taking the average of each variety in use, about one-sixth of what it was then, and the cost of spinning a pound of count 80, which in the time of Crompton was 42*s.*, is at present scarcely 10*d.* Cotton goods sell in our markets for about one-twentieth the sum for which they sold at the end of the last century.

Of the actual proportions and value of the cotton manufacture, we can form only an approximately, but perhaps sufficiently, correct estimate. Some of the statistics which we have before us terminate with 1856, others with 1859, and very few give the figures for 1860. The following general results may, however, be safely deduced from the materials at our disposal.

The imports of raw cotton into Great Britain from all portions of the globe amounted in 1860 to 1,390,938,752*lbs.*, as against 1,225,989,072*lbs.* in 1859. The computed value of these imports for the eleven months ending November 30th in each year, was, according to the Trade and Navigation Accounts, 31,567,130*l.* and 28,762,560*l.* respectively. Foreign cotton manufactures not made up were also imported to the value of 47,095*l.* in 1860, and 32,709*l.* in 1859. Showing in each case a considerable increase.

The consumption of cotton in the British manufacture was, according to Messrs. Colin Campbell and Son's very lucid and valuable circular, in 1860, 2,503,080 bales, and in 1859,

2,294,410 bales. Taking the average of the bale to be 421 lbs., these will be equal to 1,053,796,068lbs., and 965,946,610lbs. of cotton.

The exports of raw cotton from Great Britain to all places were in 1860, 250,427,640lbs.; in 1859, 175,113,131lbs. The exports of cotton manufactures not made up were computed at the value of, in 1860, 138,928*l.*, and in 1859, 117,567*l.* The exports of calicoes, cambrics, and muslins, fustians, and mixed stuffs were, in 1860, 2,775,450,905 yards; in 1859, 2,562,545,475 yards; and their declared real and computed value was 40,342,819*l.* and 37,038,538*l.* Lace and patent net to the value, in 1860, of 314,156*l.*, and in 1859 of 397,333*l.* (exhibiting in this article a notable decrease); stockings to the number, in dozen pairs, in 1860, of 1,056,793, and in 1859 of 907,705, valued respectively at 313,135*l.* and 261,129*l.* Counterpanes and small wares to the value of, in 1860, 397,423*l.*, and in 1859, 382,268*l.*; sewing thread, in 1860, 6,266,722 lbs., and in 1859, 5,436,150 lbs., valued at 740,876*l.*, and 664,845*l.* Cotton yarns in 1860, 195,364,947lbs., and in 1859, 192,206,643lbs., valued at 9,875,073*l.*, and 9,458,112*l.*, were exported. The value of the cotton exports was computed at 52,013,492*l.* in 1860, and at 48,202,225*l.* in 1859; and by the Trade and Navigation Accounts we find that the whole export trade of Great Britain during the former year was 135,812,817*l.*, and during the latter was 130,411,529*l.*, giving an augmentation of rather more than five millions, about four millions of which are directly due to the increase in the cotton manufactures. It is worthy of notice that our best customers in the matter of cotton manufactures are those countries from whence we obtain the larger share of the raw material, and which therefore have in one respect greater facilities than ourselves for converting it into fabrics. Thus the United States during last year imported British cotton goods to the value of 3,848,750*l.*; Egypt, 1,045,988*l.*; Brazil, 2,300,101*l.*; and India, 10,518,091*l.* Turkey and China and Hong-Kong, in both of which countries the cotton plant is cultivated, (although their exports of it to us are insignificant,) received, the first to the value of 2,789,954*l.*, and the second to that of 3,157,359*l.*

The number of mills, of persons employed, and the amount of steam and water power used in the manufacture, although they are abstractedly large, must be considered small if we contemplate them in relation to their production. Upon these points we have no very late information; but Mr. Ellison in his "Handbook of the Cotton Trade," has published the returns made in 1839, 1850, and 1856 to Government by the factory inspectors. By means of these we may, (allowing for the increase which has taken place in the extent and value of the manufacture,) arrive at

a conclusion which may vary but little from the truth. In 1839, there were in Great Britain 1819 factories, and the machinery in them was worked by horse-power of steam, 46,827; of water, 12,977; and by persons of all ages and both sexes, 259,385.

The following table gives the figures for 1850 and 1856. They are taken from returns made to Parliament—the first, upon the motion of Mr. Pilkington, the second upon that of Mr. Brotherton.

Years.	Factories in Great Britain.	Spindles.	Power Looms.	Persons employed.	Horse Power of Steam.	Horse Power of Water.
1850	1932	20,977,017	248,627	330,924	71,005	11,550
1856	2210	28,010,217	298,847	397,213	88,001	9,131

In 1850 the whole value of the manufacture did not exceed 45,826,992*l.*; in 1856, it was 57,074,852*l.*; in 1859, nearly 72,000,000*l.*;* now it must be much nearer 80,000,000*l.* than 70,000,000*l.* If this be borne in mind, it will be at once perceived how very much the present condition of affairs must exceed the statements for former times. About a sixth of the number of persons employed are children or very young persons, and it was estimated in the beginning of last year that the number of persons employed in the manufacture could not be under 416,999.† On the whole, if we add five or six hundred to the number of factories in Great Britain returned in 1856, and augment the other items of the account in proportion, we shall possibly not be very much in error as to the present dimensions of the trade. It is high time that the factory inspectors should make fresh reports.

In ascertaining the amount of capital embarked in the cotton manufacture, Mr. Ellison has based his calculations upon the returns of 1856. He places the present fixed capital at 25,000,000*l.*, the floating capital at 11,500,000*l.*; cash in bankers' hands 10,000,000*l.*, and a total of 55,500,000*l.*

“Mr. Baines,” says Mr. Ellison, “places the average earnings of the spinners and weavers of Great Britain at 27*l.* 10*s.* per annum, so that the total amount of wages paid will be something like 10,500,000*l.* But this does not represent anything like the capital actually paid for labour engaged in the manufacturing system. To the number of persons employed in the spinning and weaving departments, say 400,000, must be added about 200,000 engaged in the printing, dyeing, bleaching, packing, &c.”‡

* Mann, p. 106.

† Cotton Supply Reporter, March 29, 1860.

‡ ‘Hand-Book of the Cotton Trade,’ p. 148.

Mr. Mann, whose work is of much later date than that of Mr. Ellison, is of opinion that the capital occupied in spinning and weaving cotton alone, amounts to 65,250,000*l.*, and that a further sum of 30,000,000*l.* must be added for the late processes of dyeing, printing, and bleaching. The floating capital of the importers of the raw material he puts down at 6,500,000*l.*, the shipowners at 3,000,000*l.*, making a total, independent of all subsidiary trades ministering indirectly, of 104,750,000*l.* This estimate is certainly large, but there does not seem to be any reason for believing it to be exaggerated.

The increase and present density of the manufacturing population is perhaps the best evidence of the beneficial results of industrial pursuits among a people. Taking the county of Lancashire and the great manufacturing centres which it contains as our examples, we find that the population of the first, as a whole, both agricultural and town, has increased from 672,565 in 1801, to 2,031,236 in 1851, and it has been estimated that within an area of thirty miles round Manchester, the number of persons exceeds that in the like area round St. Paul's.* In 1801 the population of Liverpool was 77,708, of Manchester 109,166; in 1851 the population of the first was 258,316, and of the second 439,797. Mr. Ashworth remarks in his pamphlet,—

“The increase in the value of property is universal. We will therefore take the county as a whole, including land under cultivation, and waste as well as towns, and referring to the land-tax returns of 1692, the annual value was 97,242*l.*; the valuation of 1853 for county-rate was 6,913,073*l.*, showing an improved value of 7000 per cent. The hundred of Salford, taken by the same valuation, shows in 1692 the sum of 25,907*l.*; in 1853, 3,051,347*l.*, or an increase in value of 11,700 per cent.”†

A very remarkable case of augmented value is upon record, in the instance of the township of Charlton-upon-Medlock, adjoining to Manchester. In the year 1644 it was sold for 300*l.* and in 1853 its annual value for county assessment was 143,151*l.*, or according to the amount of the fee simple, the increase in value is 50,000*l.* per cent. for little more than two centuries. Such being the importance of the cotton manufacture to the country, it is but natural that circumstances threatening to affect its prosperity should excite great public alarm.

The actual and anticipated deficiency of raw cotton in our markets, the precarious character of some of our present sources of supply, the falling off in the imports from America, arising from permanent as well as temporary causes, have awakened of

* Ashworth, “Cotton: its Cultivation, Manufacture, and Uses,” p. 7.

† Ashworth, p. 10.

late much uneasiness amongst those directly interested in the trade, and the course of current events on the other side of the Atlantic have served to disseminate this feeling throughout all classes of society. About four years ago, the Cotton Supply Association, whose reports we have under consideration, was established, and an affiliated company has since been formed for carrying its projects into execution. These seem calculated to lessen the evils, or even to avert the dangers, which are feared, by diminishing our dependency upon the United States, by opening up new fields for cotton cultivation, and by increasing the productiveness of those already in existence in many of our colonies. When we consider the consequences which might ensue upon a sudden dearth of cotton in this country, we cannot but apprehend the momentous nature of the problem which our brokers and manufacturers are now called upon to solve, and which goes by the name in public discussion of the *Question of Cotton Supply*. The evils of famine, within a limited area, may be mollified by the exertions of charity, the results of a pestilence may soon disappear, but the failure, even partial failure, of the cotton manufacture, would render capital and labour to an enormous extent unproductive; bankruptcy would be the portion of a thousand capitalists; starvation the lot of a million labourers. We have in the earlier part of this year seen how powerless in any great emergency is the machinery of our present system of compulsory charity. The stoppage of the ribbon trade at Coventry, the few days' frost in London during last January, would have been attended with the most heartrending consequences had it not been for the voluntary aid of the benevolent. These events have shown what a whitened sepulchre the institution of Poor Laws is; but a break down in our greatest manufacture would lead to more serious political difficulties than the exposure of a method of pauper relief. In such a case no private, no public beneficence could stem the tide of general wretchedness. A whole people would be in beggary, a nation in numbers would stretch forth its hands for bread, and rendered desperate by its sufferings, or maddened by the machinations of unprincipled demagogues, would tear down the very framework of society, amidst the ruins of the national greatness. The dangers which threaten the cotton manufacture are not therefore merely of economical import, their influence would extend throughout the length and breadth of the land. The magnitude of this evil is, however, almost equalled by the improbability of its occurrence. Could we place ourselves in the position of our ancestors, we should have passed through many periods of anxiety, as great, or even greater, than the present. In 1833, Mr. R. Finlay stated to a committee of the House of Commons that he had seen numerous overthrows in

the cotton manufacture. In 1788 he thought it would never recover from the shock which it received ; in 1793 and in 1799 it was severely tried, and this, in its infancy, before its strength was mature. Without seeking for them, many other seasons of danger occur to our minds. In 1808, the United States placed an embargo upon their ports, and our factories were closed for a quarter of a year. In 1812-3-4, we were at war with the Americans ; in 1846-7 their cotton crops failed ; in 1857 they gave us a short supply, and in half a dozen other instances the atrabilious have apparently had good reason for prophesying the speedy downfall of this great branch of industry. They have proved to be false prophets in times past ; let us see if it be not probable that they will prove to be false prophets now.

The sources whence our supplies of cotton are derived are either foreign or colonial. In the infancy of the manufacture, the latter furnished us with the whole of the quantity which we consumed ; but as it arrived at maturity, the former gradually supplanted them, until at the present time about eighty-two per cent. comes from foreign and only eighteen per cent. from colonial sources. It would naturally at first sight be imagined that foreign countries must possess some manifest advantages over our colonies for the growth and cultivation of cotton suitable for our manufactures, yet upon inquiry this does not seem to be the case. From the investigations of the Cotton Supply Association, of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, and of individual persons well competent to form an opinion upon the subject, it appears that in the British colonies there are larger spaces of territory, more eligible climates, a greater amount of cheap labour for the production of the raw material of the chief manufacture of the mother country, than there are in any other portions of the earth. India or Australia, it is said, could, under conditions, alone supply our markets ; large quantities of cotton could be obtained from our stations in Southern Africa, and the western coast of that continent could quickly rival the United States in the cotton export trade.

The cotton plant (*Gossypium*) is one of the Botanical order *Malvaceæ*, and consists of several species, varying in growth from a little shrub to a great tree, in the colour of their flowers, from purple to yellow, in the length and fineness of the fibre, of the down which they produce in pods at their periods of maturity. They flourish within a terrestrial zone, whose limits may be roughly assigned as 40° N. and S. latitude. From the Andes to the Himalayas, from the Bay of Panama to Moreton Bay, in Brazil, in Africa, in the remote islands of Japan, broad and fertile regions expand, fitted in every way for their cultivation. A certain climate is most favourable to them, whose seasons are of defined

lengths. Excessive moisture promotes the development of their leaves at the expense of the fruit, drought is equally destructive to them. The vicinity of the sea is best suited for their growth, the saline particles in the air and soil inducing a long staple and rendering them comparatively free from parasites, to whose devastations they are in general very much exposed. Whether the cotton be grown from a shrub or from a tree, its value in the market is principally determined by the length of its fibre, and the cleanliness, purity, and dryness of its condition when offered for sale. The fibre or staple of the kinds of cotton employed in our manufactures varies from three-quarters of an inch to two inches in length, and the degrees of skill with which they have been picked and packed, have also a sensible influence upon their relative prices. Taking the whole of these concurring circumstances into consideration, the most valuable cottons are those from the United States, next those from Egypt, next those of Brazil and the West Indies, and lastly those of India. These are the kinds which have as yet entered largely into our trade, but from Australia and from the West Coast of Africa samples of cotton have been imported quite as good as those from America. From India also specimens raised from the plant of the United States, the cultivation of which is rapidly extending in the Peninsula, have been found to be very superior to the ordinary Indian cottons. The current prices of the different varieties in Liverpool at the end of last year serve to show the degrees of estimation in which they are held.

Current Prices of Cotton per pound at Liverpool, Dec. 31st, 1860.

	d.	d.		d.	d.		d.	d.		d.	d.
Sea Islands	- 12	- 26	Pernams	8½	- 10	Demeraras	- 7½	- 10	W. Indian, &c.	5½	- 7½
Boweds	- -	5 - 8	Bahias, &c.	8½	- 8½	La Guayras	- 6½	- 7	Carthagenas	- 4½	- 5
Molules	- -	4½ - 8	Maranhams	- 8½	- 10	African	- -	6½ - 7	Surats	- -	3½ - 6
Orleans	- -	4½ - 9½	Peruvian	- -	7½ - 9½	Egyptian	- -	7½ - 11	Bengals	- -	4½ - 5*

Fine wefts are spun from the Sea Island, Brazilian, New Orleans, and Egyptian cottons. As a general rule the first is employed for the production of laces and muslins. Fine warps are made from the three last. Cambries, calicoes, shirtings, and sheetings are made from the better classes of American, from the Brazilian and Egyptian cottons, as well as from the West Indian, whilst Surats and Bengals usually come in for mixing with other species of thread, in the formation of fustians, and other coarse and heavy goods. The bad character which the Indian cottons have obtained among the manufacturers is one reason of this low price, independent of any intrinsic want of value. During the

* Samuel Kearsley and Co.'s Cotton Circular, 1860.

last five years these cottons have been imported in the following proportions:—United States, 76; Brazil, 2; India, 18; and other parts 4 per cent. Before considering the immediate prospects of our cotton supply, we shall look forward to a more remote future, and examine those circumstances attending it which are more of a permanent than of a temporary nature.

Independently of the now alarming aspect of political affairs in the United States, there are other and cogent reasons which should induce us to avoid for the future an almost exclusive dependence upon them for our supplies of cotton. Firstly, the American climate is barely adapted to permit the cotton crops to come to full maturity, and in no two successive years can we count upon an equally plentiful harvest.

“The extent of the cotton crops of the United States,” says Mr. Mann, “is perhaps more peculiarly dependent upon the nature of the seasons than any other crop in any part of the world. The length of the season, upon which so much depends, is but just sufficient for the full development of the plant, and a week later in the spring or a week earlier in the fall may be the ruin of an otherwise plentiful crop.”*

Secondly, the American planters have exhibited during the last few years a shameless disregard for honesty, which has much injured their credit with the manufacturers on this side of the Atlantic, and has greatly reduced the market values of their cotton.

“I am exceedingly glad to learn,” says Mr. Bazley, “that, upon the whole, cotton is now coming in as good condition from British India as it comes from the United States; and I grieve that the Americans should have so far fallen from their high position as a commercial people, as to commit the frauds that they have done in adulterating their cotton so largely with sand, as to depreciate its value twenty-five or even thirty per cent.”†

Thirdly, each fresh inquiry tends to show that even under the most propitious political circumstances the United States are now unable, and are becoming yearly more unable, to keep pace in their supply with our demand. The statistics of the cotton crops of the United States exhibit a slight but steady decrease in their *rate* of increase, during the thirty years from 1830 to 1859. Taking them in three equal periods, we find that the first decade was one of high prices, the second one of low prices, and the third again one of high prices. The absolute decrease in the rate of increase has been only about one per cent. in each period; but as the ten years, 1840-9, were years of low prices succeeding to high ones, and as the ten years, 1850-9, were years of high

* Mann, p. 58.

† Speech to the Cotton Supply Association, Sept. 4, 1860.

prices succeeding to low ones, the relative increase should have been *much greater* in the last ten years, instead of being rather less.* The spur of high prices has been without due effect, and the production of the United States has neither kept pace with the augmented value of their productions nor with the augmented demand for them in our markets.

The gradual occupation of the best lands, their impoverishment by long cotton cultivation, the inaccessibility of the new plantations, and the increased home consumption of the United States, and the increased consumption in foreign countries, besides Great Britain, are, as far as we are concerned, the causes of their inability to supply our wants.

Nine States on the American continent almost monopolize the business of cotton production. The tract of land which they occupy may be divided into three sections:—The first comprehending South Carolina, Georgia, and the islands upon its coast; the second, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas; and the third, Alabama, Mississippi, the north of Florida, and the south of Tennessee. The first section is the oldest and least valuable, except that part of it which is formed by the islands off Georgia, whence is derived the Sea Island cotton. A wide extent of swamp and pine barren divides the first section from the uplands; and in the second, to the west of the Mississippi, are two States, one of which, Louisiana, is much occupied by sugar plantations, and in the other, Texas, cotton has only lately been grown. The four States constituting the third section supply the greater share of the whole quantity of cotton in the United States; their soil is varied but always fertile, and every part of them is employed in its production. The best cotton lands having been long under cultivation, new and inferior ones are being gradually opened up; but these, even if nearly as good as the best, when wrought without agricultural treatment (by which low prices were maintained) soon become exhausted. For permanent cultivation it has been needful to introduce a rotation of crops, and to renovate the soil with manures, thus inducing a proportionate rise in the cost of the crops. In the States that have been a long time under cotton cultivation, the yield by the acre is considerably less than in those which have been so only for a short time; as, for instance, in South Carolina the yield is on an average 320 lbs. of seed and 141 lbs. of clean cotton per acre; whilst in Texas it is of the first 750 lbs., and of the second 337 lbs.—more than double. The difference in money value of these quantities is compensated by the additional cost and risk incurred in bringing the cotton to market from the new, more productive, but less

* Mann, p. 52.

convenient plantations. Supposing that the United States, therefore, were capable of using a much wider surface of land than they do now in the cultivation of cotton, thus of keeping their absolute supplies proportioned to our consumption, this could only be effected by a corresponding advance in prices. From a paper compiled for the Federal Government in 1852, it appeared that 6,300,000 acres were then occupied by cotton crops; that this area could be extended to 39,200,000 acres; that were the existence of suitable land the only question at issue, an increase of 19,600,000 bales of 100 lbs. of cotton each might be anticipated as the result; but that the labour, which at the time of the report was represented by 787,509 slaves, must, to serve the fields in contemplation, be raised to an amount represented by 4,900,050 slaves—a number which it would be quite impossible profitably to employ exclusively on the cotton plantations.

The slave labour employed in the Southern States is even *directly* the most serious obstacle in the way of their adequate extension of cotton cultivation. Whilst agricultural pursuits are stamped with the brand of servitude, free men will not enter into their prosecution. The six Slave States which do not produce cotton, though they are chiefly engaged in supplying the Cotton States with slaves, cannot meet the demand made upon them; thus the labour market becomes limited, and the price of labour, except in moments of panic like the present, becomes immoderately high.

“The increase in the slave population of the United States,” says Mr. Mann, “has varied but little during the last sixty years, having during that time ranged within two and a half and three and a half per cent. per annum; it is therefore quite clear that the immense requirements of the cotton cultivation can only be met by a proportionate declension in other branches of agriculture.” *

In the ten years ending 1850, the whole slave population of the United States had increased 28 per cent.; in Virginia, during that time, only 5½ per cent.; in Mississippi, 57 per cent.; and in Arkansas as much as 135 per cent.

The interruption of the internal slave trade is one of the most serious consequences to the cotton interests to be anticipated from the secession movements. The prices of able-bodied slaves were previously very high, they have now fallen to almost nothing, but a return to tranquillity will be the signal for a return to high prices. There is no doubt that a loss of the greater part of our cotton market will be the ruin of the slave system of the United

* Mann, p. 56.

States; and the very efforts which have been made by the South to save that hateful institution from destruction, by forcing our manufacturers to seek other sources of supply, will operate more powerfully in extinguishing it than any measures which could have been taken for its suppression by the Federal Government, under the inspiration of a hostile President. It was mainly by our cotton trade that the slave trade was supported, and when this support is weakened, as it inevitably must be, the slave trade will become proportionately insecure.

To the deterioration of soil and the scarcity of labour must be added the increased cotton consumption of the United States and the European continental nations. During the last thirty years, our share of the American exports of cotton has materially diminished. In the five years, 1830-4, Great Britain received 74, France 22, and other parts four per cent. of those exports; in the five years, 1855-9, our proportion had fallen to 67, that of France to 16, whilst that of other parts had risen to 17 per cent. The fact that foreign countries are carrying off a larger quantity of the production, is a valid explanation of the diminution in our supplies. The decrease in the exports to France is accounted for by her late protective policy, but that in our imports is the fruit of competition. In the same five yearly periods, the home consumption of the United States has risen from 17 to 20 per cent. In 1848 the quantity was 616,044 bales; in 1859, 927,651 bales.

Even upon apparently purely mercantile questions, other considerations than those of mere pounds, shillings, and pence must have an appreciable but subordinate influence; and this fact is more than usually palpable in an attempt to solve the problem of cotton supply. It should be remembered that, by our almost exclusive trading with the United States, we are encouraging the slavery of millions of our fellow-men, and are placing ourselves at the mercy of another, though a friendly Power. Our reverence for humanity, and our love for our country, both demand an abandonment of this mischievous system; and as in this case the change would prove a commercial advantage, there can be no impediment in the way of its adoption. The United States have not been blind to this side of the matter. Diplomatic differences, even unlikely to terminate in open hostilities, have induced them ere this to lay an embargo upon their own ports, and the effects of their resentment have been felt by thousands on this side of the ocean. The American politicians do not contemplate with any great alarm a cessation of cotton cultivation in the Southern States. They seem rather to be of opinion that they could inflict a great injury upon Great Britain without much inconvenience to themselves.

"The South," said Governor Hammond, of South Carolina, "is perfectly competent to go on one, two, or three years without planting a seed of cotton. I believe that if she were to plant but half her cotton, it would be an immense advantage to her. I am not so sure but that, after three years' cessation, she would come out stronger than ever she was before, and better prepared to enter afresh upon her great career of enterprise. What would happen if no cotton were furnished for three years? I will not stop to depict what every one can imagine; but this is certain, Old England would topple headlong, and carry the whole civilized world with her."*

The course and the consequences indicated in this piece of unadorned eloquence are too true, and too important to us to be passed over without notice. The outrage at Greytown, the insult at St. Juan, are still fresh in our memories. Whilst we have so much at stake, it is impossible for us to assume the dignified tone which we should assume in our intercourse with the American Republic. The amicable relations which now subsist between the two nations may perhaps never be disturbed, and this is our sincere hope; but in the event of complications arising, as they have arisen before, we should never be placed in the dilemma of having to choose between the national honour and the national prosperity, but should be able to adopt, without the prospect of commercial ruin, the motto once proudly used by a less mighty empire—

"Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos."

From Brazil we now obtain a small quantity of fine cotton. There, the means of inland traffic are excellent and improving. The San Francisco river has an uninterrupted navigation of a thousand miles; the Pernambuco railway is on its way to completion, but the want of labour is severely felt. Since the abolition of the external slave trade in 1850, an increase in the available supply of labour sufficient to extend in any great degree the cotton cultivation has become impossible, and for that reason we have little to hope from this quarter. From Africa, however, we may look for very large supplies. The investigations of Mr. Clegg, cotton spinner and manufacturer, and of Dr. Livingston, with other missionaries, have brought to light in that great continent resources for the growth and exportation of cotton hardly equalled in any other portion of the globe. There, is a regular climate, and an indigenous species of cotton, equal to that of the American uplands; an unlimited quantity of which could be obtained at a much lower price than is now paid in the American markets. As early as 1858, Lord Palmerston perceived

the growing importance of our cotton trade with Africa. He said :—

“I venture to say, that you will find on the west coast of Africa a most valuable supply of cotton, so essential to the manufactures of this country. It has every advantage for the growth of that article. The cotton districts of Africa are more extensive than those of India. The access to them is more easy than to the Indian cotton districts, and I venture to say, that your commerce with the western coast of Africa in the article of cotton will in a few years prove to be far more valuable than that of any other portion of the world, the United States excepted.”*

In Sierra Leone, Liberia, the Gold Coast, and in the Yoruba country, having its outlets at Lagos, and the mouth of the Niger, a district from whence immediate results may be anticipated, is thrown open, and cotton shipped from it has already sold in Liverpool at from 7d. to 7½d. the pound. The agents of the Cotton Supply Association found as many as 70,000 negroes in the interior of the country engaged in growing, spinning, and weaving cotton. In the third of their annual reports, the directors of the Company affiliated to the Association say—

“The whole line of the western coast of Africa is studded with towns, many of them containing 100,000 inhabitants, in which regular marts are established, and from which unlimited supplies may be obtained. There are many millions of Africans whose labour may in this way be actively employed in the service of our cotton trade, and among whom our manufacturers would find an inexhaustible market. From Lagos the bulk of our present African supplies are obtained. Several traders have entered more largely into the trade, and a considerable amount of machinery for cleaning and packing has been sent out during the past year. During the twelve months preceding March 1859, 1800 bales were imported from the west coast of Africa into London and Liverpool; the greater part of which was imported into London. From March, 1859, to March, 1860, nearly 1600 bales have been imported into Liverpool alone, and 1847 bales into London. From the west coast the exports have therefore risen from 1800 bales in 1858-9, to 3447 bales in 1859-60, or nearly one hundred per cent. in twelve months.”†

Egypt, which until 1823 grew no cotton, in 1860 exported to Great Britain 108,710 bales, second in quality only to the long stapled American. On an average, 46,000,000 lbs. are now annually exported from Alexandria, and from 50,000 to 60,000 bales are consumed in the factories established by the Viceroy. In Algeria, under the auspices of the French Emperor, in Morocco and Tunis, in Loanda and Angola, the cultivation has commenced. Along the banks of the river Zambesi, flowing into

* Debate of July 13, 1858.

† Third Annual Report, p. 10.

the Mozambique Channel, cotton grows wild, and in a letter to Mr. Aspinall Turner, M.P. for Manchester, Dr. Livingston states that he bought a *rove* of it for a penny.

"It seems probable," says Mr. Mann, "that if a company were formed with capital to send out a flat-bottomed steamer, of small draught, a large quantity of cotton could be collected at a fraction of a penny a pound. Machinery for cleaning, with a station and agents upon the coast, would enable this cotton to reach Liverpool at 3d. to 4d. per lb., and there is no doubt that a profit of 35,000*l.* would be realized upon every 10,000 bales sent home."*

These are the principal foreign sources of supply; but the colonial sources which we have at our command are equally extensive, and the prospect presented by them equally encouraging. From our stations in South Africa and in Australia, we may count upon large supplies. In the former, the custom of receiving rent in cotton from the native populations may do much in furthering its cultivation, and, in the latter, several thousand acres are occupied by cotton crops; the wool received grown from Sea Island seed having sold in Manchester at prices varying from 1*s.* 8d to 2*s.*, and even 3*s.* the pound.

It has been suggested on many sides that the West Indian colonies may be made the seats of an extensive cotton trade; and, although the nature of their climate and soils go far to encourage this hope, yet the condition of the labourers is such as to destroy the chance of any very great advance in their production. The West Indian cotton trade is not extinct; certain kinds of cotton, useful in some of the *finer* branches of our manufacture, are thence imported; but, were it not for this fact, it would ere now have been erased from commercial memory. In 1787 the imports from the West Indies equalled thirty-eight per cent. of the total imports into the United Kingdom; at present they are barely one sixteenth of what they were formerly, and only one two-thousandth part of the entire British import trade. In the opinion of Mr. Bazley, the protection given to the sugar trade was the primary cause of the falling off in the cotton trade. Now, however, the demoralized condition and indolent character of the emancipated slaves, the labouring part of the population is the great obstacle in the way of its revival. The *Nemesis* of the slave trade has overtaken the West India islands. In them and in British Guiana, there are extensive districts lying waste in which cotton could be grown, but the scarcity of labour must for a long time prevent their utilization. Coolies and Chinese immigrants may, in a distant future, supply this necessity, but the treatment which those have as yet received who have arrived

* Mann, p. 83.

at the plantations is not calculated to attract fresh adventurers. Good soils and good climates are of no avail for cotton cultivation, if cheap and efficient labour is not at hand. Notwithstanding the low prices which are obtained at present for Surats and Bengals in Liverpool, it seems to be the opinion of those who have given the most attention to the subject, that India will prove by far the most valuable of our sources of cotton supply. It is said, with every appearance of probability, that the natural qualities of the raw material there will be improved by the introduction of American species of cotton, that the establishment of English agencies in the country will ameliorate its artificial qualities of cleanliness and purity, and that the cheapness of Hindoo labour will render the future article from India the cheapest and almost the best in the world. When we consider the vast interest which Great Britain has in the prosperity of India, her possessions there embracing an area of about 1,488,000 square miles, supporting a population of nearly 185,000,000 souls, we cannot but hope that these anticipations may ultimately be verified. The cotton trade of India is of long standing, it has even now assumed a position of considerable importance, and long before the present time of alarm, the capabilities of the country for the growth of cotton were pointed out by the late Mr. Chapman and other well-informed persons.

During the period of 1855-8, the exports of raw cotton from the British possessions amounted to 247,741,929 lbs., of which quantity Great Britain received 185,229,082 lbs.; China, 42,973,429 lbs., and other parts, 19,539,418 lbs., as against the exports during the five years, 1850-4, of 157,756,892 lbs., of which Great Britain received 70,757,425 lbs.; China, 82,427,227 lbs., and other parts, 4,572,240 lbs. In 1860, 562,852 bales were imported into Great Britain as against 308,184 in 1854. The increased consumption of Indian cotton in this country does not show a rate equal to the increased consumption of it in other parts. The falling off in the trade with China is accounted for by the fact that the Chinese merchants will not buy at the high prices which reign among the brokers of Liverpool. The Chinese imports are dependent upon the British imports, and the first effect of any increase of the latter is not necessarily an increased production in India, but a decrease in the former. In the last twenty years the supplies of Indian cotton in our markets have become augmented as much as 262 per cent., whilst the whole exports from the Peninsula have increased only 82 per cent., the difference having been made up chiefly at the expense of China.

Of the three Presidencies, Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, Bombay has as yet played the most important part in the cotton trade. Madras appears to be quite unable to extend her cotton

production, whilst Bengal is in regard to her cotton exports in a condition of evident decay. A great decline in the Indian trade was caused by the low-priced years 1843 to 1849, but even an advance in prices has had no proportionate effect in stimulating its activity. The wants of the people of India have certainly not remained stationary. The increased demand for their products in the home markets, and their increased demand for British goods, bear ample testimony to this. Indeed, it would seem that the quantity of Indian cotton available for export has become larger, whilst its price has declined; and we may infer, therefore, that there has been an augmented production of native manufactures.

The consumption of cotton in India itself has been estimated at very various, and sometimes at absurdly large amounts. The most rational estimate places it at twelve pounds annually for each of the population, equalling about 2,160,000,000 lbs., the exports about 272,395,875 lbs., the whole production 2,432,395,875 lbs.; and if we accept Dr. Royle's conclusion, that the average yield of cotton per acre in India is 100 lbs., it follows that there are now 24,300,000 acres under cotton cultivation; this acreage being nearly four times that in the United States. At the Census of 1851 the consumption of cotton in England was but six and a half pounds the head. In India, however, the clothing of the natives is almost all of cotton. We may assume, perhaps, that though the estimate just given may be exaggerated, it is not far beyond the truth, and that there are now near upon twenty-four millions of acres under cotton cultivation scattered throughout Hindoostan. There is no doubt that hardly a portion of our possessions in India is developed to one-third of its productive capacity.

In Bombay, containing 76,841,600 acres, and a population of 11,109,067, the late Mr. Chapman calculated, in 1854, there were 43,000,000 acres admirably adapted for the growth of cotton; and did these but give half the ascertained return of Indian land, which, by improvement, it is to be hoped, may be doubled, they would yield a crop of 1,075,000,000 lbs. of clean cotton, a quantity not very much less than the imports of 1860, from all countries into Great Britain, and which it is said could be sold in Liverpool at a profit at 3*d.* or 3½*d.* the pound. The chief cotton district of India is Guzerat, comprising Surat, Broach, Kaira, Ahmedabad, and Kattywar. Even in these there are millions of acres lying waste and unproductive. This district yields 56 per cent. of the whole cotton supplies from India. The average return there per acre is estimated at from 250 lbs. to 2000 lbs., nearly a third of it being clean cotton, from 80 lbs. to 600 lbs. In Broach, on favourable ground, 600 lbs. of clean cotton can be produced, and on ordinary irrigated land from 350 lbs. to 400 lbs. The Collectorate of

Kandeish, one only of the sixteen composing the Presidency, is said to contain 6,058,610 acres well suited for the cotton cultivation. Seinde, which is attached to Bombay, has the advantage of an extensive system of inland navigation, but its population is now rather small. On the whole, there are in the Bombay Presidency 2,890,279 acres occupied with cotton plantations, and in 1851 there were 52,313 acres growing the American species of cotton, probably about a fourth of those which now are doing so.

Madras has an area of 84,587,600 acres, and a population of 22,301,697. In the year 1854-5, only 917,374 acres were appropriated to cotton, 2320 acres being of the American species, and little progress, we fear, has since been made. Dr. White, however, states, that in the Southern Provinces, Coimbatore, Salem, Madras, and Tinnevely, there are 2,180,000 acres fitted for the growth of cotton, which would probably yield on an average 100 lbs. of clean cotton.

Bengal, with an acreage of 185,502,720, and a population of 49,855,137, consumes in its native manufacture nearly the whole of its cotton crops. In it is Berar, which, were means of transit at hand, would be the most valuable cotton district in India. All the surplus cotton raised in Bengal is absorbed in the China trade.

The North-west Provinces and the Punjaub, the most thickly peopled region of India, has an acreage of 105,822,720 and a population of 4,025,975. This area is free in a great measure from timber and jungle, lies out of the reach of the monsoons, and is intersected by numerous rivers and streams, flowing from the mountains of Kinawar and Cashmere. As yet it does little in the cotton export trade, but it is a promising seat of future supply. The kingdom of Oude and the Eastern Provinces, including Pegu, have undeniably good soil for cotton growing, but they are thinly peopled and imperfectly accessible. The report of the Cotton Supply Association endorses the opinion of Captain Sprye, R.E., the projector of a railway from Rangoon or Negris, in the Bay of Bengal, through Pegu and a portion of the Burmese territory, to Esmok, in the Chinese province of Yunan. It says:—

“Pegu, Burmah, and the adjacent Shan territories east of them could produce annually all the raw cotton that England requires, and the whole of superior quality.” *

India, with an acreage under cotton cultivation of about 24,000,000, and a population of rather more than one person to every four acres, during the four years ending 1858, exported as an annual average somewhat less than 250,000,000 lbs. of cotton, whilst the United States, with an acreage under cotton cultivation of little more than 6,000,000, and a population equal to about

* Third Annual Report, p. 16.

one person for every ninety acres, exported during the same period an annual average of about 1,131,690,000 lbs.* It is a matter of no small importance to ascertain the causes of this difference.

Compared with the length of time during which the soil of India has been worked, the earliest cultivated land of the United States must be considered new. The time of the one may be counted in as many hundreds of years as that of the other may be counted in years. The price of land in the two continents is about equal, but it requires twice as much surface in India as in America to raise a hundred pounds of clean cotton. There are of course exceptions, but this appears to be the general rule. Indian labour is nearly eighty per cent. cheaper than American labour, but then again transit in the first is immeasurably inferior and much more expensive than in the second. The Mississippi and the Red Rivers are the high roads of a prosperous commerce; the Indus and the Ganges are at present practically useless. Hitherto the means and methods of preparing the Indian article for market have been bad and most unfavourable to its sale. The native growers, sunk in the most abject poverty, fall a prey to the machinations of the zemindars, or middle men, who lend money and extort the most exorbitant interest from the borrowers. They receive the crops from the ryots, neglect it, expose it to the weather, and adulterate it. Indian cotton is, in fact, almost unmarketable in this country, except when the United States supplies are small. The merchant is never certain that it will command a remunerative price; the manufacturer expects it to be dirty and impure, and will only buy it at a great reduction. These circumstances, perhaps, more than the inferiority of the cotton itself, are the reasons of its depreciation amongst us.

"Under the present circumstances," says Mr. Mann, "the systematic adulteration of Indian cotton will always exist, the poverty of the native growers, and the absence of English agents to make reasonable advances to them upon the spot, compel them to borrow money at a ruinous rate of interest, and sell their cotton much below its real value; the consequence is, they become indifferent as to its quality or condition, in fact, as to everything appertaining to it except mere quantity."†

The Cotton Supply Company has already commenced to remedy these evils. Agencies have been established by them, and improved implements for preparing the raw cotton have been largely imported into India.

There appears to be a general consent among the authors whose works are now before us, and who mention the subject of Indian cotton supply, to enumerate the obstacles in the way of this, as of

* Mann, p. 67.

† Ibid. p. 69.

all other commercial progress in India as four, namely, the wants of a more perfect administration of justice, of a reformed tenure of land, of more efficient means of transit, and of works of irrigation. The first of these recommendations is almost a platitude, the three last demand some notice.

The subject of Indian Land-tenures has already been fully discussed in this Review (No. XXXI. July, 1859), and only concerns us here in so far as those tenures affect the construction of Indian railways, canals, and common roads, by which Indian cotton may be conveyed quickly and cheaply to the coast, for shipment to England. From the time when cotton was first exported by India to England, it has been carried from the plantations to the coast by bullocks. This mode of transit adds so much to the cost of Indian cotton, by the time it arrives at the port of shipment, that in ordinary years its export to Liverpool is attended with risk of loss. "The combined committee of Government officers and merchants appointed, in 1816, by the Government of Bombay, to investigate the cotton trade, state it as their opinion that the costs, losses, deterioration, delay, and disadvantages of all kinds, incident to the present mode of inland conveyance, can hardly be less on the average of the year than 1d. per lb.)* Of course, under these circumstances, there could be little inducement to cultivators to extend the area of their plantations. "The mere money difference," says Mr. Chapman, "between bullock and rail carriage would have remedied this state of things, and would have converted a hazardous into a certain trade." That difference "amounting," he continues, "to $\frac{1}{4}$ (or 0.625) of 1d. per lb., comes to 20 or 30 per cent. of the cotton of Berar, or sometimes to 15 per cent. of its value in Liverpool, and is ample of itself for profit. Without, then, taking into account the important considerations of rapidity of commercial operations, certainty and speed of intelligence, immunity from pilfering and deterioration, and other advantages inseparable from railway transit, which, however important, are not easily expressed in figures, I conceive that we have in the foregoing facts a basis on which to rest our future arguments and expectations, as to the measures to be taken for insuring an increase of the supply of cotton from the interior of India."

Thus railways, and common roads to bring the cotton fields in connexion with them, are the obvious means of ensuring to Great Britain an adequate supply of Indian cotton; and the question at once arises,—At whose expense are these indispensable roads to be constructed? In England the genius of private

enterprise accomplishes all such works ; in India, from time immemorial, until within a recent date, structures of like magnitude have been effected only by the hands of Government. The Indian railways, so far as yet constructed, are the result of a compromise between English and Hindoo ideas : they are built by private enterprise, the Indian Government guaranteeing a minimum of 5 per cent. interest on the adventure. This method is, however, far from satisfactory, and is certainly not likely to be carried out on a scale adequate to the needs of India. On whom then, it will be asked, devolves the duty of providing India with railways ? We answer—on the Government alone. In India the Government is both *de jure* and *de facto* the landlord, and as such is bound so to manage the vast estate as will be most conducive to the development and profitable use of its resources. In the article just referred to, it is, we believe, demonstrated by arguments, having the confirmation of the highest politico-economical authorities, that as a matter of abstract right the land belongs to the people as a whole, that the Government as their representative is the supreme landlord ; that it cannot rightly alienate in perpetuity any part of its trust to individuals, and that, in fact, from the earliest times of which we have any knowledge, down to the present day, this doctrine has been dimly but practically recognised by the Hindoos, and is the foundation of the distinctive political institutions of India.

Many Englishmen who have given attention to Indian affairs, are eager to reform the whole Peninsula, by nothing less than a stupendous revolution. They assert that the politico-economical regeneration of the Hindoos can only be accomplished by imposing upon them the ideas and usages of Englishmen in respect to the tenure of land : the national property must be alienated to individuals in perpetuity ; leaseholds must be superseded by freeholds, self-interest thus receiving its appropriate stimulus. Then, we are told, the unspeakable resources of India will be revealed and become accessible, and the regions extending from Cape Comoran to the Himalayas, will be transformed into a colossal hive of industry and wealth — supplying Manchester, of course, with all the cotton she requires, and presenting an insatiable market for her manufactures. If we doubt the wisdom of this prescription, we at least recognise in it a measure of the wisdom of the prescribers : in England, say they, the ownership of the land has been transferred from the Crown to individuals, and freeholds may be bought and sold like any other article of commerce. England is a great nation ; therefore freehold tenures of land are the foundations of national greatness. We confess, however, to some misgivings : possibly insular prejudices and national egotism may

induce spectral illusions — may render causal relations subjectively visible where objectively none exist, possibly we may be justified in saying—"first cast out the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye." At all events, we are sure that while the practices of England and the principles of her highest political economists in regard to the tenure of land are diametrically opposed, a sense of justice, if not of modesty, should make her pause before resolving to inaugurate a revolution affecting the destinies of 185,000,000 of people—a revolution which may not be from wrong to right, but from right to wrong, and which in its consequences, would be infinitely more profound and vital than any which effect only the overthrow of a dynasty or a ruling class. Fortunately for the Hindoos, rational conservatism and abstract justice alike plead in this case on their behalf, while the interests of the cotton manufacturer are distinctly engaged on the same side.

A recognition of the wisdom and equity of the principle lying at the foundation of Indian land-tenures, would enormously facilitate and hasten the construction of roads and public works generally throughout the country.

"Practically the landlord of India, but under the influence of the European and antagonistic idea that it would be better were the actual holders absolute proprietors of the land, the English Government in its management of or relation to the public works, has exhibited all the dubiousness and faltering inevitably resulting from a policy prompted by two irreconcilable principles. In an economical point of view it is clearly the duty of a landlord to do all in his power so to improve the value of his estate as to make it yield him the highest possible rent. In a country the fertility of which mainly depends on efficient irrigation, this duty is peculiarly imperative, because many estates being supplied with water from one and the same source, their several owners are individually powerless to help themselves, and unless they co-operate for the satisfaction of their common need they must be assisted either by large and enterprising capitalists, or by the Government itself. Nearly the same remarks are applicable to canals and roads. The native princes undertook such works themselves. The Anglo-Indian Government has encouraged their accomplishment by private enterprise, and has been so loth to recognise its duties as national landlord, that though compelled to perform them, more or less in spite of itself, it abstained from organizing a department of public works until the present decade, and confided such as it did undertake to military boards. In 1854, during the reign of Lord Dalhousie, a systematic organization of the Public Works Department was inaugurated, and for some years past from 2,000,000*l.* to 2,500,000*l.* have been expended yearly on public works, a considerable proportion being for roads, bridges, and works of irrigation. But how greatly the Government would fain still lean on private

enterprise is evident from the fact that it has presented to the several Indian railway companies the land on which the lines are being constructed, and has incurred the risk of guaranteeing to the shareholders a minimum profit of 5 per cent. on 40,000,000*l.*, stipulating only for a share of any profits which may accrue beyond 5 per cent., even if the undertakings should prove successful enough to make repayment possible. Such private enterprise as this is, however, much more seeming than real. It is a mere mask under which the national landlord is in fact improving his estate himself, and at his own expense. We are glad of it, but our gladness is not unmixed with regret that the Government, after finding the land and according its guarantee, will have no share in the property which it has virtually created; and we look on these anomalous partnerships between the Government and private companies, in which all the risks are on one side and all the profits on the other, as characteristic of a transitional state. So soon as the doctrine that the land belongs to the people as a whole shall obtain complete recognition, road and canal making, and irrigation on that gigantic scale which is essential in eastern countries, will be found to be among the few important functions of Government when restricted to the proper sphere of its activity.

“The indirect profit derivable by a nation from the construction of roads and canals, is far greater than the direct profit derivable from the sums paid for their use after deducting the cost of making and working them; witness the enormous impetus which has been given to agricultural and commercial activity, and the wonderfully rapid progress in civilization which has been made throughout Europe and North America, by the extensive system of railroads now established. But the prime movers of this great and beneficent revolution—the railway capitalists—instead of finding their great works yield a remunerative interest on the capital invested, have to deplore the irrecoverable loss of hundreds of millions, while many of them have been reduced from affluence to beggary. Competition, usually so healthful and beneficent, is baneful here: if two lines run between the same points and through the same intervening country, their directors will, in the first instance, so cut down each others’ prices as to ruin the shareholders, and then they will either amalgamate or enter into a treaty, the result in either case being that the public will be compelled to pay double the fares they ought to do on each line, in order to yield a profit on the double outlay of constructing two where one would more than suffice for the whole public traffic.

“The more attention is given to the question—Who ought to construct the public works?—the more distinct we believe will be the answer that the duty rests with Government. Assuming that political economists and statesmen will ultimately concur in this judgment, they will probably be also of opinion that whenever such works would undoubtedly yield a large indirect profit to the State, by developing and enriching it as a whole, they ought to be constructed even though they should fail to yield a direct profit on their cost and management.

“The following facts justify this opinion:—During the years from

1836 to 1849 the aggregate increase of the revenue of Madras, due to the extension of works of irrigation, was 415,529*l.* after paying all cost of construction and repair. Owing to the Godavery Works, the aggregate increase of revenue from 1846-7 to 1853-4, was 360,000*l.* against an expense of 188,000*l.*, and the exports of the district steadily increased from 116,000*l.* in 1847-8 to 650,000*l.* in 1853-4. It is estimated by the Madras Public Works Commission that the landholders of the same district will be enriched by the Godavery Works to the extent of 3,000,000*l.* a year. The Doab and Eastern Canal, which has cost altogether about 640,000*l.*, irrigates an area of 1,300,000 acres, yielding produce to the annual value of not less than 2½ millions sterling. The increase of land revenue due to the Ganges Canal is estimated at upwards of 240,000*l.* a year. Pages might be filled with similar facts. But if the Government incurs the expense and risk of such works, it has no right to alienate its claim to whatever direct profits may sooner or later arise from them. It seems to us that instead of guaranteeing 5 per cent. per annum on 10,000,000*l.* now being expended on Indian railways, the Government would have acted more prudently had it borrowed the money at its market value, constructed the lines itself, and retained them as its property, to be leased to private companies on such terms as should seem mutually equitable. A knowledge of the large direct profits now yielded by certain Indian public works will perhaps be held to justify this conviction. The net profit of the Ganges Canal is expected to be 7 per cent. The Doab and Eastern Canal yields a net profit of 24 per cent., and the Delhi and Western Jumna Canals yield an interest of 36 per cent. on the capital invested, after deducting the expenses of the canal and civil department.”*

Notwithstanding the deficit in the late financial statement of the Secretary of State for India, no cessation should take place in the prosecution of the public works. It is only by their peaceful operation that we can hope to abandon the system of government by the sword, or can expect to see anything but an ever-increasing deficit in his future statements. No penny wisdom and pound folly should influence the Council of India, no “cheese-paring policy” should be adopted by the Indian Chancellor of the Exchequer. Money must be spent now if we would ever make India anything but a burthen to the mother country. An integral portion of the British empire, India must not be governed on parsimonious but on truly liberal principles; and the imperial guarantee should be given to her loans in order that the Government may obtain money upon the most advantageous terms for carrying on its great mission. The nation is now in fact responsible for the Indian loans, and the reticence of Parlia-

* *West. Rev.* No. XXXI. Art. 5. “The Government of India, its Liabilities and Resources.”

ment in reference to this liability is simply a solemn, plausible, but very expensive sham.

Lord Stanley saw this when he said*—

“I would ask the House seriously to consider how far, looking at the fact that more than 50,000,000*l.* have been contributed by English capitalists, it would be morally possible for this country altogether to repudiate the Indian debt without shaking its own credit? I would likewise ask the House to bear in mind that if ever the time should come when the established policy in this respect shall undergo a change, and when a national guarantee shall be given for these liabilities, that guarantee would operate to reduce the interest paid on the Indian debt by no less than 750,000*l.* or even 1,000,000*l.*, which formed into a sinking fund would pay off the whole.”

There is another part of the present finance system in India, which, as it materially affects the cotton manufacture, deserves some attention here—namely, the duties imposed by the late Mr. Wilson upon the imports of British cotton goods into India. These taxes are doubly objectionable: they bring little money into the Treasury and they foster the native cotton manufacture. It is strange that one so eminently favourable to Free Trade as was Mr. Wilson should have adopted a Protective policy. It is a matter of certainty that the raw cotton can be shipped from Bombay to Liverpool, sold there at a profit, returned from Manchester to India, and there purchased at a cheaper rate, than if it had been spun and woven within a hundred yards of the place of its growth. In almost all the countries in which raw cotton is produced, we have seen British cotton manufactures are in large demand, because they are better and less costly than their own. India is not and cannot be an exception to the general rule; indeed, there is there an accumulation of obstacles in the way of an efficient home manufacture. The ten per cent. tax on British cotton fabrics by stimulating the native manufacture diminishes the native production of cotton. A want of labour even now exists in the cotton-growing districts; they are amongst the most thinly populated parts of the Peninsula, it is in them that spinning and weaving, as well as cultivation, are carried on, and whilst these former are enabled to maintain their position, labour is diverted from more profitable occupation in the last. This tends to diminish an already deficient supply of labour for the plantations, and for these reasons also we think it is a mistake to attempt to establish a native machine manufacture in India. More than a hundred thousand spindles and three hundred power-looms are now at work, competing with our imports. Upon an examina-

* Speech on the Finances of India, House of Commons, Feb. 14th, 1859.

tion of Mr. Mann's calculations we much doubt whether these efforts can even in time be attended with success, but of this we have record, that the value of exports of cotton goods to India fell short by 1,525,149*l.* in 1866 of what they were in 1859. It does therefore appear to be for the interest of both parts of the empire that the raw material should be drained out of India and the native manufactures suffered to expire.

In conclusion we have to consider the immediate prospects of the cotton manufacture. The late crop in America is generally believed, on account of unfavourable weather, to have been a bad one, and the political dissensions in the Union are expected to interrupt the trade in, and diminish the quantity of the next one. Should warfare between the States be the result, or should an insurrection of the slave population take place, there is no doubt that, for a time, their cotton commerce, as all other kinds, would be almost destroyed; but, even without this being the case, it is to be feared that much of the labour and land now occupied by cotton plantations in the South, will be employed to raise grain crops, in order that it may be the more independent of the North. Thus, at any rate, we may count upon a falling off, at least for two years, in our supplies of cotton from the United States. Looking at the statistics of our supplies from the different sources during the last seven years, we find that we have received the following number of bales from each source.

Years.	U. States.	Brazil.	W. Indies.	Egypt.	E. Indies.	Total.
1854	667,902	107,037	8,225	81,218	308,184	2,172,593
1855	626,086	134,528	6,708	113,961	396,027	2,277,310
1856	758,295	121,531	11,323	113,111	459,508	2,463,768
1857	481,717	168,340	11,467	75,598	680,466	2,417,588
1858	855,340	108,886	6,867	101,405	350,218	2,422,746
1859	086,341	124,837	8,338	99,876	509,688	2,829,110
1860	580,843	103,050	9,956	109,985	562,852	3,366,686

Comparing these last quantities with those of the previous year, we find an increase of 494,502 bales in American, 10,109 in Egyptian, 1618 in West Indian, and 53,164 in East Indian, but a decrease of 21,817 bales in Brazilian. Making a total increase of 537,576 bales.

The crops in the United States since 1855-6 have been as follows:—

1855-6—3,527,845 bales.	1857-8—3,113,962 bales.
1856-7—2,939,519 „	1858-9—3,851,481 „
1859-60—4,675,770 bales.	

The stocks in Liverpool, London, and Glasgow, on the 31st December in each of the above years were:—

1854—626,450 bales.	1856—332,740 bales.	1858—271,980 bales.
1855—486,470 „	1857—452,510 „	1859—469,510 „
	1860—594,505 bales.	

To this stock of 1860, in the ports, must be added about 220,000 bales in the hands of spinners. The average weekly consumption of cotton in Great Britain during the past year has been 48,136 bales as against 40,092 in 1855, when the stock was somewhat greater than at present. At the commencement of 1861 the whole available stock equalled about 16 weeks' consumption at the rate of the last twelve months.

The prospects of the cotton manufacture for this and the next year are not satisfactory, but at the same time they are not such as to justify the very great alarm which is occasionally expressed. The first point to be considered is the state of the trade at Manchester. The long period of prosperity which the manufacturers have enjoyed has encouraged a great expansion of their manufacture, and they have had the advantages of an ample supply of raw material, and a demand for their merchandize in excess of their powers of production. Both these resources seem likely to fail them in 1861. The supply of cotton is certain to be a short one, and the power of production is overtaking the demand and may soon be in advance of it. During the last six months the margin of profits possessed by the manufacturers has been gradually diminishing, and whilst the value of raw cotton is very much higher than it was at this season last year, the prices of fabrics are very much less. The Indian market, which last year absorbed about a third of the cotton goods exported from this country, has been in a state of stagnation for many months—sales at one time from Bombay and Calcutta, showing a loss of from 25 to 30 per cent., and large stocks having accumulated in these ports, the year must be far advanced before much relief can be felt in this quarter. It is probable that the treaty with China will stimulate trade in that direction, and that the demand in smaller markets will still continue active. Our home trade on the other hand is likely to be damaged by a scarcity of bread-stuffs and a stringent money market. The bad harvest of last year, and the drain of bullion from the Bank of England producing the present high rate of discount, cannot be without very serious consequences to the internal commerce of the kingdom.

The present consumption of cotton is considerably greater than it was in the late year, and it probably amounts to 51,000 bales a week, of which about 43,000 bales consist of American cotton. It seems to be the opinion of those engaged in the trade that the number of new mills now building, and the amount of machinery contracted for, would admit of as great extension of the manu-

facture in 1861 that has taken place in 1860. Were prices as low as they were last summer, and were a plentiful crop produced, the weekly consumption of United States cotton might amount to 16,000 bales. But with the threatened scarcity of cotton and the unsatisfactory appearances of trade in general, it is far from likely that any great development will take place; greater economy will be introduced into all the processes, and much of the new machinery and many of the new mills will remain inactive and unemployed.

Supposing, therefore, that the present estimated consumption of cotton, 51,000 bales a week, should continue the average for the whole year, and that 13,000 bales of this should be of American cotton, the total consumption of the latter would be 2,236,000 bales. In the Circular of Mr. Samuel Smith, cotton-broker, we find the following remarks:—

“Putting aside for the moment the political crisis in America and the important commercial problems arising out of it, let us consider the question on the basis of this year's production. The most reliable authorities from America, so far as the writer's experience extends, estimate the crops at $3\frac{3}{4}$ to 4 millions. It is certain that the large stock 227,000 of bales remaining in the American ports on the 1st September will be considerably reduced this coming year, and therefore I shall assume that 4,000,000 bales are available for distribution, of which, allowing the same proportion to Northern spinners as last year, and 100,000 bales less to the Continent, there would remain 2,200,000 bales for export to Great Britain, say 55 per cent. of the total, about its usual proportion.”*

This would leave a deficiency of 286,000 bales. The Circular continues:—

“On this assumption a crop of $3\frac{3}{4}$ to 4 millions would afford a very scanty supply, even with a stationary consumption. It would reduce the reserves of stocks very low, but not so low as to justify extremely high prices, if the following crop promised to be a good one, for it must be remembered that spinners could use up the very liberal stock they hold at present, while an earlier delivery of next crop, stimulated by high prices, might also interpose to prevent the above deficiency being visible in the Liverpool stock at the end of the year. It seems, therefore, that a crop of $3\frac{3}{4}$ to 4 millions, while requiring strict economy in the consumption and warranting somewhat higher prices than exist now, would not threaten a cotton famine unless followed by another deficient yield.”†

If the bank discount should fall to 5 or 6 per cent., and the Manchester market look somewhat brighter, there would be a rise perhaps of from 1d. to 2d. the pound on all kinds of cotton.

* “Samuel Smith's Cotton Circular,” p. 2.

† Ibid.

There is a very great difficulty in arriving at a correct conclusion as to the amount of the American cotton crop. In prosperous times it is generally overrated, as at the commencement of last year; in unprosperous times it is generally underrated, as possibly at the present moment. Perhaps the American crop will reach 4,100,000 bales, and, as high prices always attract a larger share here than usual, 2,100,000 bales would be a pretty safe estimate. The same quantity of new cotton may arrive before the end of 1861 as in 1860, and for the year 100,000 Brazilian, 100,000 Egyptian, 8,000 West Indian, &c., and 500,000 East Indian, added to the stock on hand in the ports, 591,500 bales, and say even only 130,000 bales surplus in spinners' hands, would give a supply of 3,532,500 bales to meet the requirements of exporters and manufacturers, who have this year taken jointly 3,111,691 bales.

"This," says Mr. Maurice Williams' Circular, "would leave a surplus stock of but 430,000 bales at the end of 1861, presuming that the consumption of the world should not increase; but as it is generally understood that a considerable increase in the requirements of this country must take place the next year by the new mills, which either have just commenced or are now in preparation, even this small surplus may soon be diminished, whilst the possibility still exists that should any serious disturbances take place in the Southern States, the cultivation of the next crop may be so interfered with as to cause another short crop, and also materially to lessen the receipts from the incoming one by inducing planters to hold over a portion of their crops until next season."*

On the whole, as far as this year, is concerned there does not appear to be any immediate danger. As in 1857, the falling off in American supplies will be compensated by those from other places.

The political complications of the United States may, however, produce the most disastrous results in 1862. We have already enumerated the vast resources for cotton supply which are even now at our command. There is yet time to render them more productive, and we have had fair warning. We do not care again to refer to the consequences to be dreaded from a real dearth of cotton in our markets. One good consequence is to be anticipated from the present alarm; it will destroy for ever the monopoly of the United States, and will convert our manufacturers to the judicious policy of free competition among many markets. The three years of unequalled prosperity which have now come to an end will give them strength to bear the season of trial which is before them. They have, however, produced an unjustified dilation of trade, the evil consequences of

* "Maurice Williams' Cotton Brokers Circular."

which may be severely felt. The competition of the Continental manufactures is also assuming a menacing attitude. They are fast coming into rivalry with ours in their own markets. These symptoms of approaching dangers should not be passed by unheeded. Every dark cloud, it is said, has its silver lining; and great as the storm may be which is now gathering round our cotton manufacture, we believe it to be strong enough to pass triumphantly through it; and though it may be temporarily shaken, we do not apprehend that it will receive any permanent injury.

Here we must conclude this paper, which has already occupied more space than we had intended. We would willingly have paused to inquire into the moral effects of our cotton manufacture upon the nation and its social institutions, but the physical aspect of the matter in hand has assumed such large proportions and such serious import, that we must defer the other to some more convenient and fitting occasion.



ART. VII.—MAINE ON ANCIENT LAW.

Ancient Law: its Connexion with the Early History of Society and its Relation to Modern Ideas. By H. S. MAINE, Reader on Jurisprudence and the Civil Law at the Middle Temple, and formerly Regius Professor of the Civil Law at the University of Cambridge. London: J. Murray. 1861.

THE appearance of a really scientific book upon the principles of law is an event of so rare occurrence as to excite interest far beyond the limits of a special class. But that interest assumes a wholly new character when it is regarded as the first attempt to introduce into the study of jurisprudence a method as yet untried; a method of which, in other fields, each day increases the results, and from which, as we believe, the reformation of law, as of all practical politics, is destined to start. The object, in a word, of this volume is to apply to the conceptions of law the strict method of historical investigation; and in a study long the unquestioned domain of rhetoric and conjecture, to base the theory of legal principles upon the same inductive philosophy through which the other branches of moral and political science are emerging day by day into coherence and precision.

The work before us may be regarded in two aspects—the historical or the legal. It is equally a contribution to general history and a dissertation upon a special study. Its value is the

same whether we view it as an inquiry into the features of early societies as stereotyped in the earliest forms of law, or as an inquiry into the early development of law as exhibited in the primitive records of history. It is history read from the point of view of law, or law studied by the light of history. It is consequently a book which addresses itself at least as much to the general student as to the lawyer. There is, indeed, scarcely one of the studies affecting society which is not occasionally called into the service of the principal subject of inquiry; and the bearing of law upon the kindred questions of religion, morals, politics, metaphysics, philology, and history, it is the main idea of the writer to exhibit. In a word, the progress of law falls into its natural place as a branch of the progress of civilization, and the current of legal improvement is shown to correspond with that of the general course of thought. It is usual for writers upon law, even amongst men of eminence and authority, to touch upon other branches of knowledge only in some vague platitude or rhetorical allusion. The work of a professional lawyer usually opens with some solemn verbiage about the "Law of God" and the "Light of Nature," as a sort of grace before the meat of technicalities into which he is eager to plunge. The puzzled layman comes at last to believe that the only part of a law-book which is intelligible is commonplace. We have now, however, before us a lawyer who is no less familiar with the principles of other studies than with those of his own profession—who can raise his subject to the level of other branches of thought, and can express his meaning in the most vigorous, precise, and even graceful language.

The strict title of this book would be "The Early History of Legal Conceptions." It is indeed an attempt to trace the rise and growth of the simplest, and consequently the leading notions with which law in general deals. What is the function of law in early societies? Who are its authors, its depositaries, its improvers? Under what conditions does it advance from unwritten to written, from common law to equity, from indirect to direct modification? In what stage of this process of natural development do we see it around us? What has been the history of the growth of systems of equity? of the theory called the "Law of Nature"? Whence arose the primary conceptions of international law? What, in short, has been the influence of Roman law upon modern phases of thought? Next, taking the fundamental notions of succession, testaments, property, contract, and wrong, what have been the simplest forms in which various people have recognised them? What general course of modification have they followed? How far have these early notions penetrated our history, our institutions, and our ideas? Such are the principal questions to

which this book offers an answer. This of itself will suffice to show how far the object of this volume agrees with, and how far it differs from, that of ordinary treatises. A glance will show the relation which the questions here asked bear to those which the lawyer usually puts to himself when speculating upon his science. Such questions, for the most part are, What *is the natural* relation of common law to equity? What *is* equity, or natural as distinct from civil law? What *is the absolute* value of written or unwritten law, of case law, fictions, and codes? What *is the natural* mode of succession and limit of the testamentary power? What *is* property, contract, and crime; their *inherent varieties, their natural* forms and incidents?

Memorable as are the services of these speculations in their day, there is a prevailing feeling that this vein of inquiry has been long exhausted, and that little use can come of searching for any philosopher's stone of universal law. Accordingly the whole vigour of the mind of the modern jurist has been thrown into the antiquities, the history, and the comparison of different legal systems. Histories of Roman, feudal, French, German, and English law—canon law, common law—international and local institutions—have been the nearly sole task of the speculative lawyers of Germany, France, and England. Niebuhr, Savigny, Grimm, Puchta, Labouleya, Ortolan, Hallam, Spence, and Wheaton, have traced nearly every system of law from its rise to its fall. Nor have collateral but necessary inquiries been wanting. Oriental history and antiquities have been placed on a reliable footing. Sanscrit literature has added invaluable materials to the political student. Grote and Niebuhr have given an historic meaning to the legends of Greece and Rome. The primitive civilization of an immense variety of races has but just been accurately observed and compared in all its phases. Everywhere, in short, the current of modern thought studies institutions and laws of all kinds, not in their nature, but in their history—does not ask what they are or ought to be, so much as what they have been and tend to be; not analyzing them in the abstract, but comparing them in the concrete; not meditating on their immutable types, but verifying their gradual development.

No stronger instance of this tendency could be given than is found in the book before us. We believe that hitherto no foreign, we are certain that no English writer upon law, has shown the full powers of this method with anything like the same purpose and distinctness. We believe that the new theory of law, long gradually and partially prepared, is here for the first time consciously and systematically employed. The best German jurists have long since exhumed the record of authentic facts in

every known system. The best French jurists have worked up those materials into regular and manageable histories. The English have done little more than condense and popularize their labours. This task of completing, as it were, the annals of legislation having been on the whole satisfactorily accomplished, there remains the further task of comparing and explaining the development so variously recorded—in short, of laying down the theory of the movement which has hitherto been observed and chronicled. The *history of law* having been completed, it remains to sketch the *philosophy of its history*. It is this which, as we understand his purpose, Mr. Maine has set himself to do; or rather, for so great a work would be far beyond the limits of this volume, it is towards this that he has worked, contenting himself with explaining and defining the *method* which it is to pursue, and exhibiting in the leading doctrines of law striking instances of its efficacy and fruit. Of course a single volume like this would not suffice to establish anything like a complete generalization from so wide a field; but it is ample to enforce and illustrate a method, and the method we believe to be as sound as it is unquestionably new.

That method may be stated generally to be an inquiry into the historical growth of legal conceptions, with a view to establish the course in which they tend to develop. Now, it must be obvious at once to all familiar with any speculations upon history or society that such an inquiry cannot have a chance of success, either if it be confined to the special history of law, or if it be pushed beyond the limits of establishing general principles. On the one hand, the development of law cannot be treated apart from that of general civilization, far less even than that of theology, morals, or economics. Law is but one of the modes in which the mental condition of an age is expressed, and that mental condition may and sometimes has undergone a complete revolution for a long period before law has been brought up to the general level of thought. Hence it would be obviously hopeless to look for a complete theory of the progress of legal conceptions studied by themselves, since they are liable to be from time to time entirely and even suddenly transformed under the influence of a more dominant movement of society. The course of legal advance may be for centuries sluggish or almost imperceptible, until a vast religious, political, or social change, long slowly matured, quickens into a revolution, and at once remodels the laws, along with the whole framework of a society. Some such phenomenon was witnessed at the French Revolution, and partially at the fall of the Roman Empire. Yet the more these revolutions are studied historically, the more it is discovered that the change even in law is far less abrupt than is at first supposed, and has been prepared beneath the surface far more than the external institutions show.

Thus Christianity itself, it must now be admitted, exercised but a moderate influence upon the forms of Roman law which emerged uncrushed from the *débris* of the Empire, and struck vigorous roots into the whole area of feudalism. We find three-fourths even of the Code Napoléon in the writings of Pothier, and the whole series of change in our own modern legislation in the maligned volumes of Bentham. From this it follows that, although it would be only to renew the pedantry of forgotten jurists to deal with law as a special entity, or its forms as inherent in the human mind, it is still possible, with a due subordination to the general progress of society, to study its gradual modification, just as the tendency of any given science can be exhibited in an intelligible form. Legislation, property, contract, and criminal justice are ultimately determined by the entire current of civilization; but wisely studied, and within certain limits, each of these institutions can be shown to have its own history, and to be modified by a special growth of ideas. Allowance being made for higher and deeper influences, Property, as we conceive it, can be shown to be the aggregate or the residuum of a long train of conceptions; the mode in which any given law of property has grown up can be analysed; the tendency of modifications still latent can be detected; and the course of modification under any given conditions can be compared with that under a variety of different conditions. We gain from this view many striking results. The metaphysical mystery with which the origin of property is invested, the source of endless confusion in legal as in political reasoning, is removed for ever. The rules of property-law (ingenuity being exhausted in vain attempts to dogmatize on the nature of the thing) can be all traced to their source, and often shown to be the inheritance of a forgotten custom or an exploded prejudice. Lastly, the normal tendency of change being sufficiently understood, the desirable or inevitable modification can be provided for or accelerated. Thus, in a word, a rational theory of legal notions can be formed, of sufficient precision and value to serve as the basis of practical improvement.

The second danger to which such an inquiry is exposed is that arising from the proneness it must have to push its conclusions below the line of general principles. It would be to parody the true use of the historical theory to require it to suggest forms of procedure, or any special system of technical rules. Such things depend far too much on subordinate causes to be made the subject of rational theory. Still less would it be reasonable to carry out mere general tendencies into specific details, or to suppose that theory could supply practice with more than an approximative guide. Laws, like all other political institutions, must depend for their modification on the practical sagacity of poli-

ticians. Yet this is quite compatible with the fact, that an incalculable advantage is gained by even a scanty outline of sound and suggestive theory. In fact, the philosophy of law, much more than the philosophy of history, must confine itself to the illustration of the leading principles, and pretend to guide the student only on the path of sound reform without aspiring to any delusive completeness of detail.

We make these two provisos in order to meet what we should consider very natural objections to the method of reasoning we are describing. To have committed either of the two errors mentioned would no doubt entail a radical unsoundness through the whole range of the inquiry. We believe, however, that the method employed in this volume does strictly avoid both. It may be a caution which the reader should bear in mind, as it is evidently one which the author has steadily placed before his eyes.

We must not be understood to mean that the author urges the method of reasoning he employs in the abstract and somewhat technical way in which we have stated it. On the contrary, his aim is to furnish us with concrete illustrations of his method, and to define it by applying it. Nor are the limits within which such an inquiry must be confined such as to deprive it of very important results. Law is precisely one of those fields of thought in which a few governing ideas can succeed in transmuting an entire system. We have only to consider how very few have been the principles on which complicated superstructures of technical rules have been built. On the other hand, we have only to see the self multiplying consequences which have followed in every legal system from a really original and attractive theory. The whole course of Roman jurisprudence would have been altered had a different theory of the duty of the prætor been impressed upon the minds of their jurists. Once or twice in its history we see a vigorous principle rapidly transfused through its whole extent, and, like new blood poured into its arteries, it is assimilated into every fibre of its system. Both the English and the French law started into new life and shed their obsolete coating under the influence of the doctrines of the two revolutions. The bare theory of Rousseau or Bentham (unsound as each was) was the parent of a long series of changes. Indeed, the revolution effected by Grotius was due far less to the way in which his task was accomplished than to the chorus of delight with which men welcomed the irresistible discovery that such a task was possible—that there really was a law of nations, and that international rights and duties rested upon definite grounds.

This is perhaps the reason why so wide an influence has always been exercised by merely educational works, and why so large a

part is played in the history of law by didactic lectures. The genius of the Roman law can be traced chiefly to the oral instruction of the master whose speculations on the principles of his art were reserved for the Institutes or Educational treatise. In the Middle Ages law was revived by the great professors at Bologna, Milan, or Bourges—Accursius, Alciati, or Imerius. The later jurists of the Low Countries and France were mostly professors or simple students. Nearly all the jurists of Modern Germany as of America, Mittermaier and Savigny, Kent and Story, put forth their ideas in the form of lectures. Blackstone's "Commentaries" were delivered as lectures at Oxford, and Bentham first meditated on law in his lecture-room. His disciple Austin was a professor at University College.

The Inns of Court, in reviving the practice of regular legal education, have taken the only step by which law can be raised to a legitimate branch of regular study. The scheme has succeeded in affording to men fresh from the course of a general education in university and school, a means, and the only means, of connecting their professional studies with the whole of their earlier teaching, and of applying to the law powers not merely of concentration and accuracy, but those formed habits of lucid generalization and scientific analysis, for which the better part of their education has prepared them. Certainly no one could be found more fit than the present Reader in Civil Law, whose work is before us, to lighten the task of the legal tyro whose studies descend abruptly from Aristotle to Coke, from Newton to Sugden, and who is called on to apply habits of thought matured by the "Novum Organum" or the higher mathematics, to the Manipulation of Common Forms or the digestion of Burton's "Compendium." The chasm, however wide it appears, can be bridged over by a suitable education, and it needs but a short introductory teaching in principles to adapt the whole current of early training to the mastery of law. Those who have ever been present in the hall of the Middle Temple—that ancient hall, within which have been gathered the successive generations of Raleigh, of Somers, and of Burke—and which still retains its mellow grace as when the statesmen of Elizabeth listened there to the dramas of Shakspeare represented by the poet and his friends—and whose fortune it has been to hear there these lectures upon Jurisprudence, must have felt that the mastery of the problems of law demands the most varied powers and extended study, claims a place in the field of scientific thought, can offer the widest scope to generalization, comparison, and invention, and even call into its service a cultivated command of language, the finest precision and strength, and almost the poetry of expression.

We now proceed to give a sketch of the subjects discussed and the results arrived at in the book before us. We may premise that the principal chapters are devoted to Ancient Codes, Legal Fictions, Equity, the Law of Nature, the Early History of Personal and Family Rights, of Testaments, of Property, of Contract, and of Delict and Crime.

The first chapter investigates the part which has been played by written codes in the various forms of ancient societies. By a large comparison of the earliest records of both Western and Eastern races, the author is enabled to show a universal tendency in all to throw into a definite code the whole body of social custom, at some period between the prevalence of the patriarchal rule and their advance into civilized states. But whilst the tendency of all law to crystallize into codes is absolutely universal, the rate of advance towards the transformation is very various, and it is by the relative point in their history at which the code is attained, that the welfare of early societies is determined. Comparing the primitive aspect of classic societies as pictured by Grote, by Niebuhr, and by Arnold, with that of Oriental and especially the Hindoo people, we see in all a similar progress towards civilization from the rule of a patriarch to that of a king; from that of a king to a military or priestly aristocracy; from that to the vitality of popular or the stagnation of caste institutions, yet in every case the change at some point of the series profoundly marked by its characteristic code. If we place side by side, on the one part, the fragmentary codes of the Greek, the Italian, and the Greco-Asiatic nations (we might add, but for the disturbance caused by Roman civilization, of the Teutonic races); on the other hand, the code of Menu or of Moses, we at once recognise the difference between a code drawn up whilst custom is rational and healthy, and one which has not appeared until the natural development of custom has overlaid it with a network of preposterous reasons and still more blighting corollaries. It is in their codes, the outgrowth of a long era of movement, the result of some definite crisis, the starting-point of all subsequent progress, that the true standard of these early societies can best be taken. They form at once the test of the progress made and the source of that which is to be made. In short, in their codes the germs of all their history lie. In this generalization the Roman system forms but part, though an important part, of the induction. In it three distinct forms of codification can be shown. The code of the Twelve Tables, the Edict of Julianus, and the Code of Justinian, the three great occasions on which its law was consolidated according as the method was spontaneous, empirical, or scientific. To the first was due the masculine energy with which Roman law at once threw off superstitious usage: to the second is due

the era of its great philosophic expansion : to the last it owed its vitality and predominance throughout the modern world. This is almost alone enough to establish the vast influence exercised by a code of whatever kind over the whole civilization of early societies, and at least over the whole law of advanced states. Without pretending to dispute our author's general view, the language of Mr. Maine occasionally seems to us to speak of codes as an agent, when we should look upon them as a result of civilization. But be this as it may, the action and reaction, between the code and the legal history of a people, is the main point at issue, and that we believe he has abundantly established.

Now what is the value of this theory? Abstract as it may seem, it contains the nucleus of a sound historical theory of codification. It does not lie within our author's range to extend the inquiry, as of course is obviously possible, to the modern history of codification, to the history of the work of Frederick, of Napoleon, of the vast family of continental codes, of which it is the parent, and to the process of codification so interesting and suggestive to us, going on through the different States of America. Our author has not entered upon this, but it is obvious that he has taken us to the very threshold of the inquiry. Bentham, with all the energy of his logic, has hardly succeeded in satisfying the public mind to that point which must precede legislation. His method, vigorous as it was, needed that Ithuriel spear of history by which the true shapes of error are unmasked, and the most profound changes are shown as the result of a latent process of evolution. Seen by the light of the historical theory of law, codification appears not as an incident of this or that system of law, but as a necessity of all. It is the issue in which, in every system at a certain period, the whole intellect of its jurists is absorbed and is the test of their capacity and merit. It is that which, at a moment not difficult to fix, becomes a primary necessity of a society, a standard and an instrument of its civilization.

In the second chapter Mr. Maine lays down a principle as we believe pregnant with results ; in short, one of those laws which are capable of a very wide and very practical application. He regards the instruments by which every system is gradually expanded to be three—legal fictions, equity, and legislation. That is to say, that every body of law is brought into harmony with the progressive state of society, first, by a process in which the letter of the law is evaded but not superseded ; secondly, by one by which the letter and the spirit of the old law is superseded by a new body of principles regarded as possessing a superior equity or morality ; lastly, by the action of direct legislation and the external authority of prince or parliament. A little reflection will

show that this law corresponds with, and is indeed a deduction from, that general law of evolution which, under different names and in different shapes, has been often observed in the history of institutions as well as of conceptions. Law in this view, like so many other objects of inquiry, is seen to be moving through a course of change successively religious, metaphysical, and scientific. The earliest germ of law are the inspired dicta of a sacred king or priest. Next, the forms are divested of their sanctity, and are superseded by the equity of conscience, the law of nature, or the reason of the thing. Lastly, these in turn are discarded for methods of change dictated directly by the necessities of society and the proved requirements of legal science. Following this view of a great threefold aspect of law, the theory of Mr. Maine exactly marks the agents by which these three phases are blended. By fictions the relics of primeval custom are cautiously adapted to a new standard of morals by a mode which respects whilst it evades their sanctity. By equity tradition is expanded into a mass of complicated rules based upon a vague hypothesis. By legislation the scientific and relative character of law is consciously recognised; the work of revision, elimination, and consolidation proceeds on systematic methods; and the whole body of law is remodelled and expanded solely in the interest of actual society. We think it impossible to overrate the influence of such a principle as this upon the whole philosophy of law. A flood of light is at once poured upon the history, value, and extent of fictions; upon the true nature of equity and all indirect legislation; and upon the part which direct legislation has to play, the moment that legal conceptions have been adequately developed under the impulse of a supposed law of conscience. Tracing thus the progress of law through the Roman system, (and the grandeur of its march down the ten centuries of its history affords us a complete basis for every kind of inquiry,) we can obtain available tests for ascertaining most of the points of practical value, to decide, in short, when fictions have become a mere encumbrance—skeletons of dead thoughts choking the path of the living,—when and how the progressive force of equity is exhausted, when and how the direct arm of legislation must intervene. We think that this law is of itself little less than an important discovery. We have no doubt of its truth, and it is certainly as nearly new as anything very true ever is. There are, however, a variety of incidental discussions contained in the course of the two inquiries we have sketched out. Mr. Maine has been enabled, by the use of his theory, to show the true difference of written and of unwritten law; to prove that unwritten law, such as our own, is mere written law contained in a library and not in a volume; to show the real efficacy of case law and customary law; to modify the analysis

of "law," on which the fame of Austin in no small measure depends, and analyse the process of indirect legislation once exercised by our older chancellors, and still supposed to be capable of exercise by our modern.

Having thus sketched the general course of legal modification, Mr. Maine puts out his principal strength to analyse the theory of equity and natural law by means of which most systems have been expanded. The third and fourth chapters of this volume are occupied in explaining the growth of equity and the law of nature in ancient and modern times. He first traces the progress of equity at Rome from its rise, when the prætor first sat to dispense justice to the various foreign settlers among the people of Romulus—not, indeed, by that Quiritarian law which patriotism and religion alike forbade to be shared with strangers, but such common-sense justice as his political instinct showed him that all tribes and classes would recognise. Thus began the Roman equity—nothing but "the sum of the common ingredients in the customs of the old Italian tribes." Then as the dominion of Rome expanded, and with it all the modes of civilized life, there gradually grew up a great body of Prætorian law adapted to the wants of the new state and the new society, far more simple, broad, and just than the old common law. The time came when a philosophy arose in Rome, under the impetus of Greek ideas, and thoughtful jurists came to see in the movement towards a law of grand and simple equity the same striving after that state of nature and of ideal morality which meditation had expanded into a religion for the individual and the race. Once imbued with a theory which connected their science with the only philosophy of their day, the jurists conceived a passion for developing the whole body of law into closer conformity with the law of nature; and as the prætor's chair was filled or controlled by a succession of highly-trained jurists, the work was practically carried on under the necessities of an ever-expanding empire with amazing energy. At length the whole of the older law was absorbed into the new; distinctions gradually vanished; there ceased to be citizen and freedman, Roman and foreigner, agnate and cognate, for some purposes even bond and free; anomalies, confusions, and fictions disappear before the spirit of symmetry and simplicity; the prætor's law is "*æquitas*," the correction of irregularities; and the Roman magistrate rises to conceive himself as dispensing an harmonious code of justice equally to the whole family of

* The principal agent throughout this movement Mr. Maine has established to be the Law of Nature, seen in the light of Greek philosophy. We believe that in assigning a Greek origin to the theory which transformed Roman law Mr. Maine is thoroughly right, although we believe the direct evidence of

Having traced the development of equity at Rome, Mr. Maine proceeds to compare it with that in England. Many striking points of agreement are recognised, and important lessons are deduced from it. The action of the Roman Prætor and of the English Chancellor is shown to be in principle identical. A parallel is even instituted between the consolidation of the Prætorian law under Julianus, and that of equity under Lord Eldon. The means by which the two systems were modified were in both cases an hypothesis utterly unsound, yet capable of great results, nothing less, in short, than a form of that metaphysical method to which the progress of all thought has once been owed. In both cases it amounted to the assimilation of a venerable system of law to a new morality by giving a mysterious sanction to principles which represented nothing real but the necessities of social improvement. Our readers will hardly need us to point out what is the value of reasoning like this. It seems to us sufficient to ground a really rational theory of equity. We at once see the materials, the mode, and the agents by means of which it has been built up. Nothing but the historical method could explain at once the greatness of the results and the inherent defect of the governing theory. Bentham was enabled to blow to atoms the theory of a law of nature and of judge-made law, but he was powerless to explain the splendid achievements they had produced. He endeavoured to reform by proceeding in his own way, like Rousseau in his. He made a *tabula rasa*, and proceeded to construct a code out of the human intelligence. The historical method adopts his criticisms whilst repudiating his condemnations. It recognises the value in the past of the law of nature and of conscience, but refuses to continue their use. It shows that equity has virtually in England passed into a phase in which consolidation, simplification, and excision are the main necessities. It shows too that the most venerable traditions of a nation can be eliminated without a struggle from any system of law under the influence of a theory in harmony with the philosophy of the time and the movement of society.

Having given the history of the Law of Nature at Rome, and

this to be very meagre. We believe that the *Corpus Juris* can show but very slight traces of the immediate influence of Greek philosophy; but since all speculation at Rome was based upon Greek thought, it would require the most convincing evidence to prove that the speculative portion of the chief result of the Roman mind—its law—was not also derived from a Greek source. It must, however, be understood that the philosophy which influenced the law was thoroughly moulded in Roman forms. Stoicism, whatever its speculative basis may be, as a practical system is Roman, and not Greek; and we are not, consequently, prepared to go further than to say, that the agent which acted upon Roman law was the vital principle of Roman philosophy.

its counterpart in England, Mr. Maine traces the influence it has exercised on politics and thought in modern times. Perhaps no part of his work is so valuable to the general reader as his sketch of the influence of this theory upon the jurists and politicians of France, from the days even of the Valois kings, and then the influence it exercised upon Grotius and his school, and through them upon the whole jurisprudence of subsequent time. Our author, however, carries us beyond jurisprudence in his estimate of its operation. Politics, morals, theology, have equally felt its influence. It is, in short, as we have said, a phase of the general law of mind by which all thought has been directed. That law, in its most abstract form, may be stated thus—that the first step in the expansion of thought is towards the realization of an arbitrary ideal. That law of mind in the history of law is seen in the attempt to supersede spontaneous institutions and consecrated traditions, by rules which are thought to belong to a state of perfection which the mind pictures to itself; in short, to assimilate the common law to a supposed law of nature, inherent in the moral sense and discoverable by reflection. Stated thus, the law of nature is at once seen to be nothing but a phase of that general principle of *à priori* reasoning of which, as we have said, all branches of thought have felt the influence. In most of them its reign is over, and never was undisputed. But in law it is absolutely despotic and universal. It is not too much to say that upon some form of the theory of the law of nature, the whole literature of jurisprudence has been built, and that, with the single exceptions of Montesquieu and Bentham and his school, it has been the creed of every known writer upon public or private law. Of course we do not mean that all the historians and compilers in law, who have not busied themselves with any philosophy of their subject, or speculated upon its connexion with moral or political problems, have been deeply impressed with it. But so far as law has ever had a general theory, it is this. Now, we need hardly tell our readers that we regard this theory as sprung, root and branch, from a vicious foundation. We need not tell them that no more in law than in other branches of study can we admit that the true path of progress is towards an ideal standard reared out of the intuitions of the mind. Nor need we say that we regard the moral sense, not as an inherent faculty incapable of change but as nothing but a constantly, though slowly advancing system of belief obedient to regular logic, and founded on the facts of our experience. Nor need we say that we regard a state of nature as utterly untrue and impossible, and the law of nature as a solemn periphrasis for that which the speaker thinks best. Accordingly we cannot but regard Mr. Maine as having conferred a real service upon the philosophy of law, and indeed upon

philosophy itself, by demolishing in the department of jurisprudence this theory of a law of nature. It is, indeed, the key of the position, and the energy with which he throws himself upon this point proves that he regards it as the Malakoff of the stronghold. The vitality of the old theory was long exhausted. No modern writer has based a mixed system of law and morals on natural justice, and modern chancellors do not profess to modify the law in accordance with the tender conscience of the king. The whole strength of recent jurists, as we have said, is thrown into the work of compilation, revision, and simplification upon practical grounds, and speculation in law has long been confined to inquiry into its history. The law of nature was a mere nuisance, but still a very serious one. Now we believe that Mr. Maine has for the first time furnished jurists with a really systematic refutation of it—discredited it beyond hope of recovery—and that by a method which will command easy and general assent.

It is this last feature which we regard as so important in Mr. Maine's hands. No doubt Bentham's attack was decisive, but it was simply negative, and did not carry universal conviction.

Bentham was an iconoclast. The fury which he poured upon fictions, canon-law, judge-law, the law of conscience, of nature, and reason, the distinctions of property-law, the multiplicity of authorities, the conflict of law and equity, the barbarism of procedure, the confusion of theories, all this had its truth and its effect, but it failed to be universally received. It was only repeating a similar attack of Voltaire and Rousseau. It confuted, but it did not explain error. Men's common sense refused to believe that so imposing an edifice was an imposture, and that the ancient forms which generations had used were fraught with evil. The complement to Benthamism, as to Rousseauism, is history. The historical method can explain all that it rejects. It honours what it removes. It preserves what it changes. It harmonizes the past with the present. Thus the historical method in law explains how useful, nay, how necessary, the law of nature has been in the history of jurisprudence. Laws are by their very nature stationary. A people which respects its laws is by the most circuitous process brought to feel the necessity of altering them. Nothing short of a vague conception of a law deeper, more sacred, and true, implanted in the human breast, can enable them to modify their existing laws without destroying their whole authority. Under this disguise the necessary process proceeds. Thus law expands without losing its great conservative purpose. This is in all possible systems the true meaning of the conflict between law and equity. But this conflict is not eternal. A time comes when equity has so immeasurably outgrown its rival—when public opinion has been educated up to the point of understanding that

law is truly both conservative and progressive; that it must change and yet not diminish in stability; that the sacred law of equity is only the true interests of society; and then all reason and use of co-ordinate systems having gone, the true fusion of law and equity occurs, and law advances onwards in the simple interest of social requirements, and contains within itself the means of progressive modification.

Now the point at which the theory of the law of nature is open to the most damaging attack, is that in which it pretends to draw a complete picture of primitive society as an historical reality. The acts of a man in a supposed state of nature are taken in this view as the standard of perfect simplicity, justice, and wisdom. Now this picture of normal man familiar to us in theology, in the poetry of Milton, in law, in the Commentaries of Blackstone, can be shown by an immense induction from history to be in direct contradiction to facts, and in every circumstance an absolutely impossible hypothesis. The law of nature theory supplied us not only with a simple portrait of the primeval man, but it went on from the same source to sketch a type of natural government, of the natural family, of natural property, of natural contracts, inheritance, wills, penalties, and civil procedure—in short, an entire outline of law, all which it was supposed had once been and would again be the rule of human society. Of course these pictures of the aboriginal man were merely more or less ideal portraits of the artist himself. They were his ideas of what was right and just, and nothing more. By meeting him, therefore, on this ground, the refutation is complete. Mr. Maine accordingly has set himself to compare these statements with history, and by a very wide induction, drawn from all the sources in which the state of primitive societies is recorded—Greek, Roman, Celtic, Teutonic, Slavonic, as well as Biblical, Mahometan, and Hindoo—he is able to show what really are the earliest discoverable forms of the family, of the authority of the father over his children, of the husband over his wife, of the master over his slave—he can trace the rise of guardianship over women or infants, of adoption, of marriage, and of the notion of a corporation. Then passing from personal to real rights, he traces the rise of property as an institution, its forms, its mode of devolution, alienation, or subdivision, the growth of succession, inheritance, and of contract and its various incidents and forms; the earliest apparatus in which it is involved, the gradual process of simplification. Lastly, the remains of the earliest institutions for the restitution of wrong; the rise of criminal justice, the gradual classification of wrongs, and the movement in the form of procedure.

In the course of these inquiries much light is thrown on a variety of general questions,—the origin in its legal aspect of

the feudal system, of territorial sovereignty, of primogeniture, of entail, and the influence of early notions of contract upon most systems of politics, morals, and theology.

Now in many departments, and undoubtedly from the point of view of general history, this refutation of the method of natural law had been already given. But this is, we believe, the first systematic attempt to extend the reasoning to law, and to show how much the early history of these special institutions contradicts the hallucinations of every metaphysical system. We are not aware that any previous writer has seen the use that may be made of contrasting the two extremes, and placing side by side law in its earliest and most recent state. "These rudimentary ideas," to use his words, "are to the jurist what the primary crusts of the earth are to the geologist. They contain potentially all the forms in which law has subsequently exhibited itself." All theories of society or history must, it is a well-known axiom, before all things start with a sound conception of the earliest phases; to ignore or misconceive these is fatal to the whole subsequent reasoning. These germs contain, in a concentrated form, elements of which in the latest development it is difficult to trace the connexion or use. It is the tendency of every science in the present day, to begin with a correct analysis of the earliest type. The physiologist cannot advance without a sound theory of the embryo, the anatomist begins low down in the scale of life, and finds there as it were a diagram of his task. The historical student is at fault until he sees distinctly the earliest social phenomena. It is, indeed, but one form of one of the chief results of modern thought, that the germ must contain the elements of all the subsequent growth. So it is with the jurist. He too must base his science on the simplest legal forms, "the germs out of which has assuredly been unfolded every form of moral restraint which controls our actions or shapes our conduct in the present moment."

Let it not then be supposed that the primitive forms of law are of small importance in the science of the jurist. Mr. Maine has devoted a volume to their study, chiefly because they offer the only decisive exposure of the fundamental sophism of natural law. But they possess in themselves a real and permanent value. They enable us to see, in legal conceptions, many true characteristics which in a very advanced form we are hardly able to detect. For instance, a really long survey of its more recent history would never enable us to feel the full force of the notion of *trust* which is at the bottom of the legal conception of property. History only could prove to us that no system of law has ever yet looked upon the community as an aggregate of *individuals*, and that no society had ever renounced its paramount right to mould

inheritance, obligation, contract, and wrong in any way it pleased. But there is a further value which the study of law in its primitive form possesses. It reminds us of the space already travelled over in legal progress. It compels us to recognise how utterly different legal conceptions have been from what they are now. It prepares us to look for transformations hardly less startling, and to be open to the widest modification of opinion. Who would believe that society could ever exist in such a state, that individual property should be unknown, that succession should be determined in the interests of a public body, and that a contract and a conveyance should be one thing, or a family be a real corporation? Yet such ancient law proves to us to have been the actual system of great and anything but barbarous communities.

Lastly, ancient law gives us the starting-point for the entire history of law. Thus only can we trace any sound law of development, or lay down suitable rules for future modification. This it is, in short, which gives us the measure of change of which legal ideas are capable, and the key to the solution of the course which that change has taken and promises hereafter to take.

Chiefly, however, it is from the comparison of the ancient law of Rome with our own that the principal results are to be looked for. To read the history of the two systems, side by side, is an inexhaustible field of research. They are the two great systems which are, on the whole, the most indigenous, national, and unmixed. They offer the largest course of unbroken history. They possess many great features in common, and striking points of analogy. The course which they have followed is parallel, and however great the divergence of their technical forms—though this is far less than is ordinarily supposed—their history has followed identical laws. Each grew with the tenacious instincts of a strong race. Each has called out no little of the available intellect of the commonwealth. Each was met with the same obstacles, and surmounted them by similar devices. Each has had its period of confusion, transition, and stagnation. Each has passed through transformations which, to earlier generations, seemed utterly impossible and monstrous. Each passed successively from fiction to reality, from complexity to simplicity, from custom to enactment, from confusion to consolidation. The comparison may be carried to a certain point, but there it ceases. England may have had its Sulpitius, Ulpian, and Papinian—but it has not had its Gregorius, Hermogenes, or Tribonian, nor certainly its Theodosius or Justinian.

Before concluding our remarks, we must add some notice of the general tendency of modern treatises on law, as compared with those of the earlier jurists. From the revival of the civil law down to about the end of the sixteenth century, the labours of the

jurists were chiefly confined to explaining the pure civil law, to adapting it to modern society, and arranging it in practical form. Nothing like a philosophy of law was conceived, or what basis as a sanction was needed was easily supplied by amplifying the general language of the Roman jurists. The majesty of the civil law carried with it its own claim to authority. Whatever changes had been introduced were the result of no definite theory at all. But the work of Grotius created a revolution which spread far beyond the limits of his particular subject. With him the great object of inquiry became, not what are the rules of law, but what is the authority on which they rest. Hence his work is necessarily a mixed treatise upon morals and law, and, as an obvious consequence, it is the expansion of the Roman theory of natural law into a common standard of right and wrong, forming at once the morality of individuals, the common law of States, and the international law of all communities. His inquiries may be analysed into three portions—into the civil law of Rome, the law of nature as discoverable by reason, and international law as exhibited in usage, history, and consent; but all three are inextricably blended. He was, indeed, forced into this method by his task. The law which he was expounding he had to create. He had first to show such a law existed, and then to compile it. It was one possessing absolutely no external authority, for which no true antiquity could be claimed, and no positive enactment or contract asserted. The law of nations could have no basis but morality. It could adopt no system but the civil law, and little of that but what was built on the theory of the law of nature. The method he pursued was hardly less composite than the matter. Sometimes he seems to draw his principles from a moral sense, sometimes from general consent. Sometimes he is simply deductive, sometimes strictly inductive. But, despite the area of his range, and the vagueness of his method (most probably in consequence of these qualities) his work undoubtedly coloured the whole current of thought for more than a century in morals, politics, and law. Every succeeding writer, in short, who treated of anything like a scientific basis of law, spent nearly the whole of his force upon proving the reason why law was binding, on what authority it rested, and what was its connexion with morals. Now this was precisely the period during which the great expansion of law in modern countries was practically taking place. Between the middle of the seventeenth and the end of the eighteenth century, the whole of the English equity system was reared; and during nearly the same period in France, the actual Code was being matured. Both these processes were being carried on under the influence (often singularly circuitous) of the Grotian school. It was the paramount claim of the law of morality

which was the governing principle at once of the English Chancellors and of the French writers, of Talbot and Hardwicke, d'Aguesseau and Pothier.

Under very different forms, there is but one idea underlying the speculations of all writers upon law of this period, which was that the study of human nature could deduce a definite set of principles which were the sanction on which all law rested, and to which all systems ought to be brought into conformity. They may have taken the lower ground, as in their several ways most of the English school, as Hobbes, Cumberland, Locke, and Paley did, or the higher ground of the strict followers of Grotius amongst the Dutch and French jurists. These speculations, which played to the development of modern law a part similar to that played by Greek philosophy upon the growth of Roman law, have long ceased to have any attraction or practical value. Yet if we want a measure of the hold they still possess over the minds of lawyers, we have but to read the eloquent and vaunted lecture of Mackintosh on the Law of Nature and of Nations, or indeed the opening sentences of nearly every text-book.

Whilst, however, so great a body of writers concurred in inquiring what were the sanctions and limits of law, and the inherent principles of human nature which it represented, there has never been wanting a small minority of thinkers whose attention was principally occupied with the history and classification of legal rules, and the best systematic way of adapting them to the interests of the actual society. Of course this has been the exclusive task in a manner of all the able practitioners who in England and on the Continent laboured usefully in their science. Still their method was simply empirical. They cannot be said to have had any regular theory, or to have applied any strict habits of scientific reasoning to the task. As Bacon said, "The study of jurisprudence has been too long divided between philosophers who knew no law, and lawyers who were ignorant of all philosophy." Still a few minds of the highest training in each age have brought really philosophic powers to bear upon the practical development of jurisprudence. Bacon drew an admirable but premature sketch of the mode in which law should be consolidated, codified, and taught. Precisely the same objects engaged the earliest thoughts of Leibnitz. But it was from Montesquieu that this aspect of the subject assumed a new importance. He was certainly the first philosophic jurist who confined his study to the practical value of laws, the best mode of amending, condensing, and administering them, and above all, the first to see that the great instrument of this study was the history of systems of law, and the explanation of their recorded modification. He is the undoubted founder of historical jurisprudence. His work,

premature as it was, comprises some admirable illustrations of his method, and throughout is penetrated with the sense of the great truth which forms the exordium of the *Esprit des Loix*. It was from the same point of view—the bearing of a theory of law upon practical legislation—that Bentham directed his work, unfortunately, without the historical method which Montesquieu had employed. Notwithstanding the immense results which followed from Bentham's application of a rigorous logic to the criticism of law, he failed, as we have said before, to do what he had undertaken, mainly through the want of any clue to understanding old institutions or to reasoning by a comparison of different systems. He failed because the materials of such a study were not ready to his hand. In his day, no more than in Montesquieu's, there did not exist the materials for historical generalization. The present century has witnessed a flood of light thrown upon that subject. Ever since the great work of Savigny, which bridged over the chasm which lay between Justinian and Alciati, between the ancient and the modern history of the civil law, the history of law has exercised minds of every order. That which Leibnitz required—“*Historia mutationum juris*”—has been accomplished for every variety of system. The histories of Roman and French law are absolutely endless. The antiquities of German law have been illustrated with splendid pedantry. The great work of Spence has exhausted the facts relating to the growth of equity in England, as a minor work has of feudal institutions. Wheaton has done the same for international law. Not merely has each national system been historically treated, but great departments of law have been treated by a broad comparative method in such works as Du Boy's “*Histoire du Droit Criminel*,” and to some degree in Story's numerous treatises. Lastly, we have before us the entire history and explanation of the construction of the Code Napoleon, of the Continental and American codes. The valuable work of St. Joseph, “*Concordance entre les Codes*,” gives us in one comparative view the separate systems of every civilized nation in the world. But all these are but the materials for a sound and complete theory. It was hardly to be expected from the Germans. The French, however near they come to it, can hardly yet be said to have reached it. It is most unfortunate that writers like Ortolan, Michelet, and Lermnier, with their admirable powers of generalization and historical insight, should be under the influence of some form of Hegelian ontology. They are for ever searching after the “idea of law,” *l'idée du droit*, and hover round the truth without grasping it. Yet they are sufficient to show that we are upon the verge of a sounder system; but it must be undertaken in the spirit, not of Hegel, but of Montesquieu. The object must

be, not the discovery of the "idea of law," or "the law of nature," or "the type of human society," or "the moral sanction of law," or the true nature of property, rights, or legislation, but its object must be to ascertain how existing laws can be best adapted to the wants of existing society, and what, by a comparison of different systems and a true knowledge of their history, are the obvious modifications needed—in short, it must be at once practical and inductive. It must aim at the definite objects sought by Bentham, but it must pursue them by the philosophic theory of Montesquieu. It must have no thought but the true interest of the society around us; it must promote that interest in the present by a careful study of the facts of the past. Such a work cannot possibly be effected by the empiricism or instinct of simple practitioners. It needs a very clear conception of the meaning of general as well as of a special history. It needs habits of analogy and comparison capable of very wide application. From such a method it is not hopeless to look for a complete history of legal conceptions and a reliable theory of their development, for a methodical arrangement of our entire framework of law, for a general knowledge of the tendency which it continues to exhibit in all its changes, and for systematic rules for its progressive modification, simplification, and consolidation. A work like this needs the co-operation of all thinking men and the good will of the public. It is for this reason that we have endeavoured to present to them the work of Mr. Maine, which, so far as we are aware, is the best extant example of the method it must pursue.

ART. VIII.—ETON.

1. *Sir John T. Coleridge on Public School Education.* Second Edition. London: John Murray. 1860.
2. *Eton Reform.* By WILLIAM JOHNSON.* London: Longman and Co. 1861.

THE uninterrupted progress both in numbers and general repute of the largest of English public schools is a phenomenon which has attracted the attention of almost every parent who can afford to give his son a liberal education, and has called forth the most unbounded self-congratulations of those who are most immediately interested in its welfare and success.

* Assistant-Master.

The good-natured banter of a baffled inquirer that Eton was as difficult to understand as the English constitution, has been repeated as implying a serious analogy ; though even if it were so, it would be an obvious reflection that England has become great through the manhood of its subjects, and not the wisdom of its rulers. Those who have never been either at a public school or at an English university may have considerable difficulty in appreciating the distinction between boys who are, and boys who are not, on the foundation, and in realizing the fact that though the stately buildings of Eton belong to the college, and are many of them built for the whole school, *that* college has an existence so independent of *that* school, that its governing body can, when it affects their interests, practically ignore the existence of any other boys than the 70 collegers. They will not readily comprehend that the remaining 751 are left to be considered by Dr. Goodford, as his last "reform" will show, and by his Assistants, as much their property as his poet is by a publisher ; that accommodation for these boys has been slowly and reluctantly provided upon the principle of deriving the maximum of profit from the minimum of expense ; and that Eton is the first school in England only in the sense that the richest people send their sons there, and because it has a large and influential connexion. Still, if any one will not be dazzled by the word "College," and will resolve to judge the authorities (whether fellows or masters) of Eton upon the principle of comparing the advantages they offer, whether structural or tuitional, with those of other schools and schoolmasters, not forgetting the important element of price, he will find Eton no mystery ; and he may be able to form an opinion whether it more resembles some giant tree, which combines the grandest developments of height, breadth, and shade, or some extraordinary fungus, which in a favourable position and long undisturbed, has succeeded by the aggregation to itself of homogeneous particles in reproducing its monotonous cells till the discoverer has to dread the effects of the instant decomposition which would follow a few well-directed blows of some Anglo-Saxon parent, careless of vegetable antiquities, but anxious for his offspring.

Eton College was founded by Henry VI. about the year 1411, as a place where ten priests, with their head or provost, ten lay-clerks, ten conducts, and sixteen choristers, might constantly say masses for his soul ; and where 70 boys should be lodged and instructed free of all expense by two schoolmasters, so as exclusively to supply the sister foundation of the King's College at Cambridge with a succession of competent scholars who might adorn that university.* In the time of Edward IV. the ten priests were reduced

* The nature of the connexion between the two foundations is fully set

to seven,* and the Reformation relieved these from the first part of, if not all their duties; it enabled them to marry, and their wives and families soon seized upon the lodgings really belonging to the boys. Since then no change has been made by authority in the constitution of the college. The great features of the institution apparently remain the same: the original buildings with additions are there; there is a choir—frequent service; and 70 boys in the badge ordered by the statutes. Every word and letter of those old mediæval statutes, Provost and Fellow swear solemnly on their admission to keep and enforce. Absent for all but three months in the year, they swear to be constantly resident. Clergymen, holding benefices, they swear never to hold one with their Fellowships; never to accept any dispensation for those objects; and they swear not to elect each other for reasons of kindred or the like. How far this is observed, let the list of Fellows, the very latest election, and their own consciences answer; yet one part of their oath they have religiously kept—never to let any one, if possible, read their statutes.

Now let us see what great services they perform, which may somewhat excuse inattention to these punctilios. Imagine a Dean with 2000*l.*, and seven Canons with 1000*l.* a year each, placed in a small village without a cathedral, or one of the university colleges removed from its sisters, and subsisting in another without pensioners, and the reader will have some idea of the position of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College so far as they are harmless.

Once, and once only, has this Castle of Indolence been invaded by the would-be Reformer, and right royally was Provost Goodall rewarded for the unpleasant afternoon he passed under the questioning of Henry Brougham.

“So England’s monarch *once* uncovered sat
While Bradshaw bullied in a broad-brimmed hat.”

Once, and once only, prophesied the comforter of the day,† and hitherto he has been right.

The Third Report‡ from the Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders, appointed in 1816, furnishes (pp. 65-

forth in the Report of the Royal Commissioners of Inquiry into the University of Cambridge (pp. 173-177), and it may suffice here to state briefly that no undergraduates, except scholars of the College, have hitherto been educated at King’s College; that the scholars have been chosen exclusively from the seventy scholars of Eton College, and that, in practice, every scholar, after having completed his three years of probation, is invariably elected a Fellow of the College, unless he have disqualified himself by glaring misconduct.

* The number of the lay-clerks and conducts also has been reduced, the advantage accruing to the Fellows.

† *Quarterly Review*, July, 1818, Art. XIV. p. 576.

‡ Printed, 1818.

101) the only public data on which any calculation can be made of the present revenue and property of the college. According to the evidence of Provost Goodall, the average annual income of the Provost was then 1,200*l.*; of a Fellowship, 600*l.* Most of the Fellows held offices worth another 100*l.*; besides, they had other advantages, and their livings. Their present income cannot, therefore, be less than is suggested above; and in a few years it must necessarily be largely increased; perhaps more than doubled, when the building leases on which a considerable property on and about Haverstock Hill is now let, have fallen in.

The landed estates of the College are let partly at rack-rent, partly on beneficial leases. The statutable proportion of the former is expended in providing for the seventy scholars. The fines paid on renewal of the latter are divided among the Provost and Fellows alone.

A more gross instance of dishonesty nowhere exists. The statutes of King's College are similar to those of Eton on the subject of the revenue and its division. About 200 years ago the thirteen Senior Fellows of King's in like manner claimed the fines as their exclusive property. An appeal to the Visitor instantly overthrew this absurd pretension; and if boys could appeal, the same would probably be the result at Eton; but boys under twenty years of age, from whom till very recently the statutes were always concealed, cannot appeal, and no one else but perhaps the Head Master, could have any *locus standi* before the Visitor. Indeed, Dr. Goodall did not deny the injustice. For, on being asked—

Is any provision made in the statute for an increase in the salary of the Fellows?—No, not in the slightest degree. This has been matter of visitorial *discussion* before now.

Is any provision made in the statute for leasing upon fines?—No; I believe at the time of the establishment in 1441, no such custom existed.

Is any provision made for letting the leases?—I am not aware that there is. *I should think it was not in the contemplation of the founder. I speak with respect to fines.*

Is any provision made in the statutes for the distribution of other emoluments to the Fellows besides their salaries?—I cannot speak with any degree of certainty.

Hear also Mr. Hinde, Fellow of King's College:—

What becomes of the money paid by the King's scholars for their education?—They pay so much to the dames for breakfast and other expenses, amounting to a considerable sum per year. They pay also for their clothing and education to the upper and lower master the same as the other boys.

And then he says, voluntarily—

I think the boys ought to have more allowed them than they now have : that they ought to have their clothing and education for nothing ; *they ought not to pay one farthing.*

We commend this evidence to our readers to show how possible it is for the grossest abuses in the administration of endowments to be admitted, and yet to remain unaltered, as much of these do to the present day.

The Fellows and Provost fill up all vacancies (except the Provostship) in their own body ; priesthood, with a preference (never violated) for those who have been at Eton, is the sole qualification. The result is nepotism in its most unblushing form. This we cannot find fault with, so long as the Legislature permits it. For if family connexions are to be the sole ground of election to posts of 1,000*l.* a year, they can be so with least damage to the public when these are sinecures. In addition, the college has the patronage of thirty-seven livings ; to the best of these they appoint themselves ; the remainder are filled with their kindred. By a special clause in an Act of Parliament (1 and 2 Vict. c. 106, s. 39), residence at Eton, where the duties they perform are those of occasionally attending in the School Chapel and dining in the Hall, is counted as residence on their benefices. We may mention, by the way, that in many of the colleges at Cambridge and Oxford residence is now dispensed with in the case of Fellows. And as the conducts and the masters could well perform the service without the Fellows, if the same license were granted them as at the Universities, their perfect uselessness would be at once apparent. The buildings of the school are, of course, their property. The accommodation provided for the seventy boys was so bad till recently, that the number of collegers was seldom over forty. All these boys got was very bad sleeping-room, and a very bad dinner and supper ; and they cost their parents little less than the oppidans. Some years ago public opinion became so loud on these points that a little additional room was built, but by pleading poverty the authorities managed to saddle " old Etonians " with a very considerable part of the expense. These new buildings are, however, not near big enough to provide a separate sleeping apartment for each boy ; and, from some other reasons, there is ground for believing that, relying upon public ignorance, things are gradually relapsing to the condition of the old " Long Chamber." Since this was done the collegers have been so far provided for that the expense to parents of maintaining one is now about 45*l.* a-year, and there are always more candidates for admission than vacancies ; but in the event of a proper reform of Eton they ought to be kept entirely out of the college revenue.

Eton was subjected to the power of the defunct Cambridge University Commission appointed in 1855, under the 19 and 20

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Vict. c. 88; but as the Act provided that two-thirds of the governing body could reject any proposition for reform, it will readily be understood that on so compact a body no impression could be made, and the extension of the advantages of the foundation to all British subjects, whether born in England or not, was the extreme limit of Eton liberality. Not only did Eton reject all attempts for the reform of itself, but if by no other construction, at least by the 33rd section of the Act, it was enabled to thwart the ample scheme of self-improvement propounded by King's College. We could not help being much amused when Roundell Palmer was moving this mischievous clause,* to read of his calling upon "all old Etonians" in the House to support him. Scarcely one that he addressed ever knew or cared one iota about the connexion between the two colleges, and their instincts would be all on the side of Eton, to the so-called "interests" of which they would, if necessary, sacrifice the whole college of King's. Well would it be for that institution if it could be entirely freed from the Mezentian embrace of its still-born sister. It has, however, at last, extricated itself from the "degrading fate" a late brilliant historian truly describes it as suffering under. Still its new statutes bear the marks of Eton mutilation, and in the *London Gazette* of Feb. 12, 1861, the words "objected to by Eton College, and cancelled in consequence," occur, instead of two most important provisions, to testify the reluctance with which the privilege of exclusively occupying its courts and chapel has been relinquished by a grasping and mercenary corporation.

Had other foundations been established in the neighbourhood of Eton, we might, perhaps, have had a third great university: as it is, there seems no reason why the Fellows and Provost should not gradually pass out of sight like the prebendaries of Southwell and supernumerary canons. The well-meaning suggestions by which Sir John T. Coleridge endeavours to postpone its fate are pronounced impracticable by those best qualified to judge. The times no longer require, or will tolerate, the expenditure of many thousands a year in the attempt to foster a spurious "literary" society. Even he feels that the Eton masters can have no just claim to retire as pensioners upon the bounty of the founder. The income (saving vested interests) could be spent primarily in raising the numbers and improving the accommodation of the collegers; and the large surplus in founding new schools or on purposes of general education.

There is a provision in the statutes by which the Head Master of Eton is bound to teach all boys who present themselves at

* This clause should be repealed on the earliest opportunity, and the powers given to King's College of future reform expressly declared to be free from the necessity of Eton sanction.

Eton for instruction without fee or reward. When it is known that Dr. Goodford derives at least 6000*l.* a year from fees, it will at once be seen this provision has become obsolete. Probably it was never in force; of itself it would obviously tend to prevent any large number of oppidans collecting at Eton. Yet it is only in this particular, and in the fact that any British subject born in England might be on the foundation, that Eton differed at first from one of the ordinary endowed grammar schools of the kingdom. And—since Harrow, which did not rise above that condition till about 1650, and Rugby, which only became known under Dr. James, about a century ago, are not distinguished by such liberality on the part of their founders—it really does seem that as their position can be traced to nothing else, so the size and reputation of Eton School are due principally to happy accident.

Still there seems reason for believing that, besides the colleges, a school of boys, like pensioners in a university college, very soon did cluster round Eton. If the foundation were full, those who were waiting for a vacancy would naturally be best prepared for it there; and if we add to these the real oppidans or town boys, there is at once the nucleus of the present school. The existence of these boys, now numbering 751 (making with 70 collegers, 821), is almost ignored by the College of Eton. The provision made for their education, their mode of life, expenses, &c., is entirely, as it has been well called, a mere money speculation of the head master and his assistants. Most of the Fellows have in their day been masters, and after making incomes of from 1200*l.* to 3000*l.* a year, have at last retired upon these sinecures. Once, however, elected into that exclusive body, their interest in the school is confined to feasting the “old Etonians” twice or thrice a year, whom they think most likely to extend the connexions and contribute to the fabrics of the school; or to giving a solemn banquet in commemoration of the defeat of Lord Brougham, Parliamentary Commissioners, or other vulgar disturbers of their peace.

In other respects the influence they exercise upon the school of Eton is simply pernicious. Additional schoolrooms are wanted, and the authorities are even now scheming to levy a contribution for that purpose on the parents, instead of furnishing the means entirely out of their own ample funds. Heavy rents are exacted from the tutors and dames for the boarding-houses; but these should be held free of rent, and the charges proportionably diminished. In fact, the interest of the College of Eton is diametrically opposed to that of the boys (so long as their number is kept up) and their parents; nor is there any power to advocate the cause of the latter. From these authorities the government

of the school should be at once transferred to a committee of noblemen and gentlemen, who would have no pecuniary interest in such funds as may remain to it. In them, as trustees, would be vested the buildings, the property still reserved for the collegers, and perhaps, with certain conditions, the patronage of the livings. They would, of course, have the appointment of the head master, and if they exercised no control over his system of education, would select one who would give effect to the wishes of the age; to them also parents might address their complaints, a very desirable thing; for now among the various and conflicting interests and powers of tutors, dames, head master, and fellows, they are bandied about like Mr. Clennam in the different departments of the Circumlocution Office. Eton should also be visited and reported upon by the Government inspectors of schools; and their report, with all the statistics of the place, regularly forwarded to every parent.

At present the head and lower masters are appointed by the Provost and Fellows, who generally promote the senior assistant first to the one and then the other. The exact relationship he bears to them when the oppidans are concerned is so mysterious, that we do not pretend to understand it. Probably mathematics, modern languages, or any new branch of learning, could not be introduced without the consent of the Provost; nor any serious alteration in the school hours or books without his joint authority. Still in theory the college only look upon him as their servant to teach the seventy collegers. This peculiar function in our time was fulfilled by his appearance occasionally in the Long Chamber to call the muster-roll, in reading prayers at night, and some times tasting the college beer.

The Provost appoints the assistants of the upper; the lower master those of the lower school. There are at present (we believe) twenty of these tutors as they are often called, and till lately it was the practice not only to select men who had formerly been on the foundation of Eton, but almost always existing members of King's College. That college never set up any claim that we are aware of to that preference; certainly not in its corporate capacity; nor has it been any advantage to other than individual members of it, but rather the reverse. This custom has, however, been lately made the subject of much remark; and there has been also a demand for masters who have some academical distinction to show. Now it cannot signify in the least from what college the masters come, so that they are competent; and it by no means follows that those who take the best degrees make the best teachers. Dr. Goodford's letter* on this point was as deficient in truth, which he pretended

to, as in smartness, the possibility of which in himself he deprecated, and he had much better have said with Dr. Arnold, "I never should have got the *Ireland* myself, and could not, therefore, expect it of an " assistant.

There is, however, one thing which has always struck us as being perhaps desirable before any lucrative post is given away:—viz., that the candidate should be *proved* to possess some of the qualifications for the profession he is entering. It seems never to have been noticed that the Eton masters are almost always *untried* as teachers. Yet they make their experiments upon those whom they have good reason to call "the *gilded* youth of Great Britain." If fortunate, they are summoned fresh from college to board and manage a house of twenty boys or more; besides the school work of teaching a class of between fifty and sixty others, and to live in a style far above what they have ever been accustomed to. Surely none but a veteran should be offered such an appointment; still less should it be bestowed, as is even now occasionally the case, through family connexion. It may be said that though an Eton master is appointed by the head, parents are not obliged to send their sons to him as pupils, and it is their business to ascertain the capacity of a tutor before they commit a son to his charge. There is some truth in this; but it would seem that shortly boys in the lower school will only have the choice between two tutors, neither of them even in the judgment of Eton competent to take older boys; and besides, when the number of pupils becomes fixed for each tutor, there will only be the alternative of delaying a boy's entrance into the school, or sending him to any tutor who has a vacancy. Should this become the case, and the selection of a tutor be practically taken out of the hands of parents, it only renders it still more necessary that gentlemen of their own position in life should have some constant control over the management of the school.

Sir John Coleridge says that it is not numbers which constitute the difference between public and private schools; still this must be a very important element in the distinction. If we can credit Sydney Smith it would be about a hundred years ago when certain schools adopted such a fashion of instruction as to earn for them the title of public. Previous to that epoch, all schools had been conducted in much the same way. If this be the case, it would almost seem that the public-school system stands condemned on the evidence of its warmest advocates; for, on the one hand, Eton's ablest and latest defender admits that, till very recently, Eton was a place of "barbarism," and Etonians were "miserably brought up;" so much so that it is "a standing wonder that so many men should be philosophers who were trained as boys on hardly anything but a study of inflections and phrases;"* and on the other,

* "Eton Reform," p. 8.

“old Etonians” complain of the few improvements that have been introduced into the system, as tending inevitably to destroy the essential character of a “public” school.

If we put out of consideration for a moment the spirit of independence and trustfulness, a very different thing from truthfulness, supposed to be peculiarly fostered in “public” schools, perhaps we may say that one great difference between public and private schools consists in the fact that, in the former, the subjects and mode of education are not regulated at the will or by the wishes of the master for the time being, but that he is rather the temporary instrument of carrying out the objects of the foundation, or, as is very much the case of Eton, is only endowed with that sort of general supervision which it is necessary must reside somewhere in any establishment; and generally, that a public school must prepare its scholars for the universities, the public professions, and now for India, the Civil Service, and other public examinations, much in the same way that many private schools hold out as their objects a preparation for Eton or Harrow, and whose school-books are regulated accordingly. That “public” schools must be, whatever else they are, introductory to Oxford and Cambridge, cannot be disputed; and if this is borne in mind, a good deal of the complaint made against the small account in which the modern languages are held there, must cease, or be directed against the superior establishments. These, again, cannot sever the connexion of Englishmen with the past, by the discouragement of Latin and Greek, so long as the religion of the country is one whose records are contained in those languages, and so long as their diplomas continue to be necessary qualifications of a Christian priesthood, and their chief places held by members and ministers of the Church.

Mathematics have, however, been always considered by at least one university as of equal importance with classics; and there can be no reason why they should not hold a similar place in the public schools.

The audacity of the assertion that mathematics are a secondary consideration at Eton only in the same degree that they are secondary at Trinity College, Cambridge* (of itself a doubtful fact), is so astounding that it needs no refutation for an Etonian; but for others we may as well say the truth is, they are secondary only in this way, that classics and mathematics are the only two things acknowledged as part of the school business; and classics being of primary importance, if mathematics were only taught one hour a week, they would be doubtless secondary. How far they are taught appears from the irresistible evidence of some printed

* “Eton Reform,” p. 24.

rules dated Easter, 1858, to come into operation after the Easter vacation, 1859; *but not so as to affect any who were at that date already in the school.*

By them the fourth-form boys are required to work the four first rules of arithmetic, and reduction.

The removes, vulgar fractions and the rule of three.

The lower division of the fifth form, decimal fractions, proportion, and interest.

The upper division of the fifth form are to take up one book of Euclid, and are to be tolerably advanced in algebra.*

Whether and how soon this programme will be extended in the absence of any reform in the ruling body of Eton, must depend entirely upon the force of public opinion. Whether a boy's rise in the school will in future depend upon his fulfilment of it, of course we cannot say; nor perhaps has it been determined by authority; but if it does not, we do not see, nor do we pretend, that there is any guarantee for its being properly carried out.

As to the scholarship of Eton boys, with tutors of academical distinction and clever and industrious pupils, some display of success must necessarily be made; but we would here point out, that when the gamers of the Newcastle scholarship are appealed to as showing the results of Eton teaching, such appeals are eminently unfair. Most boys who obtain that honour have spent one or more vacations under the tuition of some famous tutor or "coach" at an university, and those who have not, are indebted to a brother or relation for their success. To a parent who already pays 250*l.* a year for his son's education, the necessity of the former proceeding may appear rather unjustifiable; but his son, if he have not that advantage, will most likely fail to reap the proper reward of industry and ability.

The general result of Eton teaching must, however, depend not only on the ability of the teacher and boy, but also on the number of pupils the former undertakes to instruct. The *average* number just now appears to be forty-four boys to each master, and as each master has also his class, or division, of course there must be nearly the same number (the head master taking a small class, but no pupils) in each of these. But though the average be forty-four, this does not give a clear idea of what many masters pretend to do. There are generally at Eton some sucking tutors—men who have recently come, and who from want of house-

* Compare this with what was done at Christ's Hospital so far back as 1837. About six or seven years ago a Grecian commonly proceeded no further than Euclid, the first part of algebra, and conic sections, and now the integral calculus is at least commenced.—*Thirty-second Report concerning Charities*, p. 202. 1837.

room, connexions, or standing, have considerably less than forty. The lower master takes no pupils except those who board in his house, about thirty. One or two limit their number to forty. The surplus, of course, is divided amongst the rest, by no means probably better calculated to teach, but who are simply ready to take all they can get. One, still there, had once almost ninety pupils. Sixty was, however, no uncommon number. In addition to his duties as teacher, many keep a boarding-house for about thirty-five boys, who pay 120*l.* a year; so that the income of an Eton master in good practice may be thus calculated:—

	£	s.
Profit on thirty-five boarders at 70 <i>l.</i>	2150	0
Twenty-five pupils at 20 <i>l.</i>	500	0
Seventeen entrances at fee of 5 <i>l.</i> 5 <i>s.</i>	89	5
Ten leave-takings at 15 <i>l.</i>	150	0
	£3189	5*

This is of course a guess, no actual means of information existing.

“I am informed,” says Sir J. T. Coleridge, “that the present head master has prospectively restricted each new master to forty pupils, but abstains from imposing this rule on those who are already in the school, on the principle of respecting vested interests; this seems to me a mistaken application of a just principle; the tutors are for the sake of the pupils, but this is to consider pupils as made for the sake of the tutors. Must that which never ought to have been continued indefinitely because individual tutors have an interest in the abuse?”

That this number should be reduced much lower, most of our readers will probably agree. Even an Eton master can allow (in theory) that some men “may be over-worked with twenty pupils;”† but no Eton master has ever practically admitted this. However, if this is the case, perhaps if the number allotted were twenty-five, a sufficient income would be secured to the teacher, and a sufficient portion of his time to the boys. To effect this limitation, public opinion must express itself loudly—there is no other remedy.

For at present, not only has an Eton master the certainty of amassing wealth, if he likes it, but there are many rewards and escapes for those who get fatigued with teaching. About the time when the opinion of his earliest pupils might have been listened to with some consideration, a certain tutor of our acquaintance

* McCulloch, in the account of the “British Empire,” vol. ii. pp. 318-323, *u.*, says, his “account of Eton has been revised by the highest authority.” If so, the highest is the worst: for we read, “The expense of a boy on the foundation cannot exceed 30*l.* a-year”—this, too, in 1847,—and “the total expense of an oppidan may perhaps average from 100*l.* to 150*l.* in the upper part of the school.”

† “Eton Reform,” p. 22.

aspired to these places of emolument, which of course he had all along in view. 1st. A fellowship of Eton, which he may still obtain. 2nd. The head-mastership of Eton, which would have been his had he not just previously so to speak, left the regiment. 3rd. The Provostship of King's, which he also tried for. 4th. A very good college living, with which he was fain to be content. Now all these good things, and we may add to them the Provostship of Eton and the chance of a living from the father of some favoured pupil, are more or less within the reach of every Eton assistant, just when his first pupils can speak as to his real merits. That with such prospects in view a man must needs be very indifferent to his nominal vocation, is only according to human nature; and let this be recollected by those who wish to keep the Eton fellowships as pensions for masters.

When this has been done, a great deal must still be taken on trust by the parent; but if an Eton master ceases to be able to amass a fortune—if his prospect of an Eton fellowship is taken away—if he himself has honestly embraced the profession of a schoolmaster as his vocation, and if he has earned some success in teaching before he secures this prize in his "profession;" a parent may more reasonably hope that his son will not suffer from the neglect and incompetence which one of the Eton masters still allows to be possible amongst his colleagues.

From the specimen we have given of Dr. Goodford's sense of justice about "vested interests," we can scarcely expect to find the head master coming nearer than his assistants up to the description of Dr. Arnold, the model schoolmaster, who, says Sir John T. Coleridge, "took up his task, not as one which was to occupy a few years of the active part of his life, as a road to wealth, as a passport to promotion; but as the work of all his working days, which brought with it in itself its own reward, and was such a work as it was honourable to be engaged in."

The income of the head master has been recently calculated, on unexceptionable statistics, as not less than 6000*l.* a year. Besides this he has a house rent free, and the trifling sum payable to him under the statutes.

In our opinion, his salary should be fixed and paid out of the revenues of the college, according to the will of the founder. It is of course now much too large, and should be no more than enough to insure its acceptance by an assistant master. The head should not be placed in danger of having one under him so much older, or so much his superior in faculty of teaching, as to feel himself under the influence of a subaltern. This is the principle on which the salaries of judges are regulated, who, indeed, put up with a much smaller income, in order to ascend the Bench. At present this enormous income is made almost entirely by fees; and of these exactions there is one, which as it is in

form optional, only requires determination on the part of a sufficient number of influential parents to abolish. This is the present of, on an average 15*l.*, made by every fifth and sixth-form boy on leaving the school. In our day the form of donation was as follows: on going to take leave of the head master you placed the bank notes in an envelope, and during the exchange of the customary compliments and good wishes an opportunity was afforded of depositing this upon the table unperceived. No allusion was made to it on either side. The amount of these contributions is now 1500*l.* a year, and no one attempts to defend a practice which ought to have gone out at least with the "salt" of Montem. We may add that the annual fee paid by every boy to the head master is 6*l.* 6*s.* (amounting, from the upper school, to 4100*l.*); "it was 1*l.* 4*s.* during my mastership, but has been raised since to 6*l.* 6*s.*," says Dr. Goodall, "with my permission and approbation." Our readers have seen what sort of authority Dr. Goodall is on these subjects. Were the old fee restored and the leaving money abolished, the income of the head master would exhibit a more decorous total.

But it is said, the Head Mastership of Eton is not overpaid, because it is one of the "few great prizes of the profession." In the first place, it is not open to "the profession." Secondly, almost all the schoolmasters of the upper classes, and, with the rarest exceptions, all Eton masters, and, with no exceptions the head masters, have two professions. That of teaching, by which they amass money: that of the Church, to which they look for social standing and ultimate preferment.

If, indeed, head masters were really authorities on education; if they fought their way up to those positions by showing undeniable talent for their vocation; if they were content to rest their claims to respect upon the fact of their being schoolmasters, exorbitant as the reward would still be, it might not attract so much attention. Above all other headships, however, that of Eton is given to the dull plodder in the path of routine. Scarce any other duties are required than those of an assistant. He gives up pupils but receives fees. He has a smaller class of his own; and arranges those of the other masters. The "chambers" where he attended his predecessors have become his own. He orders the times of "locking up" instead of obeying them. He presides at examinations instead of preparing his pupils for them; but is almost as much bound by the traditions and superstitions of the place as the boy he admitted yesterday. The senior in rotation may fairly enough expect, as he almost always does, to succeed to this office, and things must alter much before we can demand from its occupant any other than the very ordinary qualifications which fulfil its duties to-day.

We have shown what Eton assistants usually retire upon, but the head master is permitted by Act of Parliament (1 & 2 Vic. c. 106, s. 37) to hold one benefice, without residing there, with his headmastership; a privilege by which means obsolete. Bishops, deans, and canons, though not with any advantage, have often been chosen from the heads of schools. Colleges, also, are often presided over by them. The Provostships of Eton and King's have frequently been filled up by the head master of Eton. That of the latter has always been held, with but one exception since 1688, (when the gift of it was claimed from the Crown by the Fellows), by Eton masters, and few or none have ever resigned without a very comfortable provision for their old age.

Where the masters are so highly paid, it is clear the expenses of the pupils will be considerable. The famous description of the taxed Englishman, by Sydney Smith, may well be applied to an Eton boy. If he boards at a tutor's, he will cost not less, in all, than 250*l.* a year. A dame only receives 8*l.* for doing what, in a little better style, a tutor does for 100*l.* A man-dame, frequently a despised *mathematical* tutor, receives 100*l.* for the same services; this, however, includes extras, such as washing, &c. But at a tutor's house "a boy is taxed for washing, linen, crockery, and furniture; for arithmetic, mathematics, modern languages, drawing, dancing, fencing, drilling, and swimming. He is taxed for maintaining the staff of the sanitarium, or hospital, whether he is well or ill. He is taxed extra for lodging in it in sickness. He is taxed for the gas which lights the public schoolrooms. He is taxed for the watching and village rate of Eton. He is taxed for cricket, for football, and rackets. He is taxed extra for the chapel clerk and the postman." He is taxed largely for the boats and festivities of the place. He pays fees on entrance and fees on leaving, both to the head master and his tutor. His name is carved, by taxation, on the walls of the schoolroom his ancestors were taxed to pay for,* and then he is gathered to his father's, to be taxed (by Eton) no more.

In addition to this, parents suffer from the general extravagance and luxury of the boys, which even Sir John Coleridge exclaims against, and which is to a great extent fostered by the masters, not only by example, but tacitly from a desire to distinguish Eton from other schools by the expense of its amusements, for which it is said the large allowances of pocket-money are necessary.

* The cost of building the Upper School in 1689 was 12,286*l.* 9*s.* 1½*d.* Of this sum Eton College contributed 200*l.* The rest was raised by subscription. —*Curlye's Endowed Grammar Schools*, i. pp. 61, 62.

Sir John has very sensibly said, "Where can sumptuary laws be enforced with so many means of success and so little likelihood of doing harm as at a school or college?" But the defenders of Eton have studied Political Economy; by which they find that sumptuary laws are discouraged, and, therefore, no assistance can be given towards interfering with the natural distribution of wealth in the Eton community, and so it is replied, "It is an usurpation for a tutor to enforce a sumptuary law against chimney-ornaments and prints."* That, we submit, must depend on their value; they might be very costly or not. However, this is merely to evade the question. To boys of large means, luxuries are true refinements and not extravagances; but the point is if at a school where a certain amount of equality is pretended to be one of the great advantages, this should be systematically neutralized in an ostentatious manner. There is, perhaps, no time in life when the differences of wealth are more felt than at Eton. Boys are placed in such close contact with each other, that it is impossible not to be aware of the exact state of your neighbour's finances. It is very well to say there should be no sumptuary laws; but that which is becoming for any one boy whose parents spend 250*l.* a year on his education, ought to be quite enough for every other one there. Few can have any idea how much ignominy many a boy is made to go through, if he cannot always have his subscription ready for any whim that seizes his more wealthy comrades. Parents and strangers are shown painted windows, and told how gratifying it is to reflect that they have been paid for by the boys out of their own money: but they are not told the social penalties by which this window-tax has been exacted; how the collectors, who enjoy all the pleasure of counting up the sums and showing them to the authorities, take each boy apart, and assure him that everybody else has given so much, that this payment will be the last, that even if it is not, what he now gives will not bind him another time. Eton may contain, as has been said, no more materials for romance than the House of Commons, though for very different reasons; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer might get some very useful hints for persuading the nation to give him a little more money, if he could make himself acquainted with the ways and means by which the sum was raised to pay for the west window of Eton College Chapel. By a similar process a new boat is usually paid for. Little boys are told that for the honour of the school a new match-boat is wanted, and subscriptions on that ground are readily given. Next year, it is said the "old" matchboat has been superseded by some new

improvement; the fact being, it has been converted into one of the "long-boats" which the bigger boys have for their regular amusements. The experience of every one may not be the same on this point. These things have occurred, and certainly, for anything the masters do to prevent them, occur still. Expense is, however, encouraged by them for many reasons: partly admiration of show; partly indolence; partly because parents are thus disciplined into paying for what ought to come out of the pockets of the authorities. Thus, accustomed to all sorts of contributions, parents were made to pay for the warming of the chapel (fancy a contribution from the Westminster boys large enough to warm Westminster Abbey with!); and here his successors (by getting warmed free of expense) have improved upon the "courtly" Goodall, who replied, when solicited on this subject, "I was cold in my time, and the boys shall be cold now."

What, then, is the result of all this outlay and show? What does Eton do for its sons? An Eton master admits that a few years ago Eton boys were brought up in "barbarism" and "miserably educated"—this epoch including the period when many of the present Eton masters were there, and received the only education they have ever had. But we are told how hard it was of Sir John Coleridge "to reveal the comparative idleness of those who are not working for college endowments to the enemy,"* when the present authorities are doing everything they can to reform the place. By the "enemy" it seems Eton masters mean, all the British public who doubt the ineffable perfection of the Eton system, and all parents who are hesitating about sending their sons there. What little reform has been made appears to be entirely due to the growing dissatisfaction of parents who find their sons returned on their hands, after some years, quite unfit to go up to the University, or pass any competitive examination, without considerable private tuition; and in what Eton now materially differs from its "barbarous" state when the masters were of exactly the same position and education they are now, is hard to explain. The improved tone of Eton is simply that of society in general. Neither the savage discipline of Keate nor the courteous good-nature of Hawtrey stopped squibs on the 5th of November, or rows at Windsor Fair; and young guardsmen only ceased to come down from town to push crowds of little boys on the master who called "absence" when they gave up making collections of knockers and the transposition of signboards. For this kind of reform we have scarcely to thank Eton masters; but what reason can be given why their prayer should be complied with, and the "vested interests" of the boys, which Dr.

Goodford so well sympathizes with, in being well-educated, left to them?

Such teaching as they permit, rather than enforce, in mathematics, has been stated. Modern languages are still no part of the school business. But give them only time, and "this is the great reform that remains to be brought about by some bold and unfettered schoolmaster." Now what is coming? "The regular classical masters should teach French and Italian in continuation of Latin and French lessons—treat Noel and Chapsal as they treat Arnold and Kennedy—look over French themes as microscopically as Latin ones."* Why the regular French and Italian masters (when there are any) should not do the same to the Latin themes and the Greek exercises, if they only knew those languages, we are not told. But if this means anything, it is that no one, whatever his academical distinctions may be, should be an Eton master, unless he knows modern languages as well as the classics. What sort of chaos a man's mind would be in who undertook to board forty boys, and teach them and forty more four languages, any one may imagine. We have always understood that the signal reason for keeping up classical studies so exclusively, is that the mode of teaching dead languages is a necessary part of education, and cannot be applied to any others; but if this is not so, the questions which it seems are now put by Eton boys "to explain their bearing, will strain the ingenuity of grown-up people" so far as probably to break down the system altogether.

So much, then, for Eton Reform, so far as we are likely to get it from the Eton masters; and that they will offer a desperate resistance to any suggestions from without is pretty clear from their latest manifesto, the gist of which is to the effect that Eton has been reforming, is reforming, and will go on reforming itself. It only asks you to send your sons there, and leave it alone. This has been too long the cry of all corrupt bodies under pressure, to be very convincing.

That the immediate interference of Parliament with the College is loudly demanded, we have already shown, and suggested how far such interference might be brought to bear on the supervision of the school: meantime, there are some things to be pointed out which can only be effected by public discussion and the determination of parents.

First, as to the expenses. If a "dame" can live by the profits upon 80*l.* a year per boy, a tutor, who has the clear wages of teaching besides, might give the slightly superior accommodation he affords for something under 100*l.* And amongst the sources of private expense which the masters might easily remove

* "Eton Reform," p. 26.

are the subscriptions for various purposes, which should be at once put an end to. When a new long-boat is wanted, or the like, there would certainly be nothing inquisitorial in the masters taking cognizance of the fact, and providing it at the expense of the school in some equitable manner. Indeed, there are not wanting those who say that in common justice these stock-articles of the school should be provided by the masters themselves, especially as they derive quite as much pleasure from these sources as their pupils. The expenses, too, of the bathing establishments, the lighting of the schoolrooms, and many *et ceteras* might fairly be made charges upon the establishment.

With respect to the subjects made part of the "regular business," mathematics from their nature cannot be taught to so high a pitch at school as languages, living or dead. But there should perhaps be some provision made by which boys of unusual talent for that study might, without leaving the school, be allowed to reverse the proportion of time spent by the rest on these studies respectively. This, however, will scarcely be taken into consideration until Eton has a head master who owns some acquaintance with science and arithmetic, or at least so much of the latter as to be able to estimate the amount of his own income.

Of physical science much the same remarks may be made. The ignorance of Englishmen respecting geography is proverbial; yet surely it admits of accurate and precise learning; and with it might easily be incorporated in various degrees those branches of science inseparably bound up with the knowledge of soils, climates, populations, and the like. The first step to be taken is to place the mathematical masters at all events on an equal footing in every respect with the others. It is well known that, owing to the inferior position they hold, men who are best qualified will not go to Eton. This must be done (amongst other ways) either by making the classical tutors bring down their charges to those of the mathematical, or authorizing the latter, if parents *will* pay, to make the larger amount of profit from their boarders which is permitted to men who have conned *Horace* too well not to sympathize with the lines—

"Populus me sibilat; at mihi plaudo
Ipse domum; simul ac nummos contempler in arca."

Boys should be also initiated into the school and presented to the head master equally by the one as the other. Those who live in their houses should be in every respect the "pupils" of mathematical teachers, and parents should receive from them such reports of their habits, disposition, &c., as are now only given by the assistants properly so called, who should reciprocate classical teaching as these do now mathematical.

There is still one of the "mysteries" of Eton in the progress of a boy through the school, we have a few words to say about.

When a boy comes to Eton he is "placed" by the head master in some class, division, or remove, and of course at the bottom. He advances in the school by going up two removes in the year; but there is not an examination at every step. Most of them are given as a matter of routine. Formerly there were only two examinations in the upper-school, one on leaving the fourth form, the other on reaching the fifth. Boys were arranged in these examinations in order of merit; but it was very seldom any one was refused his "remove," though of course he would go down to the bottom of it if idle or incompetent. There are now four—the last previous to entering the middle fifth form, and this may perhaps do something towards preventing fifth-form boys sinking almost necessarily into the state of indolence they used to. We are also desired to admire "collections," or terminal examinations without any ulterior object. But with all this show of industry and tests, we are sure there are still to be found at the bottom of every class a certain number of "sturdy," if not quick-witted boys who manage to show up what a master is only too glad to believe are "partly their own exercises," and who occasionally are asked to follow suit in translating a few words of Virgil. These boys take their removes with the others and duly report their progress at home. We recollect the joy with which a fond parent perused the first half of a sentence in one son's letter about his brother—"You will be glad to hear —— has taken a high place—in the *bouts*." When they have to go through one of the examinations, they are held passed if their papers come up to the notions formed by the Examiner of their capacity, not in virtue of their performances. There are good reasons why boys of this kind should not be prevented from rising to a certain height in the school; but when they have reached the middle fifth, the examination for any higher step should be of the nature required for a degree, and a certain respectable amount of positive merit be demanded. The effect of this would be, that it would no longer be possible for parents to go on in the idea their sons were really learning anything. If it be such an advantage that no one who is a fool or a dunce can leave Eton without finding it out, it would be very much better that the discovery should be made as soon as possible: but the real objection to this is, it would have a tendency to diminish the numbers of the school; for neither boy nor parent would wish to remain long on the wrong side of such an Ass's Bridge. It must be clear to every one, that it is quite a contradiction to insist upon this constant system of examinations, if the obviously incapable are sure of some place

and regular promotion. We have often observed how very badly this certainty of rising in the school acts upon the characters of many in after life. It instils a notion that you have only to hold on, and however incompetent, however ignorant you may be, as others ascend so must you, even to the very top. Considering the number of Etonians in the House of Commons (now 105), the long opposition to the throwing open places to merit, and the exaggerated claims of seniority, are probably due in no small degree to the Eton system. At a certain part of the school, however absurd it may really be, credit is given to every boy for knowing certain things; and the boy at the bottom of a remove, like the private in a regiment, feels some sort of personal pride in the rapid construing of his captain; for himself he does not pretend to know much about it: a loud laugh would greet him if he answered a question that had been "passed down" from the top; but his remove is a good one, and he will always be in it, for if he is not fit for that, he must go down far indeed before he finds his level.

Let, then, boys proceed by the system of "removes" to the top of the lower fifth; and let all above that point stand in the school list in order of merit. The sixteen senior collegers (if not more) are liable to change their order once a year, so that the thing is not in itself impracticable.

We have already hinted that the Eton masters are partly to blame for the extravagance of the boys; but there is a reason, not yet mentioned, which induces them tacitly to support it. That they have that kind of liberality which is lavish of other people's money we will not deny, or perhaps their own expenditure may be more justly compared for its objects to the care bestowed on the walks and buildings of a German watering-place.

But besides this, they have an uneasy feeling that, after all, they are but schoolmasters; and that their aristocratic pupils look down, in their inner conclaves, on their pretensions to manners and refinement. Their wealth makes them, in fact, ashamed of the means by which they earn it; and this feeling is considerably increased by the constant prospects of a Fellowship, where they may live upon the results, and despise the practice of teaching. In one particular this truly disgraceful point in their character acts with the most pernicious consequences towards those who ought to be the most regarded, as they have by far the greatest claims upon them of all their pupils. We mean their conduct to their collegers. The collegers—partly because they are in receipt of the charity of the founder—partly because they are, or were, miserably fed and accommodated—and, finally, because they wear

a gown of material, probably the best in the time of Henry VI.,* but now positively offensive,† are held of small account by the oppidans. It will appear scarcely credible to the uninitiated, that all the Eton masters, who have been on the foundation themselves, should so far pander to the aristocratic instincts of the majority of their pupils, who are perfectly aware of their own former position in the school, as to join unmistakeably in expressing their sense of this social inferiority. Such, however, is the fact; and whilst deriving their whole consequence, and everything they have in life, to the existence of the collegers, they spare no pains to show that they thoroughly despise the position they once held, and would like to have forgotten what they passed through. Well, indeed, may they stand rebuked, and feel themselves humbled in the presence of every true gentleman, whose mind and whose honour they pretend to educate.

It is not, perhaps, very difficult to see how the position of schoolmaster has never been held in high account as a profession in this country. It arises in a great measure from the character of those who have held it. The infliction of corporal punishment is itself degrading; and schoolmasters seem always to have borne the reputation of enjoying the use of this privilege. Hallam says, as late as 1650-1700 "schools were kept by low-born, illiberal pedants, teaching little, and that little ill."‡

The severity of Udall, Head Master of Eton in 1520-1540, has been celebrated by Thomas Tusser, the poet, who suffered under him; and one hundred years later Evelyn says, "My father intending to place me at Eton, but I was so terrified at the report of the severe discipline there,"§ that he would not go. In modern times Dr. Arnold is said to have rescued the name from contempt. We have seen Sir John Coleridge's account of this. Another reason, perhaps, is, because he refused to board boys in his own house. This, indeed, must be borne in mind—that schoolmasters do not live by tuition, but, to a great extent, from the profits they make by their boarding-houses, keepers of which do not occupy a high position in the social scale. All this, however, is no excuse for the prevailing tone at Eton upon this subject. This is not an age when illiberal reflections are cast upon any set of men who honestly fulfil their duty; and though the constant superintendence of boys must narrow the mind, and produce a type of cha-

* By the statutes it may cost 60s. To say nothing of the change in the value of money, a barrister's gown now costs only 40s.

† Do you apprehend that the original coarse clothing was of that mean description for any other reason, than because it was the usual fashion and costume of the time?—I am not competent to say; *I have often considered the question, but never was able to resolve it.*—Goodall's evidence.

‡ "Lit. Europe," iii. p. 410,

§ Evelyn's "Diary," i. p. 8.

racter not very agreeable in general society, yet the men who earn in this way more than they could possibly do in any other, can only be held as childish when they attempt to hold themselves above their class on that very account. For the Eton masters are superior in no way to the ordinary run of clergymen who live by teaching. And it is a very absurd thing, that parents who would not hesitate to inquire very strictly into the details of a school and a house if kept entirely by a teacher, should humiliate themselves before, and abandon everything to the discretion of the same person, because he forms one of a numerous body, and is the less amenable to the penalties of neglect or incompetence.

It is indeed somewhat contrary to the essence of a "public" school that a boy's tutor should do much towards training his mind. That is supposed to be done by the genius of the school. His business is to see that his pupils live up to that routine, but though Eton masters have no time to do even the last, they would wish parents to believe they are very laborious in doing the former as well. And it is upon their assertions to this effect that they make their undue pretensions. Other schools may teach; they only educate. Parents, especially the *nouveaux riches*, are over-awed by this pretence. If the correspondence between tutors and parents could be seen, it would disclose a total inversion of their proper positions. Men who have never been (till railway times) away from Cambridge or Eton from the time they were ten years old, pretend to enter into all the feelings of boys in stations in society they never have had access to; and, what is more surprising, parents are found not only to submit to this, but to accept it as a proof of the extreme goodness of their son's tutor to think about him so much. There is no class of society whose sons have suffered so much from these insolent assumptions as the long-established gentry who have patronized (as they suppose) Eton for generations. With no interest in the Church, of little importance politically, and for the most part unconnected with literature, they are quite incapable of expressing their discontent in any audible manner. It is not, therefore, worth the while of an Eton master to take much pains with them, and he soothes his conscience by the reflection that, as they will be provided for in life, education is to them of less consequence. At the same time as he feels sure that they will keep up the connexion between their families and the school, they are neglected in order that the tutor may extend his connexion by paying particular court to those who move more immediately in the London world, or possibly to some remarkable scholar who may bring credit to his teaching. It is especially the interest of these gentlemen to insist upon there being a staff at Eton so numerous that none can afford to treat with lofty con-

descension parents who are able to afford the expenses of such an education. It is not *their* sons who will learn either better manners or higher principles from men who consider them as the heir-looms of Eton, and as pledged to support the place, though all the world desert it. Here indeed prosperity is to blame, and this leads us naturally to another evil of Eton. We mean an evil which affects a boy from the moment of his arrival till the day he leaves, and the poison of which never leaves him during his life.

That is the "moral childishness" which Arnold held as the greatest possible vice of a public school, "and the spirit encouraged of combination companionship and of excessive deference to the public opinion prevalent in the school."*

Now this is directly instilled and augmented in every way by the Eton masters. To this their best energies are directed, and here they show themselves truly shareholders in a pecuniary concern. The instinct with which they discover those minds which are not so easily deceived by the self-glorification of Eton is truly wonderful; such boys are systematically neglected; pronounced indocile and irredeemable; parents are warned against their temper, and they are finally reported on their departure as bidding fair to be a trouble to them for life. To question in anything the immeasurable superiority of Eton, or to doubt of the supreme wisdom by which it is conducted, however humbly and conscientiously, is indeed treason. The greatest pains are taken to turn boys as much as possible from any real consideration of their after-life. Eton is held up as if it was the be-all and the end-all here. To succeed at Eton was the highest aspiration any one should indulge in. That there was a future state (in this world) and that it was incomprehensible, though its nature would greatly depend upon your present conduct, and the verdict of your contemporaries, was dimly inculcated, and so far produced by analogy a most orthodox state of feeling. Of course it will be said, "all that is altered now." And boys probably are no longer informed by the head master, as an example to follow, "that he once undertook a long journey to vote for a candidate *against his* principles, because he was an Eton man;" and it is possible that some particular tutors may be in a position to deny utter silence of the world beyond; but we are convinced that this evil is still in full force. Hence this dislike on the part of Eton defenders to the recent "Army class" as distracting the minds of Eton boys from contemplating that navel of the earth. Hence those scions of Eton, who, the tutor of a college lately told us, come up to the university thinking to be "Etonians" a claim transcending good birth, breeding, or any other social qualifications; thoroughly alive to every trick by which they can break the spirit, yet keep

* "Arnold's Life," i. p. 119.

within the letter of the rules, and whose best point is the display of a kind of ostentatious friendship towards those they think fit to dub as "good fellows," and who are probably in reality much less spoilt and more of true gentlemen than themselves. It is this spirit which makes Eton reformers disown as "cretins who fail to satisfy soldier-pedants" those unfortunate victims of the "neglect and incompetence of particular tutors in later and better times,"* whose names they will eagerly point out on some Crimean record, as having learnt their first lessons of bravery at Eton. It is this which makes Sir John Coleridge, sensible as he is of the deficiencies of Eton in all matters of detail, endeavour to suggest that all the good in a young man comes from Eton, and all the evil from the unchecked developments of his home; which holds up the influence of Eton as the mysterious grace of God, never thwarted but by the unregenerate spirit, which is uninfluenced even by the solemn sight of the far too crowded chapel.

It is well known there is no surer way of recommending yourself to your tutor's good graces, than to have it thought that you live for Eton. This is a virtue which will atone for any amount of shortcomings: and the tutors are notoriously made the dupes of boys to whom they offer so palpable a means of obtaining favour. Every occasion is laid hold of to impress the transcendent importance of being connected with Eton. To this the offices of religion are made subordinate; the greatest efforts are made to get parents to allow their sons to be confirmed at school; the object being to associate Eton with everything likely to strike the imagination and give a spurious importance to its localities. It is impossible to acquit the masters of encouraging a spirit of thorough untruthfulness; of endeavouring to break down all original thought (how often were we told by our tutors we had no business to think!) and true independence of mind, in order to prevent the slightest chance of Etonians leaving off, as parents, their connexion with the place. If many parents—and we sincerely believe there are many—are conscious of the truth of what we say, let them carefully point out to their sons that Eton is, after all, but a school; that there is nothing manly in after-life to be always hankering for the days when they were in the eight or the eleven; that the business of school-time is merely as a preparation; that no verdicts are so often reversed as those of Eton; and that almost the moment they leave the school, they will be as much forgotten as if they had never been there. Let them also take good care to make their son's tutor understand that it is their child's benefit, and not his, they are anxious for; and remember that his opinion is often hastily

* "Eton Reform," p. 8.

adopted, and always unwillingly relinquished; and that long before a boy leaves school, he is, in many ways, as good a judge of his tutor as his tutor of him. Above all, let them avoid the fault of bearing down their son's complaints by exalting the superiority of the school to his intelligence, for that is to abet the masters in an interested point of view. Let them remember schoolmasters may talk of their devotion, but their object, like all other men, is their own prosperity; and, like all other agents, they will be profitable servants, or unjust stewards, according as they are made to feel their employers know what their duty is and will exact it from them. If, indeed, a man knows Eton, and is bold enough to judge his son from what he is, and not from what his tutor pronounces him to be, he may insure some advantages being procured better there than elsewhere; but they are not many. A certain readiness of speaking aloud in a well-filled room; an aptitude of catching the divisions of the day any occupation compels; and a familiarity with the movements of considerable masses of independent bodies, with the exercises of the place, comprise nearly all that Eton, in spite, rather than by the assistance, of the authorities, has to give. We have mentioned the few indisputable advantages of Eton; now let a parent remember that, though a tutor may have gained high honours and have a wide connexion, it will never be known till too late, whether he has any real capacity, or genuine love, of teaching; that he will not consider himself bound to regard the domestic circumstances or prospects of his pupil; that a careless but sharp boy will receive no training beyond that afforded by the school routine; that it is a perfect chance whether his associates are adapted to him or not; that it is quite impossible to change them, and even the power of selection is almost nothing; that any sensitiveness to public opinion must become, from the influence of all about him, morbidly exaggerated; that certain vices, very injurious to boyhood, and which tutors do or can do nothing to prevent, are somewhat more prevalent, and carried on to a more advanced age at Eton than anywhere else. Then, if the expense is not an object, and a parent can make up his mind to counteract these objections, he may not have cause to repent calling his son an Eton boy. But let no one imagine that there is any magic in that name which will at all repay any stinting of household economy, still less any deduction from the claims of other children; and that however clearly he may trace youthful extravagance, or the waste of a life to Eton causes, he will only be called a "reviler" or a fool, if he dares to express his belief in such a heresy. Whilst the great evils we have pointed out, especially the tyrannical use of public opinion, remain, Etonians will still continue to bring with them far more than Eton can ever repay; the honour and

the intelligence which must characterize so many gentle boys will carry many, with the physical advantages of the place, comparatively uninjured, through the years they pass there; and, though Eton masters may wonder at it, their mental energy and natural love of truth will enable many in good time to feel the thorough worthlessness of all teaching essentially Eton, and acknowledge that the first lesson of real life is to become aware that they have everything to learn, and a great deal to unlearn also.

If the aristocracy of England are resolved to select Eton as the locality where their sons are to spend some years of their boyhood, and to maintain its system unaltered, as it rests with, so let them please, themselves; but we would remind them that they are many of them connected with the past by associations which reach beyond even the foundation of Eton, to say nothing of their casual connexion with it; that this is an age when—

More and more the people throng
To fill the chairs of civil power;

and that when they have lost the positions their ancestors maintained partly by superior education and by taking advantage of the best opportunities for improvement their times afforded, they will only be taunted with having “an unreasoning regard for” and told “they are after all not the best patrons of, the school,” by the very persons most indebted to their careless confidence in the authority and pretensions of a name.



ART. IX.—AUSTRIA AND HER REFORMS.

L Autriche et ses Réformes. Extrait du “Correspondant.”
Janvier, 1861.

A YEAR has passed since the internal relations of Austria were discussed in this Review. A year as eventful, perhaps, as any in modern history. The unity of Italy was then, even to the well disposed, if not quite a dream, at any rate a remote contingency and the work of years; and that work is now all but completed, and the first Italian Parliament is holding its sittings at Turin. Austrian influence, although sorely shaken, was then still gravitating over more than one half of the Italian peninsula, and a mistake on the part of the Italians or a change of policy in France were sufficient to undo all that had been done. With Gaeta, the last stronghold of Austrian influence in Italy has fallen. The Italy of twelve months ago was the work of the French more

than of the Italians themselves, and the hand which raised the structure could destroy it again. The Italy of the present day has an existence of her own, and even if left to her own resources she can hold her own, and perhaps even do the rest for herself. Her relative position has been reversed—the aggressor is driven to think of his own defence.

If all this could be done, it is owing at least as much to what was passing in Austria as to what the Italians did themselves. There were agencies at work there without the co-operation of which they could never have expected to achieve a result in so short a time. These facilitated the victory in the campaign of 1859; they enabled the Italians to improve on this first success, and from the activity of these agencies on Austria will in a great measure depend the ultimate solution of the Italian question, the existence or non-existence of Italian unity. Although the connexion between the two is so obvious, sufficient stress has not been laid on this circumstance, and the reciprocal action of the events in Italy and in Austria has scarcely obtained its full value in political speculations. The reason of this lies in a strange misconception of cause and effect. Because the Italian question heralded in the difficulties of Austria in her other possessions, Italy is considered the cause of all these difficulties, while the fact is that the difficulties in Italy are only a consequence of the general system of policy and government pursued in the Austrian Empire. Italy, like the gouty limb, was not the cause, but the first symptom and result of the general derangement of that empire. We must revert to the cause,—that is, the traditional policy of the House of Austria—in order to understand what is passing in Austria as well as in Italy.

This policy may be briefly characterized as Catholic, Absolutist, and German; that is, in direct opposition to the religious, political, and national aspirations of our age. The obscure Count Rudolph, of Hapsburg, owed his elevation to the throne of Germany to priestly influence, and, with the exception of Joseph II., none of his descendants ever forgot the powerful engine which laid the foundation for the greatness of the family. But it would be a mistake to imagine that Catholicism was merely a political lever in the hands of the Austrian dynasty; it became by degrees, and is up to this moment, the very basis of all the ideas of that family. To appreciate the real meaning of this an Englishman must go back to the times of James I. and his pretensions of divine right—to Filmer and his theories. Whoever visits the Burg at Vienna will be shown the picture of Christ on the cross, which is supposed to have spoken to Ferdinand II. Pressed by the Protestant nobles of Bohemia and Austria to restore their rights, and besieged by them in his very palace, the pious monarch

threw himself on his knees before the picture, and heard the words, —“ *Ferdinando, non te deseram,*” uttered at the very moment when he heard, in the court below, the clattering hoofs of Pappenheim’s dragoons arriving just in time to relieve him from his troubles. Imperishable, uncontrolled Divine right, upheld by special interference of Providence ; such has been, and is, the family creed of the House of Austria. It is the savage egotism of “*L’état c’est moi*” raised into a religious belief.

Absolutism and centralization of power are the necessary corollaries of such a creed, and there is no limit to either. What human engagement can there be conceived strong enough to interfere with the imperishable right awarded to sovereigns by Heaven ? There may be periods of severe trial, and Providence may not always be disposed to interfere directly, as in the case of Ferdinand II. Sovereigns, even the most pious, must now and then yield, make a compromise, take oaths, and save thus, at least part, if not the whole, of the Divine right. But these periods of trial pass ; and are there not priests to absolve from forced oaths ? Nay, is not the Divine right of kings a sacred trust, which cannot be alienated and bargained away, even if the sovereign personally was not indisposed to do so ? All limitations are sacrilegious, and no sacrifice is great enough to rescind them. The paternal heart of the sovereign may bleed at the holocausts which it has to offer up on the shrine of Divine right, deplore the blindness of the victims and the misery which it entails on thousands of innocent subjects, but whose fault is it if sovereigns are driven to such extremities ?

What we are writing sounds almost like a satire ; but whoever has studied Austrian history and the Austrian Court must have been struck by the glaring contrast between the personal character of the sovereigns and their policy. No reigning House can boast of such an uninterrupted succession of the most amiable, benevolent, honest, and just men in private life. They inspired with a real affection all those who were in daily contact with them, and up to this day you hear the people of the capital retail among themselves the traditions of the last few generations, using those endearing diminutive expressions which characterize the dialect of the good-natured citizens of Vienna.

And these very same monarchs, so prominent in their private character, have all been equally harsh, oppressive, faithless, and ungrateful in their policy. Was there ever a more virtuous, honest man than Francis I., the grandfather of Francis Joseph, and was there ever a more reckless, soul-crushing despotism than that which he introduced, and for which Metternich got all the odium ? He speculated on the love of his people, and in return for their devotion in difficult times, he altered arbitrarily the

paper currency twice, reducing thus to beggary those who had come forward to assist him with their mite. As a reward for the sacrifices of Hungary during the French wars, he did everything to destroy her constitution. He was the originator of the league of sovereigns which tried to reduce all Europe to a state of bigoted ignorance and irrational despotism. He laid the foundations of that Austro-Italian policy, which was based on bayonets, the Piombi and Spielberg. His son Ferdinand the *Débonnaire* surpassed him even in estimable private qualities, and it was during the reign of this latter that the wholesale peasant massacres of Galicia were organized, and that thousands of Servian brigands were enrolled to commit their unheard-of atrocities in Hungary. Is it necessary to review the political career of the present Emperor? and yet Francis Joseph is a chivalric, high-minded, honest man in his private capacity.

This contrast between the private character of the Austrian sovereigns and their policy finds its explanation in that family faith in Divine right, to which everything else must yield, even the good qualities of the sovereigns. This cruel faith was and is the keystone to the whole policy of Austria.

The others are the German origin and the German traditions and predilections of the dynasty. While the German Empire was still in existence, and the House of Austria enjoyed a kind of prescriptive right of furnishing the Emperors, it was natural that the whole policy should gravitate in that direction. The overthrow of that Empire in 1806 changed completely the proportions between the German and other subjects of the dynasty; but this latter clung only the more faithfully to its German policy and its German traditions. Instead of understanding that, by the separation from Germany, and the formation of an Austrian Empire, the basis of the power of the dynasty had been displaced, all endeavours were concentrated to mould the remaining possessions into a new German Empire. The Germanizing mania was not new, but it was kept within bounds while the connexion with Germany lasted; the force derived from the non-German hereditary possessions being useful as a counterpoise to the pretensions of the more powerful German princes. When this consideration ceased, the Germanizing mania returned in all its vigour, and the systematic endeavours to gratify it played as important a part in the events now passing, as the pretensions of the Divine right of sovereigns.

This Germanizing mania returned just at the moment when the final struggle against the first Napoleon had roused the national feeling of all the people of Europe against French, that is, foreign dominion. Nay, the sovereigns themselves appealed to it, and it was by its strength that they succeeded in breaking down the

colossus. How strong this feeling against the French was, may be judged from the circumstance that Italy herself forgot her similar feuds with Austria and Germany, and greeted the Austrians as liberators. The triumphal arch is still extant, on the Piazza del Castello at Milan, which was erected to Francis I., "*Patri Patrie*," for liberating Lombardy from the French rule, and the inscription was still perfect on the 7th of June, 1859, when the *corps d'armée* of Maréchal MacMahon held its triumphal entry through it, amid the frantic acclamations of a people mad with joy.

But even without this strongly elicited national feeling, the Germanizing of the Austrian Empire would have been a hopeless undertaking. The Treaty of Vienna left the Austrian Empire with scarcely more than five millions of Germans against twenty-eight millions belonging to other races. It is true, history has shown dominant races which maintained themselves against even greater odds; but it was only in cases when the dominant race was so superior to the others in warlike spirit, civilization, and organization, that it would counterbalance the disadvantages of numerical inferiority. Such was not the case in Austria. Indeed, it was the very reverse. As for warlike spirit, most of the other races were rather, if anything, superior. In civilization most of them were equal, and some, like the Italians, superior. As for organization, every one of the provinces composing the Empire had existed as a nation, and in all of them the traditions of this national existence were still alive, all had once possessed free institutions, and the whole Eastern group, dwelling in the valleys of the Danube and its tributaries, was still in the possession of all the essential features of a free government. Thus neither the physical nor the moral strength of the German element was calculated to mould the others according to its own image. Interest alone could keep these different elements together, and this interest lay in the free development of the national aspirations of each of them. Had there been a sovereign or statesman in Austria then who would have understood the situation, great might have been the destinies of that Empire. In every direction round the Empire there were kindred groups of nationalities with similar aspirations—the Italians in the South, the Germans in the West, and the Slavonic and Rouman races of Turkey in the East. And all these would have gravitated towards Austria had they seen that their kindred enjoyed there all that they were craving for. The Austrian dynasty might have played the part of Piedmont in Italy, that of Russia in the East, and in Germany a part which still remains to be acted.

Antiquated notions of the Divine right of sovereigns, with all their consequences and one-sided narrow-minded German traditions,

blighted these brilliant destinies. Not satisfied with crushing their political and national aspirations in her own dominions, Austria became the champion of legitimacy and despotism all over the world ; she took the lead to put down the efforts of Germany by the Congress of Anahen, those of Italy by the Congress of Laybach, those of Spain by the Congress of Verona. She sent an army to Naples in 1820 to maintain the Bourbons, and was the only power in Europe which took the part of the Turks against the Greeks. Austria became a byword to all nations, their most systematic and persevering enemy.

This past must always be kept before the mind, for it is the key to the present.

A system of policy so bigotedly adhered to by the dynasty, and at the same time so contrary to the wishes of the population, and so unsuited to the conditions of the Empire, could not but strengthen the populations of the Empire in their national and political aspirations, and draw them into the opposite stream. All gradual development, based on a compromise between the conflicting interests and claims of dynasty and people, and between those of the different provinces, became impossible ; nay, the dynasty did everything in its power to carry out its own policy by exerting and fomenting discord between the different races, and thus contributed mainly to destroy its own object, the unity of the Empire. In an empire composed of so many different elements, harmony could only exist by each of them giving up a great part of its pretensions to secure some advantages common to all. By obstinately refusing to recognise any claims on the part of the populations, and by setting up the pretensions of one against the other, the dynasty left them no choice between giving up all their claims to a free national development, or else foregoing all the advantages which might be derived from an union in the Austrian Empire.

The crash of 1848 showed clearly which way the choice would be. Lombardy and Venice made common cause with Italy ; Hungary united with Transylvania, and cut off all governmental connexion with the rest of the Empire. The representatives of the Slavonic provinces went to Prague and tried to organize themselves in a body ; nay, the German provinces were wilder than the rest, and forgetting that they had been the chief gainers in the German policy of the government, sent their deputies to Frankfort, and tried to form an united Germany.

Prague, Lemberg, Vienna, Pesth, Milan, and Venice had all to be bombarded, and 200,000 Russians called in besides to convince the populations of the Empire that their real interests lay in harmony and union in the Austrian Empire.

The ten years which passed from 1849-1859, and during which

the dynasty had been able to carry its centralizing German policy to a point of perfection never before attained, had a double result. First, they augmented the desire for a national existence to a degree which it had never reached before, and then they drew together all those populations whose interests, associations, and history offered points of contact. Common subjection opened their eyes to the policy of the government, which sowed dissensions among them in order to rule them all after its own fashion ; and all only waited for an opportunity to co-operate in destroying a state of things unbearable to all.

The war in 1859 offered this opportunity, and it was eagerly seized. The events of that short war astonished Europe scarcely less than the memorable break-down in 1849. All the efforts of the government had been concentrated for ten years on the army, the chief engine for carrying out its centralizing policy, and at the first trial it broke down. Court favour and nepotism, the natural results of an absolute government, had confided the fate of the army to incapacity, and an irresponsible bureaucracy had introduced a monster system of peculation in its administration, while the savage despotism by which all the populations of the Empire were crushed, had raised such discontent in all classes, that even the rigid discipline of the army, the system of *espionage* introduced in it, and the precautions taken to prevent the soldier from all contact with the people, proved no safeguard against it. In vain did the Emperor place himself at the head of his army in the hope of exciting a due amount of enthusiasm, in vain did the officers do wonders of valour, the soldiers did not respond to the appeal. The Italian battalions surrendered *en masse* ; before the end of the war a Hungarian legion of 5000 men, all soldiers from the Austrian army, was organized at Aquí. The Croat regiments refused to fight, and the rest did only just enough to show that they had no heart in the cause they were fighting for.

It was this, as much as French and Piedmontese bravery, which laid the foundation of Italian independence and union. Whoever has followed events in Austria, undeceived by the death-like calm which had reigned there since 1849, could see that the Peace of Villafranca was the signal of insurrection for all the populations of Austria. The reverses in Italy were hailed as so many victories, for they heralded in the breaking down of the whole system of government at home.

And from that time to this Austria offers a sight as curious and remarkable in its way as is the process by which the union of Italy is being accomplished. Without a single popular outbreak, by mere moral pressure and *vis inertiae*, the government has been driven point by point from its position. It is, perhaps, the first example in history of a quiet, dignified agitation being carried on

by the people without any legal means of concentrating and directing such an agitation. If the object striven for should be achieved it will be owing to Hungary, and the countries formerly in union with her—Transylvania, Croatia, and Slavonia.

All the provinces forming the Austrian empire had anciently representative institutions in embryo, but they had lost them before they could attain their maturity, and after the 17th century scarcely a feeble tradition of them had been preserved in the provincial assemblies of the estates. Not so in Hungary and the crown lands united with her. There constitutional life had become deeply engrafted in the life of the people. Instead, as in most countries of Europe, of degenerating and yielding to the encroachments of the sovereign power, it was not only preserved in all the hundred struggles through which it has had to pass, but it developed itself according to the peculiar genius of the people. It had just received a new impulse, and arrived at the full consciousness of its strength against all the power of Austria, when it was swept away by Russian intervention. Material force could, however, only sweep away constitutional forms, it could not eradicate the spirit which had grown up during eight centuries, and which left an indelible stamp on the people. This spirit of self-government had pervaded all classes, and had imparted to them that tact and aptitude for working together and organizing themselves which show themselves now so conspicuously.

It is a curious and interesting phenomenon, that while almost all nations of continental Europe are only just beginning their apprenticeship in self-government, and while most of them have even now learnt of it only a few spiritless forms, there should be an Eastern people dwelling just on the limits of western civilization which has practised this self-government from times immemorial, and developed it in spite of all attacks made upon it; a people secluded and little known to other nations, which has worked out the problem of free institutions according to its own idiosyncrasy, and which has had neither to imitate English institutions nor to borrow from modern constitutional theories. One would be almost inclined to come back to the notion that it is a kind of natural disposition which makes some nations more fit than others for self-government.

In Hungary, as in England, the national vigour and independence of the race were assisted by isolation. An Eastern race thrown in among a number of races totally different in every respect, and threatened on one side by the German Empire and on the other by the warlike spirit of Mahomedanism, the Hungarians from the moment of their arrival in the Danube valley had to fight for their existence. Considering the smallness of their number, they might have been swept away had they not displayed

a vitality which has hitherto resisted all trials. As the race possessed the necessary tenacity, this life and death struggle for centuries proved an advantage, for it produced a strong feeling of nationality, and this feeling of nationality saved free institutions in Hungary, while they were abolished in all the countries around.

In the first quarter of the 16th century, just at the critical moment when sovereign power in Europe tried to shake off the trammels with which a powerful nobility and rich towns had hampered it, the connexion of Hungary with the foreign reigning House of Austria began by the election of Ferdinand I. of Austria in 1527. There was a powerful native pretender in the field, John Zápolya, Prince of Transylvania. He had a large party for him, above all among the freemen and the people, who, pushed by their national feeling, scorned the idea of a foreign king with foreign possessions; while the great nobility, jealous to see one of themselves raised above the rest, sided mostly with his adversary, and ensured the election of Ferdinand. From this moment free institutions and nationality became identified in the eyes of the nation, and worked together to support each other. In all other countries the chief instrument by which sovereign power made itself absolute, was the rising of one class of the population against the other, to help the nobility to enslave the other classes, and to reduce the nobility itself to the condition of courtiers. In Hungary, with the exception of a few great families, this policy failed. Fear of the rule of the stranger produced harmony between the conflicting class-interests which alone can secure free institutions. It united the peasant with the lord, and made the latter use his power over the former with discretion. It fused the interests between town and country, and erased all political difference based on religion. The more the sovereigns of the House of Austria succeeded in establishing absolute sovereign power in the rest of their dominions, the more jealously did the Hungarians guard their self-government, which was a new point of national difference between them and the stranger. The wars against Protestantism in Germany, and the opposition made to it by the bigoted scions of the House of Austria, led to wholesale conversions in Hungary, and Catholics and Protestants joined as they do now to secure equal rights to the new religion in the peace of Linz and Vienna.

But with all this strong feeling of nationality and love of self-government, it would have been difficult for the Hungarians not to succumb to the great odds that were against them, had it not been for one peculiar feature in their constitution, which endowed them with an incalculable power of resistance, and which was, and is, the basis of self-government in Hungary.

This is the so-called county system, about which our readers have read so much lately in the news from Vienna and Hungary. The feudal system was too much against the native spirit of independence to be ever thoroughly introduced in Hungary. A race of freemen, under their self-elected chiefs, conquered a home for itself in the plains of Pannonia, but, unlike other conquering races, it early assimilated itself with the most prominent chieftain families of the subject races, giving them a share in the division of the land, and placing them on a footing of equality with the ruling race. In proof of this we may refer to the Slavonic and Rouman names of many prominent families up to this day. The contact with western countries, and the continual wars, which necessitated a ready military system, led to the introduction of many feudal ideas. The country, for military and administrative purposes, was divided into counties, a count being placed at the head of each to collect the revenues and lead the freemen in war. But, as in England, such was the spirit of independence among the freemen, that the great feudatory lords never succeeded, as they did in other continental countries, in reducing them to a state of vassalage, and up to this moment legally all tenure of land in Hungary is direct from the Crown. The freemen were supported in this struggle by the regal power, which did not prevent them from making common cause with the great feudatory lords against any pretensions of the Crown. This successful resistance to encroachments on either side secured only a political position to the freemen in the counties. From time immemorial they managed the internal affairs of the county by magistrates elected from among themselves. The counties placed thus early in an independent position exercised a considerable power of control over the acts of the sovereign power, and in the second half of the fourteenth century their deputies were summoned by King Sigismund to the Diet, as a counterpoise against the great lords who until then alone took part in it. This position of the counties as political bodies was strengthened and developed by the Turkish wars and those against the Austrian dynasty. Very frequently cut off and isolated by the chances of war, the counties were thrown on their own resources, were entirely independent of all supreme authority, and had to fight their own battles and govern themselves.

This habit once acquired was jealously maintained in spite of all endeavours to upset it, and by the beginning of this century the counties had acquired a power of self-government and control over the central government, which was very little short of that enjoyed by the cantons of Switzerland. The government appointed, indeed, still the counts, but these latter had no power except to preside at the elections. The affairs of the county were managed

by two viscounts, who, as well as all the other magistrates, were elected every three years out of the proprietors in the county. Four quarterly meetings were held for the despatch of business, political as well as judicial, at which every noble had the right of speech and vote. The orders of the Government were discussed, and, if found in contradiction with the laws, they were shelved in the archives, and the case brought forward as grievances against the Government. Each county sent two deputies to the Diet, who received their instructions, and had to refer at every vote of importance to their constituencies. This county system was not confined to Hungary Proper, but was the law and practice in all the lands belonging to the crown of Hungary, Croatia, Slavonia, and Transylvania.

It need scarcely be pointed out what a power of passive legal resistance lay in such an organization, and what a practical political school the county system became. This short sketch may explain to our readers why such stress has lately been laid in Hungary on the full restitution of the county system.

It is clear that such a powerful municipal organization leaves very little power in the hands of the Central Government. To deprive this latter of it as much as possible was just the object of the county system; for this Central Government before 1848 was not national. Legally it ought always to have been, for *an entirely independent government* was one of the conditions imposed on the first sovereign of the House of Austria; and twelve other statutes, extending from 1536 to our times, exist, by which twelve sovereigns pledge themselves successively to the same thing; but practically it was not so.

The whole power of legislation was, indeed, vested in the Diet, composed of two houses,—an upper house comprising the titled nobility summoned by writ, and the lower house, formed by the deputies of the counties and towns. It had the right of voting and refusing supplies and recruits for the army. It had the right of initiative as well as the crown, and nothing could pass as law if not duly discussed and accepted by it. Nominally, the whole machinery of a national government to carry out these laws existed likewise from the most ancient times. There was the Palatine, who acted as lieutenant of the kingdom during the absence of the king, assisted by the Council of Lieutenancy at Buda: he was the head of the internal government, while he was likewise commander of the native troops. The “Tavernicus” was the treasurer, and as such had the management of finances; while the “Judex Curie Regie” was the head of the department of Justice. Ever since the first connection of Hungary with the House of Austria the sovereigns tried to tamper with this simple machinery, and bring it under their control, by using subservient

tools and introducing strangers ; but they made little impression, and until the middle of last century the government of Hungary was not only legally but practically independent.

It was reserved to Maria Theresa, who owed her throne to the Hungarians, to strike the first blow against this independence. Under the plea of making Hungarian affairs the chief object of her care she established the Hungarian Aulic-Chancery at Vienna, which was to entertain her with the affairs of that country. The snare was so well disguised, and the sovereign lady so popular, that little objection was made to the plan, which, if sincerely carried out, would have led to the despatch of business. Soon the nation had reason to regret its complaisance ; for the Chancery once established gradually concentrated in its bureaux all the affairs of the country until the lieutenancy at Buda and all the other departments became entirely subservient to it, while in its turn the German bureaucracy at Vienna took out of the hands of the Chancery the finances and the direction of military affairs.

Had there been times of peace, the process would probably have been stopped by the Diet ; but the French wars, which necessitated the union of all the forces, served as an excuse for this anti-constitutional proceeding. Thus, while the nation sacrificed blood and money to save the dynasty, this latter tried and succeeded to undermine the independence of its government. When the wars were over, and the Diet insisted on the reversal of this illegality, Francis I., emboldened by his success, tried to improve upon it, and determined to set the constitution aside, and rule without a Diet. It was then that the power of resistance of the counties shone forth again in its ancient brilliancy. Taxes not granted by the Diet and recruits were demanded, and all the counties unanimously refused. There was an idea of employing force ; but such was the unanimity of the counties and the temper of the people that the idea was abandoned, and Francis I. saw himself compelled to convoke the Diet of 1825 and promise to redress all the just grievances of the nation. Although he, as usual, forgot his promises as soon as the money and soldiers were granted, the victory obtained by the nation called forth constitutional life into new vigour, and a period of agitation for political and social improvements began, which may be placed side by side with the best page of English constitutional history. All energy having been until then concentrated on preserving from encroachments what existed, little or nothing could be done towards developing the existing institutions according to the spirit of the age and altered circumstances.

The sending of deputies to the Diet as representatives of the counties, and tying them down by instructions, had done good service when the object was to guard the basis of the constitution ;

but now when this seemed secured, and other problems had to be worked out, a true national representation was desirable, unhampered by local, often narrow-minded considerations. Hitherto the nobles alone could be proprietors, and were the sole possessors of political rights; they were exempt from taxes, which were exclusively borne by the peasantry and towns. To make property accessible to all to extend political rights to all who had sufficient education and a certain stake in the country, and to lay a proportionate share of taxation on every one, seemed an act of justice as well as policy. The rapid growth of the towns had brought a new element of strength into the country, for which the constitution framed long ago had made but imperfect provisions. Hence a due representation of the towns became necessary. The last laws brought under Maria Theresa to regulate the relations between peasant and landlord had left the former in the position of indefinite leaseholder, with the obligation of paying in labour and kind. To abolish this rude system contrary to all economical principles and liable to abuse, and make a fair compromise between landlord and peasant, could not much longer be put off.

Such were some of the many political and social subjects which began to be agitated in town and country. But, beyond and above all, the conviction began to dawn that there could be no security for the free institutions and the development of the country until the legal state of an independent government was fully realized, a truly national government formed, and made responsible to the Diet.

This agitation found its field of activity in the Diets of 1830, 1838, 1843, and 1847; and it was in this great constitutional struggle that the late Count Sechenyi, Count Louis Batthány, (executed in 1849), Deák, Teleky, Klauzál Eötvös, and Vay, made their political apprenticeship with a number of others who are at the head of the agitation in Hungary now. The grand feature in this agitation was that it was carried on without any pressure from below by the class who had hitherto possessed all, and who now wished to share with the other classes; and this class has been reproached by Austrian panegyrists with prejudice and egotism. Only a few of the reform measures proposed could however be carried into effect; for, although carried in the Lower House, they were rejected by the Upper House, where the influence of the Austrian Government and the narrow-mindedness of a part of the titled nobility carried the day.

However, if only few of the reform measures passed, the agitation and discussion of them popularized them by degrees, so that when the Diet met in autumn, 1847, all opposition to the leading principles of them had been given up, and the struggle

was only maintained about the details. Even before the end of the year the discussions showed the determination of the Diet not to be baulked any longer by the Government; and when the revolution broke out in Vienna in March, 1848, the Diet unanimously resolved to send a deputation headed by the Palatine Archduke Stephen himself, as President of the Upper House, to Vienna, and petition King Ferdinand V. to recognise the principles of these reform measures, and thus put an end to the secular struggles between the nation and the dynasty. Vienna was in open revolt when the deputation arrived, and the members of the dynasty shut up in the Burg; but far from making common cause with the revolt, the deputation used all its power to quiet the spirit. It represented the agitated state of Hungary, but guaranteed the maintenance of order and tranquillity, if the wishes of the country were granted. They were not only granted, but King Ferdinand came down by his own free will and sanctioned them solemnly on the 6th of April of the same year.

According to these laws of 1848, on which the Hungarian nation now takes its stand, the government of the country was placed in the hands of an independent Hungarian ministry, responsible to the Diet, the finances were entirely separated from those of the rest of the Empire, and the country paid three millions of florins towards the civil list of the king and for the maintenance of foreign relations. A minister of war was appointed for the formation of a national army, which could not leave the country except with the consent of the Diet. All foreign troops were to be sent out of Hungary. A minister called for foreign affairs was to be near the person of the king, not to direct foreign policy, but to keep up the connexion between the sovereign at Vienna and the Hungarian ministry at Pesth.

The system of deputation by the counties and towns was superseded by a system of representation based on the number of the population. Formerly each county sent two deputies, who had only one vote between them, while the towns altogether had but one vote; now the country was divided into electoral districts and sent 180 representatives, not tied down by instructions from their constituents. Exemption from taxation, which had been until then enjoyed by the nobility, was abolished; the power of possessing landed property, a privilege likewise of the nobility, was extended to all, as well as the liability to conscription for military service. The peasants, who until then had been leaseholders, were made proprietors, and the landlords indemnified by the State according to a fair valuation. These were the chief points of the laws of 1848, the great Reform Bill of Hungary, and whoever reads them will easily understand that Hungary is unanimous in insisting on them.

But there is another even more important consideration which forces even those to demand them who otherwise disapprove of one or another disposition contained in them. They are the last laws legally made by the Diet, and sanctioned by the legitimate legally crowned King of Hungary, and are laws until they are changed by the same legal means. There is no compromise possible on the matter; for if one letter of the statutes from 1027 to 1848 were changed arbitrarily, it would destroy the strength and unity of the whole. It is this clear, legal position, worked as it is by a nation inured in constitutional struggles, which constitutes the strength of Hungary. In vain has the Government held out all kinds of concessions; it could not shake this legal basis to which every one adheres. Having failed in all its endeavours in this respect, the Imperial Government now reverts to its old policy of exciting and fomenting discord. Affecting, as in 1848 and long before, to play the defender of the other populations of the Empire against the tyrannical pretensions of Hungary, it tries to unite them in a league against that country. It seemed from the first rather hopeless, for the eleven years of misgovernment, oppression, and taxation had had their effect not only on the Hungarians, but much more so on the other, above all the Slavonic, populations. Once before called upon by the dynasty, they believed in the fair promises, and seconded the endeavours, of Austria to put down Hungary, and when their services were no more needed, they were reduced under the same centralizing system. The lesson was not lost, and when the agitation began in Hungary, Croats, Serbs, and Roumans joined and fraternized. They had learned that nationality cannot exist for them without self-government, and that helping to crush it in their neighbours is not the way to gain it for themselves. Hence all the crown lands connected with Hungary for eight hundred years came forward with the desire to be united again. In vain did the Government send down to Temesvár Count Mensdorf, under the plea of consulting the populations, but in reality of agitating against the reunion with Hungary. The wish was so clear, that even the Austrian Government could not help recognising it. In vain was the Ban of Croatia ordered to occupy the disputed island of Muraköy, and promise the reunion of Slavonia, Croatia, and Dalmatia, together with Fiume, into a separate kingdom. Like Hungary, Croatia and Slavonia reconstituted their old county system, put themselves into communication with the Hungarian counties, and expressed their wish to renew the secular union. But the Government has not given up the hope of success yet, and has just convoked a national Servian congress, under the presidency of the Patriarch Rajacsics, and, to crown all, has published, on the 27th of April, a constitution for the whole Empire. How far they will succeed in getting up an anti-Hungarian agitation in

the South. remains to be seen; but, in the meantime, the organ of the national party in Servia, the *Gazette* of Belgrade, warns the Servians in Hungary against the snare.

As for the constitution, not a month has passed, and there is little doubt that it has exasperated Hungary and Venetia, that it has been ignored in Croatia and Slavonia, and that it has been very coldly received in the other provinces. We must first recall to the memory of our readers that this is not the first constitution which the Emperor Francis Joseph has solemnly published, and a copy of which he has ordered to be laid in the archives of the Empire. There was one very similar to that one now proclaimed issued on the 4th of March, 1849, while the Hungarian war was going on, and it was all important to gain over the other populations of the Empire. After the end of the war in Hungary, it was simply set aside, and now a second edition is made, in order to rouse again an opposition to Hungary. What guarantee is there that it will not be so again? It is a common complaint that the populations of Austria always distrust the Government. But have they not reason for doing so? They know by history, and have felt it themselves, what Austrian policy has been all along. Why should they believe now that the Government is really sincere in its promises of a free government? Nay, is not the very text of the constitution a new proof that it is nothing more than a blind? It is based on an impossible supposition—namely, that *all* the provincial diets will send representatives to the Assembly of the Empire. When all the world is pressing Austria to sell Venice, when the Venetians are only waiting for the moment of delivery by the arms of Italy, and when the Austrian Government has to keep down the country with 100,000 soldiers, can it be reasonably expected that the provincial Diet of Venetia will send representatives to Vienna? When the Hungarian Aulic-Chancellor Vay, who has been sacrificing his popularity to effect a compromise between the dynasty and the Hungarians, goes away in order not to sign the constitution, when Hungary unanimously insists on the recognition of her legal position, with an independent Diet and Government, could any Government resolved to carry out its promises call Hungarian representatives to the Imperial Assembly? Is it possible to coerce Hungarians and Venetians to elect representatives? But if it were, would they be a true representation? Thus two-fifths of the Empire are sure to refuse the benefit of the constitution; but it is not at all likely that even the Croats and Slavonians will consent to it. They are agitating towards a union with Dalmatia, and a separate sovereign Diet and Government like Hungary. They have, together with Hungary, enjoyed self-government for centuries; and if they cannot have it alone, they will prefer affecting a loose con-

nexion with Hungary to being governed from Vienna, and to join the Hungarian Diet, where they would be one to five, instead of the Imperial Assembly, where they would be one to twelve.

But beside this *prima facie* evidence, showing that the government never could believe in its own constitution, there are others in the document which show equal insincerity of purpose. A majority of two thirds is required for a resolution, which as every practical constitutionalist knows, places in the hands of the government the power to prevent all resolutions distasteful to it. Besides this, not a word is said about ministerial responsibility,—that is all power of directing the policy of the government is denied to the Imperial Assembly.

The new Austrian constitution is doomed to early death, if it be not altogether still-born. It is very questionable whether the heterogeneous elements of which the Austrian Empire is composed, could ever have been made to work together in a common representative assembly, still it may be conceived that a dynasty less consequent in its antiquated notions of divine right, might in process of time, and by an honest liberal policy, have bridged over the wide gulf which separates the Eastern group, comprising Hungary and her crown lands, and brought about a harmony between people so different in laws, customs, language, and ideas, but the *divide et impera* has been always the device of Austria, nay, it is still so. One more chance had kind fate offered to her in 1859. Common subjection had drawn together the kindred populations, and erased the jealousies which the Machiavellian policy of the government had excited. In Venetia alone, things had gone too far to admit of a compromise. No concession could retain her as a willing and contented part of the Empire while a united Italy was formed on the Po and Mincio. All the other difficulties might perhaps even at that eleventh hour have been overcome by fair and honest dealing on the part of the government. The chief of these lay in Hungary; the largest, most discontented portion which had legal right on its side. Had the government, without waiting for pressure, at once recognised and revived this legal right in all its extent and force; had Francis Joseph then convoked the diet and become legally crowned King of Hungary, the nation, proverbial for its own loyalty, might probably have been induced to modify some points of the laws of 1848, with regard to the complete independence and separation of the executive from that of the rest of the Empire. Instead of this, the government began a course of bargaining, using every trick and perfidy to obtain its end, and now tries to create civil war among the populations, and the result is that which the late Lord Macaulay describes as happening to Charles I. “The sure

punishment which waits on habitual perfidy had at length overtaken the king. It was to no purpose that he now pawned his royal word, and invoked heaven to witness the sincerity of his professions. The distrust with which his adversaries regarded him was not to be removed by oath or treaties. They were convinced that they could be safe only when he was utterly helpless." England has succeeded in carrying out this conviction; whether Hungary will be equally successful, and whether she will be so by the same means, are questions of the future. In the meantime the course of action is clearly traced and perfectly understood in the country. Were it not so, the government by its faithlessness would have long ago succeeded in driving the people into open revolt, which would have afforded a pretext for employing the armed force at its command. As it is, the people accustomed to self-government are perfectly aware of the strength which a legal position gives.

The government in its patent of the 20th of October last year, gave permission to re-establish the county system under certain restrictions. The restrictions were disregarded, and the country *en masse* restored the system according to law, and it exists now with the same men, in many cases, in whose hands it was in 1849. The government asks for the taxes, the counties reply that only the taxes imposed by the Diet are lawful. The Government must convoke the Diet, but wants to alter the electoral law, and calls together the preliminary conference at Gran. The conference stands up to a man for the laws which many disapprove, but which can only be changed by the Diet. Despite of this, the change is proclaimed, but the counties representing it as illegal, proceed at this moment to elect their representatives according to the electoral law of 1848.

When once the Diet meets, it will be no more as hitherto a popular, but likewise a true constitutional, struggle: the legally convoked representatives of the nation against the illegal pretensions of the crown. On this struggle depends the existence of Austria as a great power, the final union of Italy, and the peace of Europe.

There is no doubt that the Hungarians will work on the legal ground as long as there is a chance of ultimately succeeding; but it is equally certain that they mean to insist on the points which secure to them self-government, namely, an independent Diet and government. They cannot take less without sacrificing all material and political development, all religious and national freedom.

Hungary is essentially an agricultural country, almost wholly without manufacturing industry, while the Western half of the Empire has an industry fostered by protection. Hungary has a

cheaper government than any other country in the world : all the magistrates in towns and counties having only a nominal salary. Austria is the home of red tape, consequently the most expensive government. Hungary has a spirit of religious tolerance, found nowhere else ; while there are few countries more bigoted than the other Austrian dominions and the Austrian court. Hungary had and required a totally different system of taxation, different laws, social relations, habits, and customs from the rest of the Empire. Supposing the most perfect constitution devised, what chance would there be for the Hungarian minority to frame a legislation and government according to their wants ? The Hungarians have neither the ambition nor the pretension of converting the other parts of the Empire to their mode of thinking ; but surely the honour of belonging to the first-rate state of Austria would not compensate for the loss of everything that is dearest to man. If it did, they might just as well throw themselves into the arms of Russia.

Besides legality and unanimity the Hungarians have one great feature in their favour, and that is time. Austria's present position is untenable. Bankrupt, and yet obliged to keep up a formidable army in case the *ultima ratio* should be invoked, she must press for a solution ; while the Hungarians can wait, as they grow stronger every day. If they hold out, as there can be no doubt they will, Austria must either yield and be content to rule Hungary as Norway is ruled by Sweden, or she must once more have recourse to armed force, and try to rule as she has done since 1849. Supposing even the best case, namely, that the Hungarians do nothing more than continue their passive resistance and their protests, that they remain quiet and let the government rule as it can, it will have to send regiments to collect every florin of the taxes. This is easy enough in isolated cases, but it becomes rather awkward when there is a whole nation which refuses. But supposing the Austrian government more successful than we were some time ago in the West of Ireland, when regiments had to be sent to get 7s. 6d., and did not get it, Austria would fall back into the vicious circle out of which she has been lately driven. She would be paralyzed in all her action, and have to give up her position as a first-rate power, as she has done since 1849. She would have to exhaust her last resources to keep up a ruinous system ; she would have to let her neighbours do as they pleased, and she would invite them to attack her, sure as they would be of finding ready allies in the country.

But with the county organization revived, and after the excitement produced by the struggles in the Diet, it is more than problematical whether the Hungarians will bear quietly the employment of force. It is true they are not prepared in some respects

as they were in 1849; they have few arms, no guns, and no fortresses in their hands, but they have sixty or seventy thousand Hungarian soldiers dispersed over the country, who served in the national army, were afterwards enrolled in the Austrian army, and have now been licensed, besides a proportionate number of officers who learnt the details of their profession forcibly under Austrian colours. In 1849 they were fighting alone and isolated. The Piedmontese, small in number, were beaten at Custoza before the winter campaign in Hungary; they lost at Novara several weeks before the spring campaign began in Hungary. Since then both have learnt to combine; Piedmont has become Italy, and every Italian is watching events in Hungary, well knowing that it is through Hungary that they can alone go into Venetia. The temper of the new Italian parliament has shown that they are too wise to precipitate matters, but, if there should be an outbreak in Hungary, no power will be able to keep back Italy from seizing such an opportunity, which may not again occur.

There is, of course, Prussia and Russia on the other side, but, besides the difficulties which the emancipation of the serfs and the movement in Poland may throw in the way of the latter, intervention on one side must necessarily lead to an intervention on the other, and thus to a general war.

The scene has shifted since last year: the knot is no more in Italy but in the heart of the Empire, and is more complicated by far. The difficulty still remaining on the Po and Mincio may be overcome by the cession of Venetia without any danger to the Empire. Indeed, everyone except Austrian statesmen can see that such a cession is an indispensable condition to a regeneration of Austria. The question there is no more that of a closer or freer connection with the rest of the Empire but of union with the Kingdom of Italy. All links are broken, and brute force alone can keep the reluctant province. Until Venetia is given up no one in Austria will believe that the reign of brute force has passed, and that it is really the intention of the dynasty to adopt a principle as the basis of its government. The solution then is simple enough, and would leave Austria stronger than she is now.

The crisis on the contrary now impending in Hungary and the rest of the Empire, involves the very existence of Austria. Hungary has taken the lead in the present agitation because the most advanced in free institutions, but she has been more or less followed by all the other provinces. The tendency is everywhere the same. National life and self-government is the watchword in every province, and the agitation is decidedly anti-Austrian.

Next to Hungary—Croatia and Slavonia are the loudest in their demands, because educated in the same school of self-

government ever since the 11th century. They had formed two of the so-called crown lands of Hungary, and had as such enjoyed a certain autonomy. They had the same country system as Hungary, possessed a provincial diet besides the right of sending their deputies to the Hungarian diet. Austria's policy in these countries has always been to detach them from Hungary by encouraging a separate national feeling, and to direct it against Hungary. If this policy has been successful, it has not been so in the interest of Austria. The first demand of these provinces was not to have a closer union with Austria; but, on the contrary, to unite with Dalmatia, and form a group for themselves possessing as complete autonomy as Hungary claims. Everything has been conceded in this respect hitherto, in order to make the breach with Hungary wider; but however wide this may become, it will not bridge over the gulf which exists between these provinces and the rest of the Empire. It will, on the contrary, only excite claims more dangerous to the unity of Austria than are those of Hungary. There are the kindred populations of Carinthia and Carniola which have hitherto not participated in the movement, but which will scarcely remain passive long, and will inevitably gravitate rather towards Croatia than Vienna.

The agitation and tendency in the Servian Voyvodina, encouraged as it is by the short-sighted statesmen of Austria, is even far more anti-Austrian than the movement in Croatia. The Voyvodina is entirely of Austrian creation, it did not exist before 1819. Half a dozen counties in the south of Hungary, containing a strong mixture of Servian immigrants from Turkey, were formed into a province in order to weaken Hungary. They have been now reunited again, but the Government tries still to keep up the Servian agitation. It only forgets one circumstance, and this is that the situation has changed in Servia since the Servians of Hungary emigrated. Servia is no more a Turkish pashalik, but to all intents and purposes a free and independent country, towards which the south Slavonic neighbouring countries have a decided tendency. By creating thus a national Servian feeling in the South of Hungary the Austrian Government works perhaps against Hungary, but likewise against a united Austria in the interest of Prince Michael of Servia.

Equally anti-Austrian is the agitation in Transylvania. This latter country was, like Croatia and Slavonia, one of the semi-independent crown lands of Hungary. Of its population of two millions, 700,000 are Hungarian in race, 200,000 are Saxon, and the rest Roumans, speaking the same language as the inhabitants of the Danubian Principalities, and belonging, like these latter, to the Oriental Church. The Hungarians are naturally for re-union with Hungary, the Roumans, if for anything, for a

union with the Danubian provinces, and all, not excepting the Saxons, for complete autonomy and separation from Austria.

It is needless to say what character any free movement, as proposed now by the Constitution, will take in Galicia. If there has been apathy hitherto it arose from a sentiment of weakness and isolation. While Russia held down Poland with her iron grasp, and Prussia was Germanizing Posen, there was little hope for the re-establishment of a Polish nationality. The late events at Warsaw have revived once more the hopes so often deceived. Whichever way things may turn there, whether the Emperor of Russia will really satisfy the cravings of Poland, or whether it will come to a struggle, Galicia looks towards Warsaw, and not towards Vienna. No doubt the government will do everything to have ignorant peasants sent up to the Assembly of the Empire, as it did in 1848 and 1849, but it will never be able to make Galicia Austrian. All her feelings, aspirations, and desires are in an opposite direction. Galicia is another Lombardy, expecting another Piedmont and Italy in the North.

Thus we see in well nigh two-thirds of the Empire, an anti-Austrian tendency manifest itself as soon as the pressure is withdrawn. No one wants to be Austrian. The Hungarian wants to be Hungarian, the Croatian a Croatian, and so on; and each of them is working in that direction, and reckless about what may happen to Austria; and this want of an interest in a united Austria is the greatest of all dangers. The Viennese deputies lately elected for the provincial diet may talk of a united Austria as much as they like, they will not find an echo, or excite the enthusiasm of the non-German populations for it, and without this it is difficult to see how the national aspirations can be reconciled with the unity of the Empire. Thanks to the policy of the dynasty, these different nationalities have learnt to look upon each other with distrust and jealousy like enemies, and now they are to unite in one assembly, and work together as if discord could produce harmony. This is a problem rather more difficult to solve than the remaining part of the Italian question. We have attempted to place it before our readers in its true light, and have now only to point to some conclusions which offer themselves naturally.

The first is the illusive belief still entertained even by cabinet ministers in this country of the necessity of the "great conservative power of Austria in the centre of Europe as a counterpoise to Russia and France." Such a power may be very desirable, nay, necessary, but Austria has not fulfilled this position since 1848. Russia threatened to upset the balance in 1854. She occupied the lower Danube—the great artery of Austria—and the latter was forced into inactivity, for if she declared for the Western

Powers her populations would have made a diversion in favour of Russia, and in the contrary case they would have assisted the western powers. Had Austria really been what she pretended to be, would it have been necessary for the two Western Powers to sacrifice millions of money and thousands of soldiers to do what she ought to have done? Yet Austria is a great Power! In 1859 the Emperor of the French found it convenient to make some alterations in the Treaty of 1815 especially distasteful to his people and to his dynasty, and he found a ready opportunity for it in the discontent of Italy, which was threatening to become a focus of revolution. He interfered in the interest of conservatism against Austria, and neither Austria nor anyone else could help it. Yet Austria is a conservative Power! He may have some further alterations to make in that distasteful Treaty of 1815, and Hungary and Italy wait only his nod to support his conservative policy; or Russia may find it time to renew the Eastern question, and Hungary and the Slavonic populations will be ready to second her. Austria has been powerless, not only to help others, but to save herself. Anyone can get up a revolution in her dominions at a moment's notice. She excites now her populations to a civil war; yet Austria is a great and conservative power—so blind politicians still believe!

The second practical conclusion is that Austria has become a nuisance, and that it is urgent to put an end to this state of things in the interest of the peace of Europe. All counsels given to Austria to satisfy her populations, which she can even now satisfy, and to get rid of Venetia, have been disregarded; nay, she is now doing everything to drive both Hungarians and Italians to despair without contenting even her other populations. It is high time to give up countenancing her, and thus allow the populations to solve the problem in which they are so deeply interested. The principle of non-intervention is in the mouth of every one in England, and it is the true principle by which the problem in Austria can alone be worked out; but England cannot be said to apply it when a Cabinet minister speaks of his hope that the great conservative power of Austria will be preserved. It is taken as support by the Austrian Government, and as an expression of hostility by the populations. England ought to observe rigidly the principle of non-intervention herself before she can expect others to do so. Let her leave Austria to her fate, and induce others to follow her example. This is not so impossible as is usually supposed; for each of the Powers whose interference may be apprehended, would pause before interfering if England were *now* to lay down the principle, that what is just on the Po is so likewise on the Danube. When the crisis once comes it will be too late for this policy, and England will either be drawn

into the struggle or she will be set aside—as was done in Italy in 1859.

Now she might still succeed in averting the danger and localizing the struggle. Every one of the Powers, if asked at this moment, would probably disclaim any intention on its part to enter into the domestic struggles of Austria, and would make any future step in this respect dependent from the attitude of other rival Powers. Prussia, above all, with her apprehensions about the Rhine, can scarcely desire to meddle in a matter not concerning her, and thus to conjure up the very danger against which she has been crying out; it would, therefore, not seem difficult to induce her to stand up for the principle of non-intervention which would be her own safeguard. On the other hand, the Emperor of the French, who has so lately declared that the policy of France is non-interference, and the principles of his government liberal, could scarcely refuse to join England and Prussia in their representations to Russia, and thus leave to this latter no other alternative but to join the rest. At any rate, we feel assured that if England were to practise and agitate the principle of non-intervention in the affairs of Austria, she might, without much difficulty, obtain partial pledges from all Powers whose interference might be apprehended. It is true pledges might be broken and have been broken; but in this case there would be some hesitation on every side to come forward as the disturber of the peace of Europe—to be the first to light up a general conflagration.

Such a policy would, besides, more than anything else, contribute to bring Austria to a speedy compromise with her populations, if this be still possible; or else, in case of a struggle, would finish the latter within the shortest time and with the least amount of disturbance to the rest of the world; thus bringing about, in short, the solution of a question which threatens all Europe.

Circumstances are such that the most important consideration for Europe is no longer what the solution is to be of this Austrian knot, but that there should be some kind of a solution. The question is,—not whether a free, united, strong Austria is more calculated to insure the balance of power in central Europe, than a Danube confederation of a part of that empire; but whether an end should not be made to a state of things fraught with danger, and threatening to bring about a complication and renewal of the whole Eastern question. The solution is not a matter of choice, but one of urgent necessity. This must be well impressed on the mind, in order not to be biassed and frightened by the uncertain future.

The struggle itself, if there is to be one, will, if left alone, work out the problem—what may be substituted in place of Austria. The elements of which the Empire is composed will not disap-

pear, but become, on the contrary, developed according to their capacity. Those which have most vitality will take the lead, and those which are homogeneous or analogous will unite, casting out the others which are too different. The whole attitude on the part of the nationalities ought to reassure the timid. If the Government is weak, it is because the nationalities are too strong and too full of life, and will no longer be managed by others, but follow their own bent of mind. It is as if Providence had placed there the House of Austria to shield these small nationalities, while they were too feeble to sustain themselves. They feel now their strength and claim their own. Not less vain is the fear that such a struggle might degenerate into a war of all against all. No doubt, the Austrian Government has done and is doing everything to bring about this result; but once its mischievous hand withdrawn, old sympathies and associations will make themselves felt where they are real. There may be misunderstandings, difficulties; but the populations, besides many other things, have learnt that they are only alternately used against each other.

This is especially the case between Hungary and the Crown lands of Croatia, Slavonia, and Transylvania. Eight centuries of brotherhood and share in free institutions have established a link between them which will always draw them together as natural allies, and place them there as a new centre of fifteen millions. Both parties have grown wiser by adversity, and are ready to make those mutual concessions which are required for their union. The importance of a good understanding is so much felt, that all the best men in these countries have made the effecting of it one of their chief problems. Once this centre established by a free federation, leaving each component part in full possession of internal self-government, the Slavonian serf or Rouman will no more look towards his kindred in the Turkish Empire, as now, with the desire of changing place with them; but will, on the contrary, stretch out his hand to invite them to partake of the national freedom he himself possesses; while the Christian populations of the Turkish Empire will not only have a choice between the two evils, Russia and Turkey, as they alone have now, but likewise the chance of developing their own national existence in union with their own kindred.

Such a union will be a true conservative Power on the Danube a barrier against Russia, and otherwise more formidable than Austria has shown herself to be. Numerically, such a State might be weaker, and unsuited for offensive purposes; but for defensive purposes it would be far stronger than any other organization. Surely such a prospect, in case of a struggle—a struggle which it is in no one's power to avert—is worth considering.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

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THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

WHATEVER theories may be held in some quarters concerning a supernatural Inspiration of the Biblical writings, it must be universally conceded, that no special Providence has watched over their preservation. And the variations of existing manuscripts, both of the Old and New Testaments, with the differences between the Septuagint and the Hebrew texts of the Old Testament, and between the Hebrew and the Samaritan Pentateuch, only reveal to us the later stages of a process of disintegration, which must have been in operation from the time of their original composition. Collations of manuscripts and the philological criticism of the existing text, can only pretend to restore it approximatively, as it was about the time when the earliest of those manuscripts were written. It belongs to conjectural and internal criticism to repair some of the losses of the previous period : it cannot indeed bring to light again that which has actually perished ; it can only adjust parts and remedy dislocations.

Of this kind of critical work, we have a good example in Herr von Gumpach's restoration and illustration of the Prophecies of Habakkuk.¹ With but few transpositions, they fall evidently into two scenes. In the one is presented a scene of invasion, revealed as a punishment due to the sins of the people ; in the other, a scene of deliverance and of the expulsion of the invaders. In both cases the horizon of the prophet is very bounded, and he proclaims events which were already casting their shadows before. The inquiry, however, of chief interest in the author's prefatory matter concerns the identification of the invading people called Chaldeans, *Chasdim*. It is remarkable that—with the exception of Genesis, xi. 28, 31 ; xv. 7 ; Job, i. 17, setting aside for the present Hab. i. 6—all the passages in which this name occurs are of the date of, or subsequent to, the exile. There are indeed five texts in Isaiah where the word occurs, of which three are found in the portion now generally acknowledged by critics to belong to a second Isaiah, of the age of the Captivity : the others are xiii. 19, xxiii. 13, which are likewise esteemed, though not as yet so generally, to be interpolations in the place where they are now found. In all these places either the people of the Chaldeans—*i.e.*, the Babylonians—or the priestly class so called, must be meant. With neither of these can be identified the *Chasdim* of Habakkuk, a swift riding and plunder-

¹“Der Prophet Habakuk.” Nach dem grundlich revidirten, zum erstenmale in seiner ursprunglichen Verbindung wiederhergestellten hebraischen Text auf's neue übersetzt, eingeleitet und erklärt von Johannes von Gumpach. London : George Manwaring, 1860.

ing race, suddenly appearing on the historic scene, and as suddenly disappearing. But they can be identified with the Scythians who overran the greater part of Asia, penetrating as far as Egypt, B.C. 650-622, and whose return through Judæa would fall in with the fourteenth year of Josiah. The present work comprises the Hebrew text, as reinstated by the author, together with his own version and those of De Wette, Ewald, Delitsch, and Umbreit. There is added a body of valuable critical notes.

The purpose of the Rev. Mr. Macdonald in his *Introduction to the Pentateuch*² is to vindicate it as the genuine work of Moses, together with its inspiration and the authenticity of its supernatural narratives; and to show moreover how it becomes, when so regarded, an integral portion of that revelation which culminates in the manifestation of the Divine Redeemer. In undertaking to establish that the Pentateuch is properly speaking the work of Moses, he has two points to make good; 1, its unity, in opposition to different hypotheses according to which it is a compilation out of pre-existing documents; 2, its antiquity, both relatively to the other Biblical writings, and absolutely, so as to attach it to the historical person of Moses himself. Hence he would infer its authority or literal truth, both in respect to its miraculous and non-miraculous histories. The first of these points he discusses at considerable length, and shows, with fair success, that none of the documentary hypotheses are so far satisfactory, as to account for all the phenomena of the case: and it is not likely that at this distance of time, with no prospect of any discovery of manuscripts which could throw light upon it, any hypothesis will be more than partially explanatory of all the circumstances belonging to the Pentateuchal writings. Nor, indeed, does the assumption in which the author rests of the inspiration of Moses account for the facts better than some documentary hypothesis would; it only precludes the necessity of further inquiry on the part of those who adopt it. In like manner the main facts of the Jewish history are not more consistent with the miraculous events said to have attended the Exodus, than they would be with a coming out of the people "with a high hand," yet without any supernatural interference. The second volume is occupied with a description of the various providential ends, for which the author presumes the Pentateuch to have been designed, which are the revelation of God by himself; the declaration of the condition of man in his origin, fall, and restoration; the intimation of redemption and of a future life; and the preparation of an instrumentality, by means of a chosen people, for bringing in the Gospel. These subjects are treated in a moderate evangelical tone; and there are in the concluding chapters some sensible observations on the extreme literalism of those who still expect to see an accomplishment of the Hebrew Prophecies in a temporal sense.

² "Introduction to the Pentateuch." An Inquiry, critical and doctrinal, into the genuineness, authority, and design of the Mosaic Writings. By the Rev. Donald Macdonald, M.A., author of "Creation and the Fall." 2 vols. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1861.

Few travellers in Egypt,³ says Mr. Foulkes Jones, pay much attention to the "religious uses of Egyptology." It is the object of his work to supply that omission in some degree and in a popular form. By "religious uses," indeed, he means his readers to understand confirmation of the Bible history. Of the general confirmation, or rather illustration, of the Biblical writings, from the observation or the record of Oriental manners, there can be no doubt, and this kind of illustration applies to the earlier, or supposed earlier, parts of the Pentateuchal narrative, as well as to scenes in the subsequent books. But when we come to actual confirmation of events, the case is very different. Our author indeed shows, that on some points Von Bohlen and others may have been too hasty, as in denying that the Israelites ever were in Egypt, on the ground that brick-making was not practised there, whereas it appears undoubted from pictorial representations, that in some parts of the country it was. This, however, goes but little way towards establishing the actual fact of the slavery of the Israelites, much less the date of the Exodus, much less the supernatural character of the events with which it is said to have been accompanied. There is, however, another point of greater interest in the contrast presented by the Egyptian theology and that delivered in the Law of Moses, and which deserves somewhat more attention than it has as yet received. It is well known that the absence of the doctrine of immortality from the Law of Moses was insisted on in a paradoxical way by Bishop Warburton as an evidence of the Divine mission of that lawgiver. Few will admit the bishop's inference: but fewer still deny the fact upon which he founds it. Moses—whoever he be—appeals to temporal sanctions, and allowing the most that can be made of Matt. xxii. 32, holds out no prospect of a judgment to come. It is inconceivable that a person "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians" should have done this—that the doctrine should neither have been employed as the seal of his code, nor have emerged distinctly, as taken for granted in the course of his whole history. Mr. Jones says, "with a true understanding of man's nature and destiny, the Egyptians thought this world was just a passage to another—time was the vestibule to eternity." And then again, "it is no less true that the doctrine has no place in the system of Moses, neither is it referred to in his writings." He proposes as a solution that the world at large was not yet ripe for the doctrine, that the Jewish people were still to be treated as children and educated by a temporal government; that "the religion of Egypt lay too much in the future"—"the mind of Egypt went too fast"—so that the office of Moses in the world's economy would appear to have been to put back the clock; and then we have the knot cut in the usual way—"However strange the omission may appear at first sight, all it really proves is, that Moses received no revelation from heaven touching the matter; and being thus the result of a divine plan, we are bound to acquiesce in it as wise, politic, and good."—p. 236.

³ "Egypt in its Biblical Relations and Moral Aspect." By J. Foulkes Jones, B.A. London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1860.

The materials for Mr. Drew's work on "Scripture Lands,"⁴ were collected during a more leisurely journey in Egypt, Arabia, and Palestine, than is possible for most travellers in those regions. There is to be met with in it a great deal of useful and interesting geographical information. But its value is much lessened by reason of its having been undertaken not in a spirit of impartial observation and inquiry. The author considers that the claims of Scripture as an authentic revelation are now fully established, and that all which remains to be done is to bring out the Scriptural narratives in higher and bolder relief; to give them additional emphasis by means of the illustrations derivable from travel in the Scripture lands. Mr. Drew also anticipates the restoration of the Jew to his own land, when it will become the centre of adoring nations.

Dr. Moore adds his name to the list of those who have lost themselves in the search for the lost tribes of Israel.⁵ He considers that the world owes but little to the master spirits of the classical peoples, every permanently good influence to the Hebrew race. He supposes the tribes of the Israelitish captivity to have wandered into the far East, to have been the originators of the Buddhist doctrines, and, at least, to have mixed their blood with those Indo-Germanic tribes, the Getae and Saeæ, Goths and Saxons, from whom we are ourselves sprung; so that the Western Christians are found to be of the seed of Abraham, both in a fleshly and in a spiritual sense. The author undertakes to transliterate into a sort of Hebrew the celebrated rock and pillar inscriptions of India. It is a very wild and fanciful book, and an example of much misapplied learning and research.

The portion of Professor Lassen's most valuable work⁶ which is now published, embraces the history of the Deccan, of the countries continuous on India, such as Burmah, Siam, and the islands, Ceylon, Java, and Sumatra, from A.D. 319 through the Mohammedan period to the settlement of the Portuguese. A great interest attaches to the ethnology of the Deccan and of Southern India, because, with the exception principally of the Mahrattas and the Gujerattees, the inhabitants are not of the same Aryan race as the Hindustanees. They have been driven forward by the invasion of a superior people; and the evidences of the distinction are found in language, in religion, in social constitution, and in peculiar caste-institutions. It is difficult to account for the very abject condition of some of the castes in Malabar, unless

⁴ "Scripture Lands, in connexion with their history;" with an Appendix, and extracts from a Journal kept during an Eastern tour in 1856, 1857. By G. S. Drew, M.A., Incumbent of St. Barnabas, South Kennington; author of "Revealed Economy of Heaven and Earth," &c., &c. London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1860.

⁵ "The Lost Tribes and the Saxons of the East and of the West, with new views of Buddhism, and translations of rock-records in India." By George Moore, M.D., Member of the Royal College of Physicians, London, &c. London: Longmans, 1861.

⁶ "Indische Alterthumskunde, von Christian Lassen, ord. Prof. d. altindischen Sprache und Litteratur an d. königlich. Preussischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Bonn." Vierten Bandes erste Hälfte: Geschichte des Dekkans, Hinterindiens und des Indischen Archipels von 319 n. C.G. bis auf die Muhammedaner und die Portugiesen. London: Williams and Norgate, 1861.

we suppose them to be remnants of an aboriginal population overlaid not by one only, but by successive invasions of conquering races.

The second part of Mr. Muir's instructive collection of Sanskrit authorities and illustrations,⁷ is devoted principally to showing that the Hindus were not indigenous in India, but immigrated into it from some part of Central Asia, where their ancestors were the fathers also of the Persians, Greeks, and Romans, Germans and Slavonians. They were at, or soon after, their immigration into the land of the seven waters, the Sanskrit-speaking people, whose earliest hymns are preserved in the Rig-Veda. They have thus a double aspect towards the South-east and towards the West. They are obviously connected by many affinities of language, and common characteristics of institutions and religion, with the European peoples, and contrasted in the same way with the Dravidian races of the south of India. Mr. Muir had already shown, in the former part of his work, that the institution of caste, in its Brahmanical forms, did not belong to the Hindus originally; it grew up, partly from the gradual formation of a priestly order in the Vedic period, partly from the relation between the conquering Aryas and the conquered Dasyus, or barbarians, partly, in fine, from the revolution which set the Brahmanical order above the Kshattriyas. Now one object, we apprehend, that Mr. Muir has in view in his undertaking this work for use in India, is to show the superior castes that there is reason for supposing they are connected by blood with the Europeans, who have in modern times appeared among them as a dominant people. As a speculative point, this must certainly be one of great interest to the learned Brahmans, and possibly may tend to break down some of their religious prejudices; what the political effect might be of such knowledge it is impossible to foresee, and it would be altogether premature to discuss it.

The phenomenon of Puritanism⁸ in this country has often been looked upon as if it were only a fanatical and extreme phase of the Reformation. Fanaticism, no doubt, there was in it, but the Reformation would not have been complete without it. Indeed, the great moral and religious Revolution in England, which was necessary before the modern state of society could replace the old, was accomplished rather in the seventeenth than in the sixteenth century. In the Elizabethan Church, "although the monasteries were suppressed and the power of the Pope denied the intellectual and moral spirit of the church was but little changed, and the old festivals and order of service remained

⁷ "Original Sanskrit Texts on the Origin and History of the People of India, their Religion, and Institutions." Collected, translated into English, and illustrated by Remarks. Chiefly for the use of students and others in India. By J. Muir, Esq., D.C.L., late of the Bengal Civil Service. Part Second. "The trans-Malayan origin of the Hindus, and their affinity with the Western branches of the Arian race." London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1860.

⁸ "English Puritanism and its Leaders, Cromwell, Milton, Baxter, Bunyan." By John Tulloch, D.D., Principal and Professor of Theology, St. Mary's College, in the University of St. Andrews, and one of H.M. Chaplains in Ordinary in Scotland. Author of "Leaders of the Reformation," &c. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1861.

very much the same. But with Puritanism arose a fundamental difference of opinion, and this difference soon worked itself into all the forms of religious service and all the relations of social life.”—p. 211. To illustrate this essential part of the Reformation in the southern part of the island is the design of Principal Tulloch’s “English Puritanism.” The typical characters which he presents for this purpose are those of Cromwell, Milton, Baxter, and Bunyan. It need not be said, that his estimate of Cromwell is very different from that which was customary and traditional before Mr. Carlyle’s great work.

“Cromwell,” Dr. Tulloch sums up, “was no hypocrite and no mere enthusiast. He was simply the greatest Englishman of his time; the most powerful, if not the most perfect, expression of its religious spirit, and the master-genius of its military and political necessities. This is the only consistent and adequate explanation of his career. Every such time of revolution must find its representative and hero, the mirror and minister of its necessities, but at the same time the master of them. Had Cromwell been less religious, he never would have become a centre of influence in such a time. Not even the subtlest and most profound dissimulation would have made him so. Had he been merely religious—had the Godward tendency absorbed his being, and become a disease of fanaticism rather than a stimulant of patriotism, then his incipient influence would have crumbled to pieces in his grasp, and his power have gone from him as soon as he tried to exercise it. It was not merely because he represented his time, but because he rose above it—because religion was in him the nurture of transcendent abilities, the baptism and ever renewing life of heroic energies, that he became what he was and accomplished what he did.”—p. 160.

The description of Milton, of his peculiar character and influence upon the development of the Puritan element in the national religion, is, perhaps, the most successful in the book. Milton’s character is on many sides most unamiable; his theology a severe Calvinism, moderated by no natural catholicity of temperament; and he manifested, both in his political and social relations, an entire absence of charity towards those who differed from his party or offended himself. Dr. Tulloch also appreciates very well the influence which Milton’s great poem has exercised upon popular Protestantism; but he says, we think justly, that attentive readers of the “Paradise Lost” will not find the aspect of the “Son” as there presented inconsistent with the Arianism or semi-Arianism of the treatise “*De Doctrinâ Christianâ*.” He might have added that the imagery under which the “Father” is described in the poem is only a reflex of a doctrine of anthropomorphism in the treatise, which would startle even our most extreme Evangelical literalists.

“If there are other characters,” says our author, in conclusion, “that more elicit our affection, there is none in our past history that more compels our homage. We behold in him at once the triumph of genius and the unwavering control of principle. He is the intellectual hero of a great cause; he is also the purest and loftiest, if not the broadest, poetic spirit in our literature. If there is harshness mingling with his strength, and a certain narrowness and rigidity in his grandeur, the most varied tastes and the widest oppositions of opinion have yet combined to recognise in John Milton one of the highest impersonations of poetic and moral greatness of which our race can boast.”—p. 278.

Baxter represents the Puritan pastor of that age, devoted, earnest, and single-minded; misled, nevertheless, by Calvinistic theories as to the applicability of Genevan principles to the regulation of every-day life. The attempt to exercise a surveillance over the whole conduct of the Christian citizen, in the minutest particulars, which was carried out to a great extent both at Geneva and in Scotland, never met with success in England. "After looking into Baxter's 'Christian Directory,' one can understand how intolerable life would have been made had the stricter form of Puritanism preserved its power, and had it all its own way." The life of Baxter is the least interesting in this collection. He partakes neither of the mighty practical power of Cromwell, nor of the lofty intellectuality of Milton, although he is mixed up to some extent with the course of public events. Nor, again, are we attracted to him as we are to Bunyan, by reason of the warmth, gentleness, and charity of his spirit, and of his long unmerited persecutions.

With Bunyan the history of Puritanism passes altogether into that of Nonconformity, although Baxter was one of the 2000 ministers of the Church of England who were driven into dissent by the passing of the Act of Uniformity in 1662. With Bunyan we follow Puritanism into the shade, and it is long before an equal toleration enables it to emerge again as a political power in the State.

As to the general execution of this volume of Dr. Tulloch's, it manifests more research, more painstaking, than its predecessor; its details are more complete, and its language more precise and guarded. Nor do we miss altogether the open expression of that liberal spirit which gave so much promise in the earlier volume of a treatment of ecclesiastical history in the true light of modern observation. We trust the northern Professor, as he becomes more popular, will not tend to become more safe.

From the time of the Reformation⁹ till the middle of the last century Holland was one of the countries most distinguished for a Protestant literature, and it exercised a great influence on the theology of Europe. As it has become more isolated politically, its literary and theological fame has declined. Formerly the Latin language was the universal medium of communication between European scholars. Since the vernaculars have superseded it, a country like the Netherlands, of which the language is little known beyond its own boundaries, has ceased to hold the public position which it is really entitled to. The same isolation prevents, in some degree, the operation upon such a country of opinions which may be current elsewhere. It is extremely interesting, therefore, to observe that the religious mind of Holland has been agitated of late years by the very same questions which had previously been raised in Germany. And it may also be noticed that theological inquiry and agitation is still driven in great part along a like

⁹ "La Crise religieuse en Hollande." *Souvenirs et Impressions*; Par D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, l'un des pasteurs de l'Eglise Wallonne de Leyde. London. Williams and Norgate, 1860.

path to that which it followed in the neighbouring country, naturally, however, and spontaneously, not by imitation.

The theological condition in Holland, for the first thirty or forty years of this century, corresponded in great degree to that which is known colloquially in England as the old-fashioned system of the *high and dry*. The Scriptures were explained in a plain practical way, with little real appeal to the heart; the supernatural admitted, without either question or *raisonné*; the dogmatic teaching of the church maintained, without any attempt to penetrate into the ideas lying hid beneath it, or to trace its organic growth. From this state a Revival of religion, of the Methodist type, was prepared by the popular poet Bilderdijk, who died in 1831. The strength of this movement lay among the less educated classes, while among the higher orders was introduced another form of Evangelicalism, after the type represented in France and Switzerland by M. Adolphe Monod and M. J. H. Merle d'Aubigné. The middle class was not much affected by either form of the religious Revival. The friends, however, of this latter movement organized themselves in 1845 into a society—*La Réunion des amis chrétiens*—which held its sittings at Amsterdam, under the presidency of M. Groen von Prinsterer, in connexion with which was set on foot an organ of the press entitled *De Vereeniging*.

At first this Revival was “neither Calvinist, Lutheran, nor Mennonite, but Christian.” It did not set up as its standard the decisions of Dordrecht, but the “Word of God,” which it was thought would supply a sufficient rule of faith to truly Christian brethren. But a cause of separation soon betrayed itself, not on a doctrinal, but on a church question, namely, respecting the true principle of church communion; whether it were the Baptist or Calvinistic, or that of the Lutheran and other Evangelical bodies. We must pass over entirely some ecclesiastical disputes with which the speculative movements which ensued became complicated, although they would not be without interest in England at the present time. But the school which first emerged into influence, after the first agitation of the waters by the Methodist Revivals, was that of Groningen, under the leadership of Van Heusde, of Utrecht. He published, in 1831, “*L'école Socratique pour le 19ième Siècle*,” attempting to set Christianity on a Platonic basis, while casting off the logical inferences of the scholastic period. The doctrine of this school was a kind of mystic Arianism, but with a practical and philanthropic side.

“La théologie de Groningue révélait un besoin, qu'elle ne satisfait pas. En face d'une christologie défectueuse, la seule déclaration que Christ était le centre de la vie Chrétienne comme de la théologie était un incontestable progrès. En présence des grandes lacunes de la théorie de la régénération et de l'œuvre du Saint-Esprit, c'était encore un progrès que de vouloir imprimer à l'Église un caractère d'actualité, et de la considérer, non comme une institution, mais comme une société, le corps du Christ vivant.”—p. 72.

The ethical school has next to be noticed, at the head of which are named M. Beets, M. Deedes, and M. Van Oosterzee. A society was constituted denominated *Sérieux et Paix*, represented by a journal of the same title. To this party, with some modifications, M. Chante-

pie himself belongs. Science and theology are reconciled in its doctrine, and psychology, to some extent at least, conciliated with Methodism. It holds an ethical divine immanence, no less differing from the pantheistic immanence than from the supernaturalist transcendancy. This society was fully formed in 1852. But, meanwhile, after the death of Van Heusde, the founder of the Groningen school, his professorial chair at Utrecht was filled (1845) by M. Opzoomer. His inaugural discourse, "La réconciliation de l'homme avec lui-même par l'intermédiaire de la philosophie," is described as having raised a storm in the Netherlands similar to that which in Germany followed the publication of Strauss's "Life of Jesus." He described the age of faith as the age of infancy, doubt as the awakening of the spirit, and philosophy as the reconciliation of his spiritual powers. His doctrine in its more developed form amounted to this—that the religious and moral sentiments in men are as real as are the results of sensation, and furnish the basis on which true religion and morality may be reconstructed. He has many affinities with the ethical school. His empirical observation of the facts of the moral nature connect his system on another side with the determinism of M. Scholten, between whom, however, and M. Opzoomer at one time there were vehement polemics. M. Scholten's method is inductive; but assuming an idea of God, the problem he proposes is to observe the phenomena of the Divine manifestations. His great works, "On the Doctrine of the Reformed Church and its Fundamental Principles," and on the "Comparative History of Philosophy and Religion," have not been translated. There has been much controversy between the Leyden Professor and the author of the work now before us, and a more favourable view of Scholten's labours will be found in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, 15 June, 1860, which may well be compared with the account which we are now noticing. But we must quote the following comparison between the Tübingen and Leyden schools of theology:—

"Les résultats religieux auxquels arrive l'école de Tübingue sont assez en rapport avec les tendances de l'idéalisme hollandais. De même que cette école, les disciples de M. Scholten veulent une religion qui soit indépendante des faits historiques. Mais l'école de Tübingue appuie cette prétention sur le système philosophique dont elle est issue: sa critique a pour base le christianisme spéculatif de Hegel. Mais l'idéalisme de M. Scholten, qui semble flotter entre le déisme et le panthéisme, n'a nullement la portée du système de Hegel, et ne l'autorise, sous aucun rapport, à prendre, à l'endroit du miracle, une détermination quelconque. Son indifférence sur ce point accuse son impuissance absolue à expliquer les phénomènes de la vie religieuse et le fait chrétien."—p. 179.

It is, indeed, on this very question of the supernatural or miraculous that the chief theological controversies are now running in Holland. M. Kuennen, for instance, a first-rate Orientalist of the University of Leyden, rejects altogether the ordinary notion of the inspiration of the Hebrew prophets, as if their mission had been to predict coming events of history, or more especially to foretell, some centuries beforehand, certain accessory circumstances of the life of Jesus. The prophets were preachers, according to him, rather than foretellers; and when

they do foretell, their predictions are bounded by their immediate horizon.—(*Revue des deux Mondes*, p. 953.) And M. Chantepie himself well observes, that Pelagian views on the subject of regeneration and conversion are naturally complemented by a doctrine of mundane development, which has no place for the supernatural—or rather, the *super-divine*—in the processes of the universe; while Augustinianism, which acknowledges interference as the source of the spiritual life in the individual man, will readily admit it in the scheme of history.

We are rejoiced, after the senseless clamour, and after all the ecclesiastical alarm which has been raised about “*Essays and Reviews*,”¹⁰ to find that one clergyman at least has had the courage to say a few very pertinent words in their defence. There has always been, we must allow, a principle of liberality in the English Church: and on many points persons of eminence in that communion have spoken out with nearly as much boldness as the “*Essayists*” in their collective volume. Dr. Wild produces some of these instances, in a telling way, from Bishop Marsh, Bishop Van Mildert, Dean Milman, Dean Alford, the present Bishop of Hereford, and, above all, from Archdeacon Paley, whose latitude of subscription goes quite as far as any which the *Essayists* claim or act upon; thus disposing of the invidious part of the charge with which the opponents of free inquiry have endeavoured to silence our truth-seekers. And speaking of the celebrated manifesto, Dr. Wild says, most justly,—

“This address displays want of common fairness. For to denounce the ‘*Essays*’ in its first paragraph as essentially at variance with our formularies, and their authors as dishonest,—and then in the following paragraph to say that they (the Bishops) are still considering whether there is anything in them which the Ecclesiastical Courts can take cognizance of,—is certainly a remarkable instance of proceeding to judgment before trial, and discloses singular notions of equity. If a judgment is not according to law, it is worth nothing; the reproof of an Apostle to a Church-ruler of his time instinctively rises to our lips. ‘Sittest thou to judge me after the law, and commandest me to be stricken contrary to the law?’”—p. 32.

A few pages just published, entitled “*Essays and Reviews Anticipated*,”¹¹ will also remind the literary public of some of the antecedents of a dignitary who is now one of the most vehement persecutors of persons as learned and hitherto more consistent than himself. It is certainly among the most remarkable circumstances attending the clamour which has been raised about a celebrated book, that the very clergyman who introduced “*Schleiermacher on St. Luke*” to the English reader, has become, perhaps, the fiercest denouncer, at least, one of the two fiercest denouncers, of “*Rationalism*” in his clerical brethren.

¹⁰ A brief Defence of the “*Essays and Reviews*,” showing, by extracts from their works, that similar doctrines have been maintained by eminent Divines and living Dignitaries of our Church. By George J. Wild, LL.D., Vicar of Dodderhill with Elnbridge. London: Robert Hardwicke, 1861.

¹¹ “*Essays and Reviews*” anticipated: Extracts from a work published in the year 1825, and attributed to the Lord Bishop of St. David’s. London: G. Manwaring, 1861.

Mr. Girdlestone¹² has been for a long while a consistent advocate of Liturgical Revision. Perhaps for broaching the subject many years ago he may have fallen somewhat into the "cold shade" of the ecclesiastical aristocracy. He now reappears with a pamphlet, very sensible in itself, which he hangs upon the peg of "Negative Theology." We doubt very much whether the "seven academicians" would admit that he has given, at p. 5, a fair view of the purport and tendencies of what they have written. But he observes that—

"In the present state of society, our Church formularies being what they are, no mode of persecution by any form of law will avail to put down Negative Theologians. The attempt will probably be made by the zealots of one or other, or of both the principal parties in the church. But, as long as it is notorious that these interpret, each after their own fashion, their own canonical and ritual obligations, they will not be allowed to preclude others from taking a like liberty with theirs."—p. 10.

As the Tractarian and the Evangelical can both find room under the same Thirty-nine Articles, it would be unfair to deny a like liberty to the Neologian. And, as these formal Subscriptions and Declarations are thus found to be practically inoperative, and capable of admitting persons of most opposite views, it would be better and more straightforward to abolish them as tests, and to endeavour to unite the Christian congregation in the use of a Liturgy really composed upon a scriptural basis.

Another effective pamphlet¹³ is before us on the subject of Liturgical Revision by a veteran Church Reformer, Mr. Christopher Nevile. He is quite aware that it is useless to appeal to the Bishops or Convocation, or even to the Houses of Parliament, in the first instance; and that the only hope of the subject being effectually taken up lies in rendering the question at issue really intelligible to the people at large. It is for the nation first of all to understand what the doctrines are which the ministers of the nationally endowed Church are retained to teach, and then to ask themselves whether they desire this kind of teaching to continue? Ought, for instance, the nation to tolerate that the public property should be applied to propagate the doctrine of the Ninth Article of Religion, that every one born into the world "deserves God's wrath and damnation?" Or, rather, the intelligent laity should put to themselves the alternative in some such way as this:—"If our Prayer Book, with its priestly absolution, its damnatory clauses, and its sacramental theory is *true*, it ought to be faithfully preached, be the consequences to ourselves what they may. The whole of the Church endowments are far too dearly bought by the betrayal of our trust. If, on the other hand, these parts of our Church System are *false*, they ought to be *honestly* and *unequivocally* abandoned."—p. 15.

¹² "Negative Theology, an Argument for Liturgical Revision." By Charles Girdlestone, M.A., Rector of Kingswinford, and sometime Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. London: Longman and Co., 1861.

¹³ "A Letter to Lord Ebury on the Present State of the Church." By the Rev. Christopher Nevile. London: James Ridgway, 1861.

No mere revision, however, would meet all the difficulties of the case—for it is absurd to suppose that any formularies could be drawn up to which 18,000 ministers could equally give more than a formal and legal assent. And the stringency of the Caroline Act of Uniformity lies at the very root of the evil. Revision must therefore be accompanied with relaxation. Mr. Neville proposes also that the popular or congregational element should, to some extent at least, be recognised in the Church; if, for instance, two-thirds of the inhabitants of every parish petitioned, for three years following, for the removal of the minister, his preferment should be declared vacant. This, or something like it, would be more likely to work effectually than appeals to police authorities, ecclesiastical courts, or episcopal manifestos.

Several years ago Mr. Macnaught proved plainly enough, in his work on the "Inspiration of Scripture," that whatever that term might mean, and however it may be retained as describing the collective phenomena of the Biblical writings, it cannot include in its significance the absence from them of all error. He made this plain to ordinary understandings; and we are not aware that his positions have been effectually controverted. But there appears to have been a running fire of controversy kept up in Liverpool between him and the extreme Literalists with which that place abounds. The opponents of the more rational view of "Inspiration" have been stimulated by the appearance of "Essays and Reviews" into renewed attacks upon critical and interpretative freedom. To one of these, by Dr. M'Neile, Mr. Macnaught replied by challenging that gentleman to an open discussion—a test which was not accepted,—and judgment was so far suffered to go by default in favour of the positions maintained in the Lecture noted below.¹⁴ It is therein shown that the Bible nowhere calls itself "the Word of God," and that it nowhere claims "infallibility" for itself; moreover, that it is not actually infallible; as, for instance, in the matters of several prophecies. Thus, in the case of Nineveh, the "word of the Lord" came to Jonah, "that in forty days Nineveh shall be overthrown," but so far from it, "God repented of the evil he had said he would do unto them, and did it not:" and in the case of Tyre, of which it was foretold (Ezek. xxvi. 4, 14, 20, 21) that it should "be destroyed," "be built no more," and should "never be found," it was, after its capture by Nebuchadnezzar, as "a great city besieged and taken by Alexander, and nineteen years afterwards resisting the siege of Antigonus for fifteen months—as a great city existing for about a thousand years till it became a stronghold of the Crusaders; and as even now a well-known village retaining its ancient name of *Tur*." (p. 10.) Then the lecturer dwelt on the evident non-fulfilment of many of the denunciations against the Jewish people contained in

¹⁴ "Fallible or Infallible?" A Lecture by John Macnaught, M.A., Oxon., Incumbent of St. Chrysostom's Church, Everton, Liverpool. Being a Review of the Arguments in a Speech and Sermon recently delivered on "The Infallible Authority of the Holy Scripture," by the Rev. Hugh M'Neile, D.D., Canon of Chester, Incumbent of St. Paul's, Liverpool, &c. &c. &c. Liverpool: Lee, Nightingale, & Co., 1861.

Deut. xxviii., and which are often referred to as a standing accomplishment of prophecy. But after plainly pointing out such instances of fallibility, he eloquently unfolded the consequences to real religion of treating the Bible in a truthful way.

"Your disciples will only expect to find the Bible a fallible book,—nay, you will have pointed out to them its chief errors and discrepancies,—so that they will never be repelled by finding these, or by having them picked out by an unbeliever. They will know the Bible, as it is, in its weakness and its strength. They will not care whether the predictions are fulfilled,—whether the discrepancies are capable of being harmonized,—whether the miracles are true. One thing they will be sure of, viz., that Christ Jesus (even without a single miracle) is the adorable Son of God, who fills men with the anticipation of a judgment to come, who confirms us in the belief of immortality, who shows to us the misery of sin and the beautiful delightsomeness of being good and wise, kind and holy. Such religion will be irrefragable, will be influential; and, whatever its votaries may think of many things in the Old and New Testaments, a Christianity like this will be felt to be that of Jesus himself, and will be beyond the reach of any sane man's doubt."—p. 19.

Dr. Thomson's "Lincoln's Inn Sermons"¹⁵ form a very respectable contribution to an orthodox library. Some of them are intended to counteract errors of the day, real or supposed. Such as the undue exaltation of reason over faith; the tendency to materialism; or the denial of the doctrine of Free Will by Quetelet and Mr. Buckle. There is no asperity, however, in these polemics, although there is some pretension; that is, there is a sound of a mighty wind, as if there was coming a great solution which closes in some orthodox stock formula; and whenever an inquirer begins to ask inconvenient questions, or the process of explanation leads the orthodox advocate into difficulty, refuge is taken behind the veil of mystery.

"The mystery of redeeming love is far above our natural comprehension. That God was wroth with men, and because of the self-devotion of His own Son to death laid his wrath aside; and that the Son sent the Spirit of adoption into the hearts of men, whereby they were able to call God, Abba, Father; these are high and mysterious truths which cannot be touched and handled. There is no handbook to make them easy; no mathematical expression can render them more precise. How shall I so seize and appropriate them as that they shall have a practical bearing on my life? This is the question we are tempted to ask. Where is the faculty of my mind with which I can lay hold of these high truths? By faith alone they can be apprehended; we must believe that which we cannot explain by reason, but which yet supplies the deepest wants of our hearts."—p. 348.

We can seldom afford space to notice single Sermons, but there is a point in Mr. Coker Adams's University Sermon¹⁶ on which we are glad to be able to give the author an opportunity of speaking for him-

¹⁵ "Sermons preached in Lincoln's Inn Chapel, by William Thomson, D.D., Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen, Provost of the Queen's College, Oxford, and Preacher to the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn." London: John Murray, 1861.

¹⁶ "The Testimony of Jesus. A Sermon preached at New College, on Trinity Sunday, 1860, before the University of Oxford. By the Rev. Coker Adams, M.A., Fellow of New College." Oxford and London: J. H. and Jas. Parker, 1861.

self. His notion of prophecy is, that it was rather typical or ideal than strictly predictive, and he says:—

“Does not the attribute of many-sided comprehensiveness implied in such an interpretation as I am advocating, appear to contain whatever germ of truth is discoverable in the ideal of those who have maintained the mystery of the New Testament while denying its historical character? I speak of that extraordinary mythical theory of Scripture which assuredly no man would ever have adduced to explain away its marvels, unless in despair of doing so by any other means. Decidedly the usual course of the human mind must have been as much dislocated by their wholesale compilations of elaborate imaginings under the guise of simple circumstantial narratives, as the course of nature could have been violated by the truth of all those wonders that the Evangelists record. But take their mythical element as part of their inspired character, and the absurdity as well as the infidelity of the doctrine disappears at once. Just as the parables of our Lord may be all statements of facts, so also may the facts stated in the Bible be all parables, as well as facts. . . . Perhaps all the Holy Scriptures are replete with such secret significance. Perhaps the mythical system itself presents but the ‘lean and fleshy semblance of a nature in them, which is richly and profoundly mystical throughout.’—p. 28.

It is a very arduous undertaking to attempt to put skin and living flesh upon the dry bones of old histories. Still more so to resuscitate any reasonable semblance of the facts upon which some of the earlier Biblical traditions have been founded. The characters which we there discover appear to some so shadowy and unreal, by others are esteemed so sacred, that the making of them speak and act as in our own world, is thought either merely fabulous or a desecration. There is in Mr. Watson's work¹⁷ an entire respect for the Scriptural narratives, and certainly no more liberty taken with them than has been held consistent with due veneration, in such cases as Gessner's “Death of Abel,” Milton's “Paradise,” or Klopstock's “Messiah.” We doubt, however, whether sentiments of so much refinement would have occurred to the contemporaries of “Samson” as are here attributed to them. The treatment of the wise sayings of Solomon, or of the arguments in the Book of Job, are amplifications, in a pleasing style, of the matter which is actually met with in those Scriptural books.

Dr. Anderson's work on Regeneration¹⁸ was originally published eleven years ago. The views enounced in it are very clearly and logically expressed, as is often the case with theologians of the genuine Calvinistic type. The postulate from which the author starts is that of the thorough depravity of the human heart—so thorough, he holds it to be, that nothing short of a supernatural interference can rectify it. The doctrine of Regeneration, founded upon such a postulate as this, is a more humiliating one than that of Atonement: it is also, as this author maintains, a more directly practical one, as the necessity for holiness is only an inference from the doctrine of Atonement, but it is a constituent of the doctrine of Regeneration. The doctrine of Rege-

¹⁷ “Sons of Strength, Wisdom, Patience: Samson, Solomon, Job.” By the Rev. John Selby Watson, M.A., M.R.S.L. London: Longmans, 1861.

¹⁸ “Regeneration. By William Anderson, LL.D.” Second Edition. Edinburgh: 1861.

neration, moreover, brings God closer to men; for the doctrine of Atonement presents Him as acting once for all, or a while ago—that of Regeneration as acting now, always, and in the individual himself. The discussion treats of—1. The nature and effects of Regeneration: 2. Its necessity: 3. The instrumentality by which it is effected: 4. The actuating agency: 5. Its state as produced and as developed: 6. Its procuring cause: 7. Its manifestation.

Mr. Tudor, in his Christian illustration of the Decalogue,¹⁹ does not exhibit any great speculative power, or show any disposition to overstep the boundaries of a safe theology. But there is an earnestness in his purpose, and evidently a sincere endeavour to apply the words of Scripture to present needs.

There is a sensible pamphlet on "The Cardross Case,"²⁰ which we are glad to see, as tending to guard the voluntary churches on this side the Border from hastily entering into an alliance with the Free Church in such a case. No voluntary association, whatever its object, can utterly withdraw itself from the jurisdiction of the State in which it is allowed to form itself. The law of the land must always be capable of taking cognizance—1. Of all questions of civil damage following from a spiritual sentence; 2. Of all questions touching the terms of the voluntary contract between the parties to it; 3. Of all questions wherein the voluntary contract is void in itself, as contrary to public policy.—If it could be established that a voluntary religious association could withdraw itself from the jurisdiction of the State in these particulars, not only would a principle virtually Papal be set up, but our Ultra-Protestants would be actually fighting the battle for the Romish "voluntaries." If the Free Church courts in Scotland are supreme in all matters wherein "discipline" is concerned, our civil courts will soon be ousted of a large part of their jurisdiction over our Roman Catholic fellow-citizens by the "voluntary" application of the Canon Law.

To the destructive portion of M. Disdier's argument,²¹ directed against the apologists for Christian dogmatism, succeeds the constructive portion of his undertaking, in which he has to establish a rational Theism in opposition to pantheistic and materialist views. He considers that occasion has been given for these erroneous opinions by those misrepresentations of the Divine Nature which, according to him, characterize the Christian Theism. Schleiermacher, as is well known, found the origin of the religious sentiment in the sense of dependance which is awakened in man as soon as he becomes conscious of a world external to himself. M. Disdier thinks that this conception

¹⁹ "The Decalogue viewed as the Christian's Law; with special reference to the Questions and Wants of the Times." By Richard Tudor, B.A., Curate of Helston. London: Macmillan & Co., 1860.

²⁰ "The Free Church of Scotland at the Bar of Common Sense." The Cardross Case. By the author of "The Ultimate Principle of Religious Liberty." London: Ward & Co., 1861.

²¹ "Source du Sentiment Religieux." Chapitre extrait de la 2^de partie de la Conciliation rationnelle du Droit et du Devoir. Par Henri Disdier, Avocat, Genève. London: George Manwaring, 1860.

has too much in common, in fact, is essentially the same, with that which is presented in the Hebrew Scriptures. To it is traceable the doctrine of "Sin," and all the others which are built thereon. The really elementary religious sentiment he thinks he finds in the sentiment of admiration. He distinguishes between the mere sense of the beautiful—as seen in the infant, pleased with any brilliant object—and the sentiment of admiration, in which is involved not only reflection on the beautiful but perception of a pervading harmony and principle of union. When developed by a large observation, this grows into an approximative conception of the goodness and perfection of the Divine Being.

"S'il est vrai que la notion de la Perfection ou Bonté de Dieu soit toujours vivante et plus ou moins visible, sous la forme du beau, dans chaque objet de la création, un ensemble harmoniquement beau dans ses parties et dans son entier devra faire ressortir encore mieux cette perfection latente."—p. 14.

"Ce qu'il voit le surprend et le réjouit tout à la fois, et ce qu'il éprouve le pousse tout naturellement à lever les yeux vers cet Être Supérieur mais inconnu dont il ne sait pas encore bégayer le nom et vers lequel il se sent irrésistiblement attiré.

"Il semble alors qu'un secret et vague instinct, sous forme d'intuition, amène son intelligence à se convaincre que tous ces biens ne sont que les preuves de la sollicitude paternelle de cet Être qu'il ne peut connaître qu'en déchiffrant les caractères du nom glorieux que retracent à l'unisson les merveilles de l'Univers."—p. 17.

The sentiment of admiration, which the author thus makes the source of all human conceptions of God, is innate in all men; and being so, he thinks all inquiries superfluous which have for their object to trace historically the order in which different peoples have developed polytheistic or monotheistic conceptions. For if the sentiment of admiration and of harmony is innate in all men, all men are essentially monotheistic. Admiration for harmony, moreover, involves, it will be observed, the conception of law and of relative action; and as man is conscious that he exists, not only physically but morally, in relation with things and beings around him, he recognises himself as a living part of a great moral order. And the internal satisfaction which he feels at every moment of his life when he is conscious that he is fulfilling this law of his being, is its continual sanction. The law of his being is thus not legal or external to him, but within him and a part of him; and his religion is essentially not one of wrath, but one of love. Religion in its largest and truest sense is the conscious expression in the practical life of the purpose of our existence, which is discovered to us by our reason, not directly revealed to us from above.

A French translation renders very accessible one of the last productions of the great Neander,²² remarkably characteristic of his candour and true Christian humanity. The treatise illustrates how the way was prepared for Christianity, not only by Hebrew prophets, but by

²² "La Morale des Philosophes Grecs et la Morale Chrétienne, par A. Neander." Traduit de l'Allemand par Ch. Berthoud, V.D.M. London: Williams and Norgate, 1860.

heathen philosophers; and the author applies to the incomplete teaching of Pagan moralists the words in which Jesus describes his mission relative to the Mosaic Law—"I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil." First is reviewed Stoicism, with a clear appreciation of its analogies and contrasts with the Christian system. The author then reverts to Socrates and Plato, and he observes, with respect to the former, the similarity and yet the contrast which his historical person presents to that of Jesus; for he thinks, with Schleiermacher, that it is much more difficult to derive a consistent conception of Socrates from the different representations of Xenophon and Plato, than it is to refer the descriptions of Jesus in the Synoptics and in the fourth Gospel to one and the same person, presented to disciples of various capacities of discernment. To Socrates is to be attributed the direction of Greek inquiry to the facts of man's moral nature. Neander doubts whether Socrates himself esteemed the virtues as sciences (*ἐπιστήμας*), although the authority of Aristotle seems to confirm that he did; at all events, the intellectualism of Plato removed the origin of virtue to the contemplation of the Divine Idea, and made a participation in the Divine Reason the source of all human manifestations of good. Aristotle's method was observational and inductive. He made a sharp distinction between the divine and the human, the contemplative and the practical; with him morality seemed entirely bound to the earth, and the good of men to be merely relative. On some other points he approximates remarkably to the Christian principles, as in his doctrine of free agency and responsibility, and in his making inward pleasure or satisfaction the test of virtue. The further development of the Platonic and Aristotelian schemes relative to God and man and good, is traced in Plotinus, who lived within the Christian period (203-270) although an opponent of Christianity. He carried to its extreme the severance made by Aristotle between the human and the divine; but he determined that the human and the practical must be peeled off and left behind by the highest aspirants; and by such process of purification, he thought the souls of the few attained the highest good in abstract contemplation.

POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, AND TRAVELS.

THERE seems to be every reason to expect that the close of the present century will be remarkable, like the last, for inquiries into the origin, nature, and progress of society.¹ There is no subject on which definite opinions are so earnestly desired; for the slightest political forecast of the future makes manifest to the most moderate inquirer, that a period is very close at hand when such views must exercise a more than ordinary influence on the progress of events.

¹ "The Progress of Nations, or the Principles of National Development in their Relation to Statesmanship, a Study in Analytical History." London: Longman and Co., 1861.

Books on speculative morals and politics are more eagerly read than any others, and each season brings with it fresh efforts to satisfy a curiosity which is certainly not one of the worst signs of the times. The *Progress of Nations* is a title which will attract many readers, but the book so called, however it may instruct, will satisfy but few of them. The author does not give his name, but professes that his work contains the result of those general studies which he has considered as the proper foundation for his present calling. Representing himself as just called to the Bar, he takes a solemn leave of such inquiries, and offers the results he has arrived at, with many professions of modesty and diffidence. When an author wishes to be anonymous, his wish should be respected; but when he chooses to give any information about himself, he opens a door for that criticism which he would otherwise avoid. We confess that we do not think this account of himself by the author is sincere; his studies bear very little impress of direction to a forensic end, and indeed resemble much rather the collected reflections of a very general student than the particular researches of a man whose energies are directed to so practical a purpose as he represents. We strongly suspect that this book is only anonymous because the author experiments upon the public by treating a subject with which his name is not as yet associated. Although he calls his book a study in analytical history, there is but little analysis in his method, which rather consists in a rapid review of the various forms of society which have existed in Europe (for Asia and the remoter East are but little alluded to), and in an endeavour to point out from historical examples the effect of various combinations of monarchy, aristocracy, democracy, and plutocracy. The conclusion to which he arrives is, that the only permanent form of society is that in which all these elements are acknowledged, and that too without mutual jealousies; this conclusion is patriotic, if nothing else, for there is but one nation in the world which can pretend to satisfy this condition of permanence.

Before any nation can have arrived at so highly developed a system as this, many less complicated ones must, from the nature of the case, have been tried, and the greatest merit of our author consists in the manner in which he traces the effects of those simpler combinations which characterized the nations of antiquity. His favourite theory is, that as each nation has reached the highest point of culture which its institutions will admit of, and which he calls its acme, it gives place to some more vigorous competitor in the race of humanity, and losing its active leadership, sinks into a teacher only. He thus somewhat prettily compares the flower of human history to the foxglove blossom, of which one part is dead or dying, another in full flower, while the third and last is still but opening or unopened buds.

The chapters on the effect of different forms of society on oratory, literature, and art, are full of ingenious remarks, and are, in our opinion, more original and suggestive than the more political divisions. The aristocratic origin of literature, and the effects on its professors produced by a wealthy middle class, are treated with great ingenuity and insight, though it must be confessed also, with some little pre-

judice. There is one very remarkable omission in this book; absolutely no notice is taken of the influence of religion on men's minds; the only shape in which it appears in this treatise is in the discussions on the relations of a theocracy to the governing power for the time being. On the influence of beliefs, as such, the book is completely silent; the progress of mankind in its voyage through time cannot be understood without taking into account the various ideas they have entertained of the port towards which they imagined themselves to be steering; the ocean of thought, unlike the earthly sea, is first navigated by celestial observations, and no journal of the voyage is complete without some account of the constellations trusted to by the voyagers. This defect gives the treatise an appearance of incompleteness, and leaves the reader in an unsatisfied condition.

The author's style is clear, but diffuse; he frequently repeats himself; the italicised summaries of doctrine with which he generally closes his arguments, are too often vague, and so wanting in compactness both of thought and expression, that they often sink into absolute triviality. The book, however, cannot be called trivial; it is the result of a very wide study, and though we do not think that it adds anything to the philosophy of the subject, it puts many questions in a way likely to provoke both thought and discussion.

In our last number, when calling attention to the evidence of the Hon. A. Eden, we pointed out the real nature of the hardships under which the indigo ryot labours. Since that date very important papers have been published on the subject which fully corroborate the view we then took, that substantially the hardships in question are not so much incidents of the system of advances under which the cultivation is carried on, as the natural consequences of other collateral conditions which accompany the contract.

A very able pamphlet has just been published in the interest of the planters,² which reviews the whole subject with a degree of spirit and vivacity seldom found in commercial disquisitions. The vivacity, it is true, is stimulated by a good hatred of the Lieut.-Governor, Mr. J. P. Grant, who is denounced with a violence and acerbity that will make many turn to the planters as the French gentleman did to the man on the wheel, and remind them *que ce n'est pas assez d'être roué, il faut être poli*. The author, we think, fairly makes out that the interference of the Government has been violent and, at least in the manner of it, injudicious. There can be no doubt that the relations between planter and ryot had become utterly unsound, that the time had come for a radical change in the system of cultivation, or for a large increase in the amount paid to the ryot for the produce of his indigo patch. In the face of a rise of price in all the other crops and of an increased demand for labour in the Southern provinces, this conclusion cannot be avoided; nor is it to be wondered at that the ryot should groan and struggle under the weight of obligations of old date that have to be

² "Brahmins and Pariahs, an Appeal by the Indigo Manufacturers of Bengal to the British Government, Parliament, and People, for Protection against the Lieut.-Governor of Bengal." London: J. Ridgway. 1861.

worked off under circumstances of heightened disadvantage to himself. It is not necessary, and it is hardly possible, to estimate the amount of coercion on the part of the planter or of subdulous evasion on that of the cultivator; one thing, however, is clear from every document, that the former has for some years lost all its old features of tyrannous violence; yet the almost impossibility of retrieving himself under which the ryot, once falling into arrear, laboured, brought about a state of things which called loudly for reform of some sort. That the measures adopted by Mr. A. Eden at Baraset in 1859 were not calculated to bring the dispute to a proper termination is fully proved by the necessity which ensued of sending a body of troops into the district to quell the consequent disturbances, and to enforce, for that year only, the very cultivation which his proclamation had informed the ryots was not incumbent on them. The demand which the planters make for a coercive measure like the temporary one of Act XI. 1860 is not easily recognisable on any principles of equal justice; but there is a sublime irony in referring a man who asks for club law and summary judgment to the appropriate remedies of a suit in Equity.

Mr. Grant, in his undeniably able Minute on the Report of the Indigo Commissioners,³ proposes to meet the evil by a large increase in the country district civil courts, and by increased facilities for the speedy settlement of disputes between the planter and ryot. The true object, however, should be to obviate the disputes themselves; and this, we are afraid, cannot be accomplished without very heavy penalties on the ryot's attempting to evade his contracts, similar to those of Act V. of 1830, and the adoption in the Southern provinces of that system of cultivation which in Behar and the North-West provinces has proved satisfactory both to the planter and the cultivator.

The author of the pamphlet just noticed brings forward a strong *argumentum ad hominem* against the Government, in the condition of the Government ryots employed in the cultivation of opium and the manufacture of salt—both Government monopolies in India. It is hardly possible that he would have ventured on such full retorts, if the circumstances of the cases did not justify his doing so. If he should not succeed in the immediate object of his essay, he ought at least to have the credit of calling attention to kindred evils, which, had they been features of a private undertaking, he is perhaps not altogether wrong in asserting would have been the cause of a similar collision between the cultivator and capitalist, and of as high-handed an intervention on the side of the magistracy.

Mr. Bernard's lecture on the Principle of Non-Intervention is an endeavour to deduce this doctrine from the accepted canons of the Law of Nations.⁴ He maintains that the doctrine in question is a corollary

³ "Minute by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal on the Report of the Indigo Commission."

⁴ "On the Principle of Non-Intervention: a Lecture delivered in the Hall of All Souls' College." By Montague Bernard, M.A., Chichele Professor of International Law and Diplomacy in the University of Oxford. Oxford and London: J. H. and Jas. Parker. 1860.

from the cardinal and substantial principles of sovereignty inherent in every State. "That form of association which we call a State is," he says, "a true natural growth of European and Christian civilization; a divinely ordered instrument, and in the present condition of the world an indispensable condition of human happiness and progress." The absolute inviolability of each State must be laid down as a necessary condition of its natural development; all interference with the political life of any community disturbs the simple solution of such social problems as are the natural result of the circumstances in which that community is placed, deprives mankind of a new experience, and throws a disturbing element into the process of political evolution which is most likely foreign and hostile to the community which is subjected to it. An interference like that of Russia in Hungary finds but few defenders.

The ruling power is now so often distinguished from the true sovereignty of the State that an interference in favour of the former, although this has been the character of almost every instance in history, is repudiated and set aside as the highest injustice. It is, however, equally true that an intervention in favour of a people in arms against its ruler, is quite as unadvisable, if not as unjust. Where a people are unable to undergo the hardships incident on a struggle with their rulers, it is manifest from that very fact—and no other sign can be so securely relied upon—that the assumed disharmony between the feelings of the nation and the principles of its government has not reached that point which would justify the proposed changes. An armed propaganda of liberal principles is as much to be deprecated as an armed interference to extinguish them, and in the long run is as fruitless.

Considerations of this kind, however, are not likely to meet with much attention when an opportunity of national aggrandizement offers itself to any powerful and ambitious ruler. Like toleration in matters of religion, the doctrine of non-intervention is appealed to by all who are numerically weaker than their neighbours, and is much more a political aspiration than a political principle. Many long years will most likely pass away before this doctrine hardens into a well-defined custom, and can take its place among those habits and uses which are called collectively the law of nations—a law of most arbitrary application, and of no authority beyond the limits of some few States which have entered into certain mutual contracts which, generalized, yield the basis of all its authoritative statements. How many of its principles are adhered to in the conflicts of civilized nations with barbarians? Not one! unless from a self-regarding principle of honour or desire of reputation, when the course pursued is open to European criticism.

Not conscience, but convenience, is the foundation of the law of nations, and the greatest chance of the speedy prevalence of the doctrine of non-intervention is to be found in the convenience of such a political *laissez aller*; that the principle will prove as fruitful of good results in politics as it already has done in economy, it is impossible to doubt. At present the highest desire of the agitated peoples of

Europe is to be let alone; like the French deputation to Louis Philippe, their only cry to surrounding nations that has an unanswerable claim to their attention, is *laissez aller*—let us have no dynastic interventions—leave us to settle our own affairs.

The proclamation of this doctrine coincides too closely with the popular movements in Europe for its parentage to be for a moment doubtful; it is the liberal anti-lote to all Holy Alliances; it stands in a direct line with every valuable right of individual freedom, and is, in fact, one of the conditions of that sole and solitary well-spring of progress and civilization.

The account given in a little book called the "Underground Railroad,"⁵ of the proceedings of a Society for the Emancipation of Negroes in America, goes far to explain the bitter exasperation of the Southern States. This association carries out its purposes with all the mystery of a masonic brotherhood, and all the enthusiasm of a company of missionaries; its members are known only to one another, and they are scattered over the country from the banks of the Ohio to the borders of Canada. They offer an asylum to any fugitive slave who appeals to them, and pass him on by night, in every variety of disguise, from station to station, seldom making more than six miles in each stage, the slave remaining hid on the premises of some member of the brotherhood during the day, and, if necessary, owing to the closeness of the pursuit, for many days or even weeks. The society not only offers assistance to fugitives, but sometimes effects forcible rescues when recaptured slaves are marched through the villages in which its members are sufficiently numerous to resort to open violence. The usual method is to hustle the convoy, and during the confusion to offer the slaves disguises and means of escape. But open means are but seldom resorted to, being punishable by the courts. More or less of stratagem, where concealment is impossible, is generally resorted to.

A Negro named Lewis, who had fled from his master in Kentucky, made good his escape to Cincinnati in Ohio, and while waiting for his protectors to pass him on towards the English territory, could not restrain himself from inquiring of a fortune-teller whether he should ever again see the girl to whom he was betrothed. His questions betrayed him. In a few days he was arrested as a fugitive. It was impossible to withhold him from the claimant, who was armed with the necessary legal authority, forcible resistance was out of the question; the stratagem resorted to was, to follow him to the court at which proof was to be given of his identity, to engage a counsel to quarrel with the claimant, to drive the opposite party to enraged recrimination until the moment should arrive, when, in the general hubbub, all parties appealing at once to the judge, a bystander could put his hat on the prisoner's head, who then ducked under the legs of his friend and was assisted out of court by the confederates before his absence was observed. Once out of court, he was concealed in a

⁵ "The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom." By the Rev. W. M. Mitchell of Toronto, C.W. London: W. Tweedie. 1860.

different hour, and forwarded to the North, disguised as a woman, as soon as his pursuers were well thrown off the scent. On another occasion eight slaves were followed on board a steamer on the Detroit river, the captain of which, luckily for them, was what is called by the brotherhood a conductor of the underground railroad; he consequently declared that he was out of wood, and must call at Malden, on the English side of the river, to supply himself; this was at once to deliver them from their pursuers. The anger of the slaveholders was of no avail,—they were forced to appeal to the almighty dollar; to this the captain yielded, and consented, for a consideration of 300 dollars to stop at Detroit, on the American side. As soon as the vessel touched the pier one of the owners went on shore to obtain a warrant to arrest the fugitives, while the rest stood at the gangway to prevent the escape of the slaves. In the meantime the captain gave some Abolitionist confederates notice of what was going on, who brought a yawl round to the other side of the steamer, into which the fugitives at once jumped and pulled for the opposite shore, which they succeeded in reaching before their pursuers, delayed in getting another boat, could overtake them. The captain and railroad conductor, when reproached for his share in the transaction, coolly excused himself by saying that he had been paid to stop at Detroit, which he had done, not to stop niggers, which he had nothing to do with. In this manner more than 1000 slaves per annum are helped from the Slave States to Canada; and perhaps this great material loss is not the most galling part of the business, for the tone of religious exultation in which these exploits are recounted, and the unmeasured reprobation of all slaveholders by these enthusiastic Abolitionists must be very hard to be endured by the choleric Southerners, the violence of whose reaction against the humanitarian arguments of the extreme Abolitionists may be very well seen in such replies as that of Mr. J. H. Van Evrie,⁶ whose book, by the most extravagant perversions of physiology and natural history, is devoted to an endeavour to prove the Negro to be a different species, created for, and adapted to the uses of the Caucasian race; and that it is the highest cruelty to the Negro himself to present him with a liberty no black ever enjoyed, and which he must inevitably misuse. The extravagant mis-statements of such a book as this could find no endurance except among an exasperated society like that in the Southern States, who are willing to fight with all weapons and to excuse everything, even ignorance, in an ardent advocate. A very different tone prevails in a very well-written letter by a Massachusetts citizen to the Hon. Charles Sumner, in which he puts the questions, Will the Slave States secede or recede? Shall the Free States concede? The author thinks that the secession must take place; that the time for concession on the part of the North has long since past; that, in fact, each succeeding compromise has only prepared the way for a more exacting successor.

⁶ "Negroes and Negro Slavery: the first an Inferior Race, the latter its Normal Condition." By J. H. Van Evrie, M.D. New York: Van Evrie, Horton, & Co. 1861.

"The people," he says, "have lost faith in compromises ; there is an upper and a nether millstone of principle, between which all such compromises will be ground to powder. The upper millstone is the assertion that slavery is a wrong and an evil, and ought to be abolished wherever we have the power to do so. The lower millstone is the conviction that slavery is right and good, and ought to be extended. Between these two principles there can be no compromise, but only irrepressible conflict. The time has come when the people themselves feel that any further postponement is impossible, that the issue must be met, and met now."⁷

By meeting the Southern States with fairness, coolness, and kindness ; allowing a peaceable secession as an inalienable right, but putting down all tumultuary efforts of violent agitators, the author thinks that the overwhelming power of the North will be able to restore peace to the land, and even enable the Slave States to retrace their steps at some future period, and share once more in the prosperity of the Union. Our latest news, however, gives but feeble support to this rational aspiration.

Mr. Rogers's account of education in Oxford affords most valuable information on the nature, worth, and expense of academical honours ;⁸ it supplies the requisite grounds of judgment to all who contemplate sending their sons to the University, and gives the means of, in some degree, anticipating what, after all, must be a somewhat problematical result. While giving an account of the University as a Corporation, and of its relations to the different colleges and halls, the author is enabled to insist, with great justice and propriety, on the importance of a proper qualification in the students at the time of their matriculation, and at the same time gives very valuable hints as to the quarters in which it may be expected to be acquired.

The present necessity which is imposed on all undergraduates of being members and inmates of some particular college or hall seems to Mr. Rogers to be the great drawback to the popularity and increased usefulness of the university. Private halls, though allowed by the Act of 1854, do not appear to succeed, two only having been tried, and one of these never had but one student. That the university should pass and class men, irrespective of their membership of some particular college, seems to be the only means of producing emulation within the colleges themselves ; and, without such an impulse, it is too much to expect more than a decent mediocrity. The whole tendency of Mr. Rogers's book is towards a resumption of those relations between the students and the university which were definitely set aside by the Laudian Statutes. Another result of the absence of such competition is well described in the following extract :—

"Again, with all its equality, the tendency of undergraduate life is to one-sidedness. That men leave the university with but a scanty comprehension of

⁷ "Secession, Concession, or Self-Possession—Which ?" Boston : Walker, Wise, and Co. 1861.

⁸ "Education in Oxford, its Method, its Aids, and its Rewards." By James E. T. Rogers, M.A., some time Public Examiner in Oxford, &c. London : Smith, Elder, & Co. 1861.

the varying conditions about them, and with narrow stereotyped views, is so general an impression that it cannot be false. The views of such men are, to use a cant phrase, shoppy. They cannot ordinarily escape the clumsiness engendered by a single aspect of human actions and human motives. They make a world of their own, which is continually eclipsed by larger worlds. Nowhere is this felt so painfully as in that profession which the university prepares so largely for. The energies and self-denial of parochial clergymen are beyond praise, while their tact and judgment are too often below contempt; and their practice, even in the most familiar parts of their duty, and the most ordinary details of social life, exposes them in the worst manner to the alternations of fraud and suspicion. Nor is it wonderful when one reflects on their utter lack of anything like a dialectical education and familiarity with the realities of modern society, which is discernible so openly and so perpetually in the course of an academical curriculum. Some one has spoken of this ignorance of the details of social life, and the relations of the clergyman with his people, under the name of the 'gentlemanly heresy.' This tact, which should have come elsewhere, must subsequently be picked up by experience and inconvenience, if it is gotten at all; since the fruits of what might have been once learned in Oxford, are often gone for ever by being missed at the proper time."

It is somewhat singular that the greatly increased wealth of the country has not been attended by a correspondent increase in the numbers of those who proceed to the university for the advantage of a methodical education; that this advantage is a very real one, all the late competitive examinations have sufficiently proved, where the prize sought for, as in that for the Indian Civil Service, has been sufficiently great to attract graduates who have held but secondary positions in the university. The expense, however, goes a long way to explain this, and Mr. Rogers cannot, he says, estimate it at less than 1,000*l.*, and of course weakness or imprudence on the part of the student may indefinitely enlarge that sum. It is also not to be lost sight of that the great increase of national wealth, when measured by the magnitude of our exports and imports, points mainly to an increase in the incomes of that class of society which has but feeble associations with academical learning. It even seems possible that should the bishops resolve upon dispensing with an academical degree, as a preliminary to ordination, that the number of students would fall off in a remarkable manner, for more than half of those educated at Oxford ultimately take orders. This book contains the fullest particulars of all those inducements to study which are afforded by Exhibitions, Scholarships, and Fellowships, and is enriched with tabular summaries of great value, brought forward by its author with those judicious cautions, the absence of which has so often led to the exclamation, "Nothing so false as figures!"

Under the title of *Health, Husbandry, and Handicraft*, Miss Martineau has gathered together some fifty essays which she had supplied to various periodicals.⁹ It is very rarely that the materials of similar collections, now so popular, are so well worth rescuing from the back

⁹ "Health, Husbandry, and Handicraft." By H. Martineau. London: Bradbury & Evans. 1861.

numbers of magazines that disappear so mysteriously, or retire to the most inaccessible book-shelf to inevitable dust-gathering quiet. It is difficult to say where a greater amount of fresh and vigorous reflections on modern life is in so small a compass to be met with, touching upon almost every age and condition. These essays are full of the stores of a most rich experience, pregnant with original observations. With a full mastery of the subject she takes up, the authoress handles them with that familiar clearness which seems at first sight so slight and easy, but which is really the last gracefulness which nothing but long labour can produce. The sober equipoise of the style is exactly suited to the critical and judicial turn of mind which avoids all extremes of thought; but yet, while the general impression the book leaves upon you is one of vigorous and original reflection, it is far from wanting in a certain engaging tenderness and consideration where the subject naturally calls forth such feelings as in the Essay on the Aged, which will, in our opinion, bear comparison with any other in the language for good feeling, judgment, and truth.

Messrs. Blackwood have published a most animated account of Garibaldi's romantic campaign in Sicily and Naples.¹⁰ More Garibaldian than Garibaldi, Captain Forbes defends his hero from every aspersion that has been cast upon him by all the legion of adversaries which he necessarily provoked when he undertook what he called his *tâche sublime*. The great partisan leader gives a curious evidence of the powerful personal influence he exerts on those who come in contact with him in the uncompromising enthusiasm he aroused in the mind of his English admirer. This well-deserved admiration gives unity and coherence to Captain Forbes' narrative, and relieves him from the necessity of all discussion of disputed points. If republicans on the one hand, or constitutionalists on the other, have anything to say against his hero, our author simply scorns them, and proceeds with his tale, which he tells in a very picturesque and lively manner.

Joining Garibaldi's army after the fall of Palermo, he accompanied it as a non-combatant to the walls of Capua. Every event of the few months occupied by that unexampled progress receives full notice at the traveller's hands. The picture of devastated Palermo which he draws fills up the measure of the dastardly oppression which has now passed away; more disgraceful excesses than those committed by the Bavarese, as the Sicilians called the royal troops, were never allowed in any hostile city taken by storm. At Melazzo the fighting was very severe, the old Cacciatori universally allowing that Bomba's troops stood better than the Austrians had ever done in Lombardy. More than once the fate of Italy was doubtful, but from this day until Garibaldi found himself before Capua, the campaign was little more than a military promenade. Captain Forbes' admiration of the Calabrese, and contempt for the Neapolitans, is an excellent measure of their respective patriotism. His sketches of the troops and peasants, and of the villages through which he passed, are excellent and life-like; the

¹⁰ "The Campaign of Garibaldi in the Two Sicilies: a Personal Narrative." By Captain C. S. Forbes, R.N. W. Blackwood & Sons, London and Edinburgh. 1861.

whole animated and rapid march is brought before the reader with all the detail and circumstance which give truth to a picture. The volume is illustrated by an admirable map of the South of Italy, and by plans of all the engagements, necessary means to the clear understanding of that, to a layman, most mysterious of things, a siege or battle; excellent portraits of Garibaldi and Francis II. are also given. The latter, from a photograph, is very characteristic; he looks in every feature a monarch to lose a crown. The previous summer Captain Forbes spent in Iceland,¹¹ and his account of that violent contrast to Sicily is as amusing as an amateur traveller's journal can be; but the most interesting features of Iceland call so imperatively for scientific accomplishments in their describer that the reader feels some sort of disappointment when lava currents are compared to port wine of various vintages, and the great Geyser is jocularly addressed as if it were a patient labouring under an attack of colic. But though this volume is disappointing in a scientific point of view, it gives a very graphic account of the manners of the inhabitants and of the desolate and barren scenery of the island, and is full of popular traditions which are strange and characteristic, to increase his store of which Captain Forbes does not scruple to draw heavily on Dr. Conrad Maurer's *Isländische Volkssagen der Gegenwart*. The salmon-fishing is very fine, and ptarmigan very abundant; the people very hospitable and unsophisticated, so much so that the bearded captain found himself, to his great distress, obliged to submit to the services of his host's young daughters, who very unceremoniously stripped him, put him to bed, and in spite of his endeavour to bolt his door, found their way back with a bottle of brandy and some milk; after advising him to keep the former under his pillow, they each gave him a kiss, and left him to sleep as best he might. Iceland, however, though in a geological point of view one of the most interesting places in Europe, does not offer many attractions to a mere pleasure-hunting tourist, unless, like Captain Forbes, he has been haunted since his boyhood by this *terra incognita*, save to stray whalers and adventurous Danes.

In Mr. Tristram's Wanderings in the Northern District of the Great African desert will be found a very complete description of a country little visited by Europeans, to which, however, more attention will soon be probably given if the French projects of pushing their dominion further south with a view of connecting their Algerine conquest with their settlements in Senegambia should be carried out.¹²

Mr. Tristram has many first-rate qualifications as a traveller, and though travelling for his health, allows nothing noteworthy to escape him. A journey from oasis to oasis is of itself too monotonous not to leave traces of its somewhat painful uniformity in a description, and this peculiarity is heightened by the author's method of narration. He says in his preface, what every page proclaims, that his book is

¹¹ "Iceland, its Volcanoes, Geysers, and Glaciers." By C. S. Forbes, Commander R.N. London: J. Murray. 1860.

¹² "The Great Sahara: Wanderings South of the Atlas Mountains." By H. B. Tristram, M.A., F.L.S., &c. London: J. Murray. 1860.

almost a rescript of daily journals kept during his tour. The natural result is a somewhat tedious recurrence of small personal experiences—the quality and quantity of the daily meal, constantly recurring criticisms of the same dish set before him by his hospitable native entertainers; accounts of his daily spongings and ablutions, which are very natural in a diary, are but of feeble interest to the impatient reader, who wishes as quickly as possible to get some idea of North African life. But if this method is tedious, it is at least as often picturesque, and has recommendations of its own; many minute features and characteristic traits are thus preserved which no mere generalized description could have given. An accomplished naturalist, the author gives full accounts of all plants and animals that fall under his observation, and furnishes a full fauna and flora of his expedition in an appendix. After leaving Laghouat, the most advanced post of the French army, he proceeded south to the district of the Beni M'zab, of whose confederate townships he gives a very interesting account, and in whom he is disposed to recognise the descendants of the ancient Gætuli; the farthest point reached was Waregla, from whence the route back pursued a more easterly course, entering the French province by El Kantara. It seems at first sight strange that so adventurous a journey should have been so easily accomplished by two English gentlemen, with none but native attendants; they were, however, furnished with the fullest recommendations to all tributary chiefs by the French authorities, to whose polite furtherance of their projects, Mr. Tristram bears a very proper testimony; without these advantages such a tour would be impracticable. In Africa a European must travel *en grand seigneur*, and even then not without risk, his mere personal accoutrements are such strong temptations that even Mr. Tristram had one very narrow escape of falling a sacrifice to a guide's sudden desire to possess himself of his musket and revolver.

When Captain Osborne was in Japan with Lord Elgin in 1858, he purchased some very interesting native drawings, with which the public have been for the most part made acquainted in the pages of *Once a Week*.¹³ These he has now collected in a little volume called *Japanese Fragments*, in which he gives a rapid survey of all that is known of the history of Japan, and some chapters of his own personal observations while on the island.

His descriptions are very pleasantly written, and leave on the mind of the reader the same favourable impression that the Japanese habits and ways left on the author. The native drawings, however, are the chief attractions of the book; these are very excellent, and quite unlike anything else on the face of the earth. Very different and very superior to Chinese paintings, they give a real insight, so far as they go, into the manners and customs of the natives; the coloured ones, which are, we think, here published for the first time, are exceedingly curious, and betray the influence of a school whose rules indeed are not likely to find currency out of the island, but which are evidently sufficient to

¹³ "Japanese Fragments, with Facsimiles of Illustrations by Artists of Yedo." By Captain Sherard Osborne, C.B., R.N. London: Bradbury & Evans. 1861.

repress all arbitrary treatment there. The landscapes have a literal truth which would charm a Pre-Raffaellite, and are, in fact, very much like the backgrounds of the earlier Italian masters. The little volume is a picture of a strange civilization that, perhaps, may not long endure, and may be confidently recommended to all who have a taste for a genuine artistic curiosity.

Herr Julius Rodenberg, whose Irish Handbook we noticed in our last number, has since published another book of holiday rambles, which he calls the "Forgotten Isles," containing accounts of his visits to Heligoland, Sylt, Thanet, and the Channel Islands.¹⁴ At first it produces a somewhat strange effect on an English reader to find the East of Kent called a forgotten island by a Berlin *littérateur*; but when we confess, as we needs must, how fully that title represents the little Danish island of Sylt, or Syltoe, we are forced to accept the epithet in its true relative sense, and admit that what is very familiar to ourselves may be very well forgotten by our neighbours.

These sketches have all the merits we praised in his Irish volumes; the author's sharp observing eye allows few external features of a scene to escape him, and he has a well-developed talent of photographic reproduction; few seize more quickly, or describe more accurately all that the first rapid glance can reveal to an intelligent observer. It is only when he animates his tale with personal recollections, or reflections on society, that the reader begins to feel himself on uncertain ground.

To Englishmen his account of Sylt will be most agreeable, and it is, indeed, in every sense the best of his accounts of forgotten islands.

The many similarities between the inhabitants and ourselves, even to the preservation of the sound, so unmanageable to a German, are remnants of our common Frisian ancestry. The Anglo-Saxon letter *th*, a *d* crossed like a *t*, which denoted this sound, is still in use among them. Talking German, they yet say Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, instead of Mittwoch, Donnerstag, and Freitag. Cliff, Gap, and Gatare coast terms they use in common with ourselves. The simple manners of the women, the wandering lives and adventurous habits of the men, are well described by Herr Rodenberg, whose sketch has all the effect of a low seashore by Ruysdael, a charming picture of sand and wind and ever-encroaching sea.

In these tours the author's erotic sentimental vein is not so obtrusive as in the Irish journey, but it is not yet fully overcome. There is, however, some promise that this characteristic is on the wane, for it shines with a very subdued light in this volume when compared with the strange tales contained in his "Daily Life in London," which he brings forward as illustrative of our social condition in 1860, but which is much more so of the uses to which London may be put by a young foreigner sowing his wild oats.

A gutter romance, with a Social Evil to which he devotes several

¹⁴ "Verschollene Inseln." Von Julius Rodenberg. 1861. "Alltagsleben in London." Von Julius Rodenberg. 1860. Berlin: Julius Springer.

chapters, is so full of palpable impossibilities of detail, that any sound moral taste cannot but turn with something approaching disgust from what is so evidently an excursion of an ill-regulated imagination.

Herr Berlepsch's *Pictures of Life and Nature in the Alps* is one of those excellent and exhaustive monographs the talent for which seems to be the peculiar property of the Germans.¹⁵ The book begins with a geological history of the mountain-chain, and with most excellent accounts of the vicissitudes to which its inhabitants are exposed. With remarkable powers of description, and the fullest knowledge of minute detail, the well-known mountain phenomena are brought before the reader with a power and vigour that gives them an air of positive novelty; and indeed that air is far from being delusive. The reader will rise from the perusal with quite new, and much more adequate notions of landslips and avalanches, of pine forests and Alpine life, than is to our knowledge to be had from any other so accessible a source. The manners, pursuits, and customs of the mountaineers are described with the same detail and completeness of information. No feature of the vegetation or animal life of these remote valleys escapes the vigilant eye of the author. The book abounds in well-authenticated and characteristic stories, and is illustrated by some of the best sketches of Alpine scenery we have ever seen from the pencil of Herr Emil Rittmeyer.

SCIENCE.

EVERYONE who is acquainted with the principal facts relating to the life and labours of John Hunter, is aware that the works by which he is known as an author constitute but a small part of what, if his life had been longer spared, he would have probably given to the world. He was in the habit, as we learn from his pupil Mr. Clift, of committing to writing an account of the dissections of the various animals that came under his examination; and whenever he re-examined an animal, he revised his previous account, and corrected and added to it. Cases and observations in surgery, whether they fell under his own notice or were communicated to him by his friends, were recorded by him in like manner. And he seems also to have sketched out the general scheme of a comprehensive work of Anatomy and Physiology, which should set forth both the principles and the facts of those sciences as they presented themselves to his wonderful mind. These records of research and reflection were generally written roughly on loose pieces of paper, very commonly on slips torn off from the ends of letters, or on their blank pages and envelopes; but they were systematically copied by Mr. Clift and his coadjutor Mr. Haynes into a series of volumes; and Hunter's

¹⁵ "Die Alpen in Natur und Lebensbildern, dargestellt von H. A. Berlepsch." Mit 16 Illustrationen und einem Titelbilde in Tondruck nach original Zeichnungen von Emil Rittmeyer. Leipzig: H. Costenoble. 1861.

original slips were then used as waste-paper. It is well known that John Hunter, partly from deficiency of early education and partly from the over-crowding of his mind with ideas on which he had not time to think himself clear, laboured under great difficulty in expressing his thoughts; and Mr. Clift tells us that he many times transcribed the same page at least half-a-dozen times over, with corrections and transpositions almost without end. When Hunter's museum was purchased by the nation, seven years after his death, in accordance with the desire expressed in his will, it would seem natural that these precious volumes should accompany the preparations of which they contained the description and illustration; but no security was taken regarding them by the College of Surgeons, and they were allowed to remain in the possession of Sir Everard Home, Hunter's brother-in-law and executor, by whom they were destroyed in the year 1823, on the pretext that he had extracted from them everything that could be of use in the preparation of the catalogue of the museum, and that Hunter himself had directed the destruction of his manuscripts as being in too imperfect a state for the public eye.

It is scarcely conceivable, however, that Hunter, who was evidently most anxious that his museum should not only be kept in its entirety, but should be made subservient to the progress of the science he so much loved, should have directed the destruction of papers which were essential to the appreciation of a large proportion of his works; and there is strong reason to believe that Sir E. Home's motive was a very different one—that of concealing the extent of the assistance which he had derived from Hunter's unpublished writings in the preparation of his own Lectures on Comparative Anatomy.

Fortunately the zeal and industry of Mr. Clift, who had the collection under his charge during the interval between the death of Hunter and the purchase of his museum by the nation, induced him not merely to make himself acquainted with the contents of the manuscripts left by his venerated master, but to take copies of a large proportion of them. Of this fact Professor Owen first became aware, when he was engaged in preparing the Catalogue of the Physiological Series of the Hunterian Collection; and certain fragments communicated to him by Mr. Clift are printed in that Catalogue. For some unexplained reason, however, Mr. Clift kept the bulk of these papers in his own hands; and it was not until a short time previous to his decease that he transferred them to the custody of his son-in-law Professor Owen, who found them to be much more numerous and important than he had anticipated; and in conformity with Mr. Clift's last wish, Professor Owen forthwith undertook to prepare them for publication.¹

¹ "Essays and Observations on Natural History, Anatomy, Physiology, Psychology, and Geology." By John Hunter, F.R.S. Being his Posthumous Papers on those subjects, arranged and revised, with Notes; to which are added the "Introductory Lectures on the Hunterian Collection of Fossil Remains, delivered in the Theatre of the Royal College of Surgeons of England March 8th, 10th, and 12th, 1855." By Richard Owen, F.R.S., D.C.L., Superintendent of the Natural History Departments, British Museum, &c. Two Vols. Svo. London: 1861.

The text of these fragmentary memoirs is reproduced precisely as Hunter left it, with the addition of some notes by Mr. Clift, and of others by Professor Owen, and with the occasional interpolation of words (included between brackets) which seem needful to complete the sense. In this we think that Professor Owen has exercised a wise discretion; for the great interest of the present publication lies, not in the novelty of the facts it contains—most of these having in some way or other been communicated to the public in the interval,—but in its bringing to our knowledge the views of Hunter on a great many subjects not treated in the works published by himself, and in showing us how far that great self-taught philosopher, by the penetration of his intuitive sagacity, had anticipated the revelations of modern science. Many parts of these writings have almost a prophetic character; so completely did Hunter seem to divine the ultimate tendency of the inquiries which he set on foot. And even those portions which seem most obscure and enigmatical, will generally be found to reward a patient and discriminating search into their meaning. For the obscurity of Hunter was not that of the nebulous mystic, who dissolves realities into abstractions, and subtilizes these until all traces of definiteness are lost; but that of the surcharged mind labouring with the number and vastness of its conceptions, and unable to express these in distinct and appropriate forms. The arrangement of these fragments which has been adopted by Professor Owen, is as symmetrical as their varied and unconnected nature admitted. The first volume commences with "Observations on Natural History," which include some general introductory disquisitions, Hunters' very remarkable and prescient views on the classification of animals (in which he hints at ideas of the origin of species not unlike those of Darwin), remarks on certain points of the Natural History of Man, and special observations on the natural history of various animals. These are followed by "Observations on Physiology," under the general heads of life and the living principle, the senses, generation, development, and monsters; and though these are subjects on which the results of Hunter's researches have been already more fully made known than in the case of most others, yet we find, particularly in the two latter sections, unexpected indications of a grasp of thought which places even these fragmentary notices far in advance of anything that had been published on the subjects of them at the time they were written. The next group is formed by "Observations on Psychology," a collection of fragments of great interest, which give us an insight into Hunter's modes of thought upon phenomena purely mental, and contain many valuable suggestions—some of them, it is true, rather obscurely hinted at, but others very felicitously expressed. A curious bit of personal experience is recorded in the following passage:—"A man's feelings of himself, or consciousness of his body, is not sensation; for, when I was ill, my own feelings of myself, with regard to size, was [that I was] only two feet high, while the sensitive or the reasoning principle told me I was as tall as usual." He very clearly distinguished between instinct and reason:—"Whatever impulse of action we have which does not arise from the knowledge of the event,

or from a motive, is 'instinct'; and whatever action arises from an intention is 'reason.' " Among the miscellaneous notes and apophthegms with which this section concludes, are three which are highly characteristic of the man. "There never was a man," he says, "that wanted to be a great man, ever was a great man," a thought more grammatically rendered by Professor Owen, "No man ever was a great man who wanted to be one." "For," continues Hunter, "great men have endeavoured always to do some great action that seemed to tend to some great good; and the effect made them great. Wanting to be great is vanity without the power. In the first, the person himself is not the object; or, if he be, he is only the secondary one; in the second, it is the person himself that is the object, and the thing [to be done] is only the secondary." Hunter's genuine love of truth is finely shown in his pointed appreciation of the difference between involuntary and wilful non-perception of it:—"It is much more pardonable to fall into an error than to follow an error." The sense of the sacrifice he had made in devoting to the pursuit of science the time and labour which would have enabled him to amass wealth if employed in the profitable practice of his profession, is simply and honestly recorded in the remark that "It requires a great deal of courage in a man to continue poor while it is in his power to get rich."

An unfortunate misunderstanding between Professor Owen and the Council of the College of Surgeons has prevented him from including in this collection a very remarkable paper "On Extraneous Fossils," which, as it appears from the narrative communicated to Professor Owen by Mr. Clift, was presented to the Royal Society in 1793 or 1794, but of which the non-insertion in its Transactions was due to the author's uncompromising boldness in affirming that a period of "many thousand centuries" must have been required to produce the present condition of the earth's crust, and in calling in question the adequacy of the Mosaic deluge to account for the presence of marine fossils on land. The original MS. of this paper, in the handwriting of Mr. Clift, with corrections or additions on almost every page by Hunter himself, remained in the possession of Sir Everard Home; and after his demise it was presented to the College by Captain Sir E. Home, R.N. In his Hunterian Course for 1855, Professor Owen took up the subject of fossil remains; and, having commented in his first lecture on Hunter's published memoir "On the Fossil Bones presented to the Royal Society by the Margrave of Anspach," he read, as the second lecture, Hunter's unpublished memoir, and devoted the whole of his third lecture to a commentary upon it. Moreover, according to his own statement, he especially drew the attention of the Museum Committee by letters, in February, 1855, to the propriety of publishing the MS. in question in the concluding volume of the Catalogue of Fossils, then in course of preparation; but of this communication there is no trace either in the minutes of the committee, or in the recollection of its members. Whilst preparing the present work, Professor Owen applied to the Council, in October, 1859, for permission to include in it the paper in question; a request which was somewhat uncourteously refused, on the ground "that the question of the publication by this College

of the said paper, together with the other unpublished Hunterian manuscripts, is under consideration." Almost immediately afterwards, however, the MS. was sent to the printer, and it was published at the end of the year, with a preface, in which it was imputed to Prof. Owen that he had improperly kept its existence from the knowledge of the council and museum committee until after the completion of the catalogue of organic remains. This charge, founded on the idea that the paper was not read from the Hunterian chair until 1856, was subsequently disavowed by the council, on proof being furnished by Professor Owen that he had thus brought it into public notice in 1855. It is much to be regretted that under the influence of this unfortunate misconception, the council of the college should have refused Professor Owen's very reasonable request; and we think that he has done wisely in introducing, as a substitute for the original memoir, his own commentary upon it. From his statement of Hunter's views it is evident that he had anticipated in a most remarkable manner and degree the results of modern geological research in regard to the importance of organic remains as indications of the successive changes which have modified the earth's crust, and the dynamical agencies to which those changes are due; and that he had grasped the true principle of geological inquiry, that of reasoning backwards from the alterations in progress on the earth's surface at the present time, in seeking for the rationale of the past disturbances of which its existing state gives evidence.

Professor Owen's exposition of Hunter's Palæontological views is followed by a collection of Hunter's own "Observations and Experiments on the Vegetable Economy," which was contained in a separate MS. volume, chiefly in the handwriting of Mr. Bell (one of Hunter's assistants), with additions and corrections by the master himself. Considering how little was known at that period of the true principles of vegetable physiology, his insight into the various phenomena to which he directed his attention was very remarkable; and it is most interesting to observe how keenly alive he was to all that was taking place within his observation in the vegetable as well as in the animal creation, and how he viewed everything in its subserviency to those great principles of life and organization, the determination of which was the ultimate object of all his researches. The first volume concludes with a short fragment of a "Treatise on Animals," which is apparently the outline sketch of the anatomical part of the great work on "Comparative Anatomy and Physiology," projected by him, the materials for which are embodied in his museum. To this is appended a supplement on the art of making and arranging anatomical preparations; chiefly interesting, as showing how attentive Hunter was to all these practical details of museum work, which a man of his high aims might well have been expected to leave to subordinates, but on which he justly felt that the due appreciation of his labours by posterity must in great degree depend.

The whole of the second volume is made up of a collection of "Hunter's detailed Observations on Comparative Anatomy;" being the records of a vast number of dissections of mammals and birds of nearly all

families, of the principal existing types of reptiles, of numerous fishes of various kinds, and of several insects. Under the latter head, the general physiology of the class, and the economy of bees and the silkworm, are treated with special elaboration. Although most of the information contained in this volume has been previously given to the world in one form or another, yet it is very interesting to possess it in the shape originally given to it by Hunter himself; and we feel that the possessor of these records has worthily discharged a debt long due to the memory of his great predecessor, in thus at last giving them that publicity of which a dishonourable selfishness originally deprived them.

The character of Dr. Hartwig's work on the Sea,² which has lately been reproduced in this country, is scarcely what its title would lead us to suppose. For although the bulk of the book is devoted to an account of the living inhabitants of the sea, no inconsiderable space is taken up with chapters on the physical geography of the sea, and on the progress of maritime discovery; the former of which subjects naturally connects itself with the distribution of animal and vegetable life through the ocean, but the latter we take to be entirely out of place. Notwithstanding the enthusiastic love of the sea which is professed by the author he writes in a very sober, business-like style; quite different from that of our own Darwin, Forbes, Kingsley, Gosse, and Lewes, each of whom manifests, in his own way, his personal familiarity with, and his interest in, the subjects of which he talks. In fact, the book might very well have been compiled by a man who had never himself seen either the sea or any of its living inhabitants. The illustrations constitute its most attractive feature; but as among the woodcuts we recognise a good many of the stock-figures of popular works on natural history, we are confirmed in our suspicion that Dr. Hartwig's knowledge is rather gained from books than from a personal study of the "living wonders" of the sea. He had previously put forth a corresponding work on the Arctic Regions, and we have now another upon the Tropics,³ the character of which seems to us to be very similar—that, namely, of a respectable compilation, destitute of such life as can only be imparted to a descriptive treatise by individual experience.

The sale of 6000 copies of Mr. Darwin's work on the Origin of Species, testifies to the interest which the subject has excited in the public mind;⁴ and we have now before us a new edition, into which the author has introduced various additions and corrections (the chief of these being noticed in a table at the commencement), and to which

² "The Sea and its Living Wonders. Translated from the Fourth German Edition, and partly re-written by the Author, Dr. G. Hartwig. With numerous Woodcuts and Twelve Chromoxylographic Plates by Henry Noel Humphreys." 8vo. London: 1860.

³ "Die Tropenwelt in Thier und Pflanzenleben dargestellt." Von Dr. George Hartwig. Mit sechs Abbildungen. 8vo. Wiesbaden: 1860.

⁴ "On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life." By Charles Darwin, M.A., F.R.S., &c. Third Edition, with additions and corrections (Seventh Thousand). Post 8vo. London: 1861.

he has prefixed "an Historical Sketch of the recent Progress of Opinion on the Origin of Species," written with the scrupulous candour by which he is so eminently characterized.

Encouraged by the favourable reception given to the first series of his "Humble Creatures," Mr. Samuelson has ventured upon a bolder flight, and has produced a little book on the Honey-Bee, which contains by far the best popular account of its structure and development that we have yet seen.⁵ The descriptions are based on personal observation, and the illustrations are all original, many of them having been furnished by Dr. Hicks, who has recently placed before the Royal and Linnean Societies several valuable contributions to insect anatomy. In his account of the Reproduction of the Bee, Mr. Samuelson has fully availed himself of the most recent information; and it is only in his discussion of the nature of Instinct, and of its relations to Intelligence,—a problem confessedly of the greatest difficulty—that we feel any question as to the success with which he has treated the subject he has undertaken.

From Professor Max Schultze, now of Bonn, we have an admirable memoir on an extremely curious form of Sponge from the Japan seas,⁶ the *Hyalonema Sieboldi*, of the skeleton of which a specimen preserved in the British Museum has long been a source of great interest to such zoologists as concern themselves about the lower forms of animal life. This skeleton is formed by a slightly twisted cord of siliceous fibres resembling those of coarsely-spun glass, about fifteen inches long, separating into a sort of brush at its free extremity, but implanted at its base into a substance of a spongy texture. It has commonly been regarded as belonging to the group of Aleyonian Zoophytes; but from the careful examination of a well-preserved specimen, Professor Max Schultze has arrived at the conclusion that this organism is essentially a sponge, allied to the beautiful *Euplectella*, some years ago described by Professor Owen in the Zoological Transactions, and that the polype structure with which the base of the flint rope is ensheathed is really parasitic. This memoir, like the author's previous monographs, is admirably executed and beautifully illustrated.

It is well known to all who are acquainted with the history of our knowledge of the Argonaut or Paper-Nautilus, that it is to the inquiries of Madame Power that we owe the final determination of the long debated question as to the real relation between the shell and its animal inhabitant; many distinguished zoologists having continued to maintain, up to the date of those inquiries, that the cephalopod found in the shell is a parasite which has taken possession of a habi-

⁵ "The Honey-Bee; its Natural History, Habits, Anatomy, and Microscopical Beauties; with eight Tinted Lithographs." By James Samuelson, assisted by J. A. Braxton Hicks, M.D., F.L.S. Post 8vo. London: 1860.

⁶ "Die Hyalonemen. Ein Beitrag zur Naturgeschichte der Spongen." Von Max Schultze, Ord. Professor der Anatomie und Director des Anatomischen Instituts zu Bonn. Mit fünf zum Theil in Farbendruck ausgeführten Tafeln. 4to. Bonn: 1860.

ation formed by some other mollusk. During her residence at Messina, however, she obtained ample evidence that this shell is really the product of the animal found in it; that it grows with its growth (being specially enlarged, however, about the epoch of fecundation), that it is formed by those flat membranous arms which are commonly termed the "sails" of the Argonaut, and that when broken it is repaired by an exudation from these. By the materials supplied by this lady to Professor Owen, he was enabled effectually to demolish the parasitic hypothesis; whilst the subsequent discovery, by other naturalists, of the true nature of the supposed parasite *Hectocotylus*, and of the extraordinary difference between the male and female of this species, removed the difficulty which the uniformly female sex of the Argonaut had, up to that time, occasioned. This shell, it now appears, is essentially a *nidamentum*, or receptacle for the eggs; and thus the absence of any muscular attachment between the shell and the animal, such as unites them in the Pearly Nautilus and its allies, is accounted for. In the publication before us⁷, Madame Power has brought together a summary of her observations on this subject, with other observations and experiments on the nourishment and digestive powers of *Bulla lignaria* and of *Asterias aurantiacus*, on the common *Octopus* and *Pinna*, on the power of Univalve Testacea to reproduce parts cut off, and several matters of inferior interest.

Among the teachers of Medicine in the Metropolis, none occupied a more conspicuous position, during the decade 1850-60, than Dr. Todd. His clinical lectures, delivered to a large class of students, were perused with eagerness by a far larger class of readers; and it was universally felt that they embodied the results of large experience, great practical sagacity, and (generally speaking) philosophical reflection.⁸ After the lamented death of their author, it was judged advisable that the Lectures, which appeared successively in the years 1854, 1857, and 1859, should be republished, with as little alteration in their collocation as was consistent with their being collected in a single volume; and the task of rearranging and editing has been very judiciously performed by Dr. Beale. He has prefixed, as a general introduction to the collection, the remarks on Clinical Instruction and on the Treatment of Acute Disease, which were originally prefixed as prefaces to the volumes "On Urinary Diseases" and "On Certain Acute Diseases;" and from the latter, which was completed just before his decease, and which may be, therefore, regarded as containing his most matured views, we extract the following statement of the conclusions which Dr. Todd felt himself justified in basing on the clinical observations detailed in his Lectures:—

"1. That the notion, so long prevalent in the schools, that acute disease can be prevented or cured by means which depress and reduce vital and nervous power, is altogether fallacious.

⁷ "Observations et Expériences Physiques sur plusieurs Animaux Marins et Terrestres." Par Mme. Jeannette Power. 8vo. Paris: 1860.

⁸ "Clinical Lectures." By Robert Bentley Todd, M.D., F.R.S. Second Edition. Edited by Lionel S. Beale, M.B., F.R.S., &c. 8vo. London: 1861.

"2. That acute disease is not curable by the direct influence of any form of drug or any known remedial agent, excepting when it is capable of acting as an antidote, or of neutralizing a poison, on the presence of which in the system the disease may depend (*materies morbi*).

"3. That disease is cured by natural processes, to promote which in their full vigour, vital power must be upheld. Remedies, whether in the shape of drugs, which exercise a special physiological influence on the system, or in whatever form, are useful only so far as they may excite, assist, or promote these natural curative processes.

"4. That it should be the aim of the physician (after he has sedulously studied the chemical history of disease, and made himself master of its diagnosis), to inquire minutely into the intimate nature of these curative processes—their physiology, so to speak—to discover the best means of assisting them, to search for antidotes to morbid poisons, and to ascertain the best and most convenient methods of upholding vital power."—pp. 7, 8.

These general views we believe to be in harmony with the best knowledge and intelligence of our time. They are essentially the same with those propounded some years since by Sir John Forbes, and at the time received with that almost universal obloquy which is generally the fate of the first innovators upon time-honoured prejudices. And we regard it as most fortunate for the true interests of the profession and the public, that they should be strenuously upheld by a teacher whose influence has been so extensive, and is likely to be so lasting, as that of Dr. Todd.—In one respect, however, we feel called upon to protest against Dr. Todd's own application of his principles, which seems to us to have been based on a fundamentally wrong assumption, and in regard to the effects of which we believe him to have been blinded by the same prejudice as that which physicians of the older school have entertained in favour of bleeding and mercury. We refer to his excessive use of Alcoholic stimulants, which he justified, not merely on the ground of their practical efficacy, but on that of their value as *food* capable of being applied to the nutrition of the nervous system, when no other kind of food can be assimilated. This we hold to be a position utterly indefensible; and whilst we most fully recognise the inestimable value of alcoholic stimulants, discriminatingly administered, in the treatment of a large class of diseases, we feel confident that the system pursued by Dr. Todd was one often fraught with mischief to the patients under his charge, and was sure to be still more dangerous in the hands of imitators possessing less tact and experience.

The recent epidemic of Diphtheria, which so strangely baffled the resources of medical skill, and brought sadness into so many homes, presented much to call for careful investigation into its origin, nature, and mode of propagation; and the inquiry having been taken up by the Privy Council, was committed to the charge of Dr. Greenhow, who had previously shown a special aptitude for dealing with questions of this nature. Dr. Greenhow, in due time, made his formal report to the authorities from whom he received his commission; but he has justly deemed it expedient to place before the profession a much fuller statement of the results of his inquiries, both as to the history of former visitations of the like character, and as to the pathology and treatment of

the disease as it recently showed itself.⁹ Although, as he himself admits, his conclusions are far from satisfactory, yet the body of information he has collected, and the care and discrimination which he has evidently bestowed in the selection and arrangement of his materials, give to his work a permanent value, and render it a safe basis for any researches that may hereafter be called for by a return of the epidemic.

There is much of this discriminative judgment in the elaborate work which Dr. Parkes has put forth on the Composition of the Urine in Health and Disease.¹⁰ Since it has come to be understood how important is the study of that excretion in its relations to those metamorphic processes in which the physical life of the animal organism essentially consists, great attention has been given to it, especially by German observers; and Dr. Parkes has rendered a most acceptable service by embodying the results of their labours in a systematic form. But he has done much more than this; for having himself laboured assiduously in the same field for many years, he has not only collected a large mass of original information, but he has also qualified himself to form a much truer estimate of the contributions of others than any mere compiler would be competent to present; and his work is one which, for its patient research, its candid appreciation of the labours of others, and its philosophical discrimination, not only fully sustains the high reputation which Dr. Parkes has already acquired, but will place him amongst the best medical authors of our time.

It is rather remarkable that no work worthily representing British Surgery has yet been produced on the co-operative principle. We have had the "Cyclopædia of Practical Medicine" and the "Library of Medicine;" but the attempted "Cyclopædia of Surgery" was a failure; and though systematic compendia of the principles and practice of surgery have been of late years almost "as plenty as blackberries," any larger undertaking seemed to be looked on as a speculation unlikely to be successful. The energy and liberality of the Messrs. Parker, however, and the zeal and ability of Mr. Holmes, have been successful in overcoming the preliminary difficulties;¹¹ a systematic scheme has been drawn out; an efficient staff of contributors has been secured; and the volume now issued, which may probably be taken as a fair sample of the whole, is one which does credit to all parties concerned in its production. It consists of a series of detached essays, each possessing something of the completeness of a monograph, by different authors, most of them hospital surgeons in London, and generally writing on subjects of their own choice. But these essays all have their appro-

⁹ "On Diphtheria." By Edward H. Greenhow, M.D., F.R.C.P., Lecturer on Public Health at St. Thomas's Hospital. 8vo. London: 1860.

¹⁰ "The Composition of the Urine in Health and Disease and under the Action of Remedies." By Edmund A. Parkes, M.D., F.R.C.S., Professor of Hygiene in the Army Medical School. 8vo. London: 1860.

¹¹ "A System of Surgery, Theoretical and Practical, in Treatises by various Authors." Edited by T. Holmes, M.A., Cantab., Assistant-Surgeon to the Hospital for Sick Children. In Four Vols. Vol. I. General Pathology. 8vo. London: 1860.

priate places in the general plan, and the greater part of the first volume is devoted to the diseases which affect the whole system or any part of it. Thus, we have inflammation, treated by Mr. Simon; abscess and gangrene, by Mr. Holmes Coote; fistulæ and ulcers, tumours (innocent), contusions, and wounds, by Mr. Paget; erysipelas and allied diseases, by Mr. Campbell de Morgan; pyæmia, by Mr. Callender; tetanus and animal poisons, by Mr. Polak; serofula, hysteria, and collapse, by Mr. Savory; syphilis, by Mr. H. Lee; cancer and wounds of vessels, by Mr. C. H. Moore; burns, scalds, accidents from lightning, and general pathology of dislocations, by Mr. Holmes; and general pathology of fractures, by Mr. Hornidge.

We are happy to congratulate Dr. Mayne on the successful completion of his laborious "*Expository Lexicon*," a work of immense research,¹² which will constitute a most valuable book of reference to the reader of medical and scientific literature, and to such as may have, for any special purpose, to master the technicalities of any particular department. Its plan and objects are sufficiently explained in its title-page; and in regard to its execution, we have only to say, that we have not been able to think of any scientific or medical term which is not to be found in its proper place, adequately defined and explained. Our only question is, whether the work would not have been rendered more compendious, and therefore more generally useful, by the omission of a vast number of terms which have now become quite obsolete; and we would suggest to Dr. Mayne the propriety of issuing, to meet the wants of ordinary students, a new edition of the "*Medical Vocabulary*," which constituted the original nucleus of his vast undertaking.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

SEEKING at Cairo a Greek manuscript giving an account of the deposition of the Russian patriarch Nikon, who, according to records "preserved among his enemies, but neither noticed nor understood, was called by an angel a holy man of God, and was named in a dream by Christ himself!"—Mr. William Palmer accepted the invitation of an American stranger to join him in a short voyage up the Nile. One day, while reading in his boat the old Egyptian Chronicle preserved by Syncellus,¹ our author's attention was drawn to a clause in which it is said that here 413 years of the Sothic cycle in fifteen generations are entered or registered. A little reflection convinced

¹² "*An Expository Lexicon of the Terms, Ancient and Modern, in Medical and General Science; including a complete Medico-Legal Vocabulary, and presenting the correct Pronunciation, Derivation, Definition, and Application of the Names, Analogues, Synonymes, and Phrases (in English, Latin, Greek, French, and German), connected with Medicine, and employed in the Natural Sciences.*" By R. G. Mayne, M.D. 8vo, 1506 pp. London: 1860.

¹ "*Egyptian Chronicles, with a Harmony of Sacred and Egyptian Chronology, and an Appendix of Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities.*" By William Palmer, M.A., and late Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. London: Longman & Co. 1861.

Mr. Palmer that these years or generations belonged to no real Sothic cycle (1461 Egyptian or 1460 Julian years counted from the conjunction of Thoth 1. with the heliacal rising of Sirius), but were a weak invention of some Egyptian savant, who wished to put off an impossible conceit upon the Greeks. Baron Bunsen, we may observe, also regarded these chronological arrangements as a forgery—"Hominis sunt Christiani, parum docti et impudentissimi."* Mr. Palmer shows that, in the case contemplated, the Sothic cycle commenced July 20, B.C. 1322, and ended July 20, B.C. 139. Now as the Chronicle ends with the conquest of Ochus, *more* than 443 years of the cycle below that event had still to run. "But when 443 years were counted upwards from July 20, A.D. 139, the end of the cycle which *began* with July 20, in B.C. 1322, the date which came out, viz., B.C. 305, being that at which Ptolemy Lagus first assumed a crown, both proved sufficiently that the key was now fitted to the lock, and brought out the full idea of the chronicle." By a factitious process of computation, the conquest of Ochus was drawn down so as to make it coincident with the commencement of the Macedonian dynasty. "And the old sense was this, not only that the old world came to an end with Nectanebo, but also, as a corollary that a new world, with all its hopes and promises, was commencing at the date of the chronicle with the Lagidæ." In this explanation, Mr. Palmer sees not only the first step to the analysis and reconstruction of the old chronicle, but a key to all the other Egyptian schemes whether earlier or later. The six schemes examined in this volume are—1. The Hieratic attached by implication to the cyclical epoch of B.C. 1322; 2. The Old Chronicle similarly attached for its own date to B.C. 305; 3. That preserved by Diogenes Laertius, of uncertain date, but later than Alexander, since it ends at his Egyptian accession; 4. That of the "*Ægyptiaca*" of the original Manëtho, about B.C. 268; 5. The Theban list of Eratosthenes, about B.C. 216; and the scheme of Ptolemy of Mendes, about B.C. 100. To return: The dynasties of the Old Chronicle (for though nominally 30 they are really no more than 25), are equivalent to a period of 36,525 years, the alleged *lifetime* of historical Egypt, being the product of the Sothic cycle 1461, and the number of dynasties as reduced by Mr. Palmer, 25. Converting the years into months, in accordance with an alleged primitive computation of time, our author next shows, by ingenious speculations, which we perforce omit, how *his* 24 cycles of Egyptian month-years, with certain superadded years already indicated, would make for the initiated a sum total of 24 cycles, or 36,525† years, ending July, B.C. 1322; but for the initiated, who knew that they were to divide the 24 cycles by 12, and eject 341 interpolated years, the true chronological sum understood would be $(2922 + 1120 =)$ 4042 years; the 1120 years being the Sothic period (1461)—341 complementary years; the 2922 years being the sum of two Sothic cycles; and the 25 dynasties being suggested as the

* Quoted from "Prospective Review," Vol. ii. No. 5, Art. i. See also Vol. ii. No. 6, Art. v.

† 35,864, p. 33, vol. i., must be an erratum.

period of some grand *Ἀποκατάστασις* or Restoration, made up of 12 (lunations) multiplied into 2 (cycles).

We leave it to the professed Egyptologists to decide on the merits of this plausible explanation. Mr. Palmer, if credulous, is ingenious, and his learning is such as to entitle him to respect. But whatever be the intrinsic value of his arithmetical exertations, we presume their ultimate object is to facilitate the reconciliation of Sacred with Egyptian chronology. In this straw-threshing enterprise we do not think that the author has been more successful than his predecessors. He rejects the chronology of the Hebrew Bible for that of the Septuagint, avowedly because the Septuagint interposes a longer term of years between the Creation and the fall of Abraham than the former. But this discrepancy, as has been well remarked, is destructive of the authority of either document. To gain time, the Septuagint systematically, though not invariably, adds 100 years to the age of the father at the birth of his eldest son, occasionally subtracting it from the length of his life after that event; a transparent artifice that suffices to establish the untrustworthiness of the Septuagint version.

The result of Mr. Palmer's singular elaborations appears in the shape of "A Harmony of Sacred and Egyptian Chronology," at the end of his second volume; according to which, if we mistake not, Creation took place B.C. 5361, instead of B.C. 4004, as in the orthodox system; and the earth at the present time has almost attained the comparatively heretical age of 7222 years. Mr. Palmer, has, we dare say, done all that learning and dexterity can do to achieve the impossible. It is needless to say that he has not succeeded. We do not consider that he is justified in preferring the Septuagint text, in his off-hand arbitrary way; nor do we believe that any amount of numerical manipulation will effect a harmony between the chronological statements of the Hebrew genesis and the attestations contained in Egyptian chronicles and inscriptions, which, on Mr. Palmer's own showing, carry us back past the epoch of the Flood to within a few months of the Creation; or between the same statements and the evidence supplied by the brick legends of Chaldaea, which Mr. Rawlinson tells us represent Uruk, king of Hur and Akkad, as the founder of several important capitals about B.C. 2200, or 118 years after the Deluge, and less than 50 from the Dispersion—that is, according to the received chronology.

Descending the stream of time we renew our acquaintance with Dido and Carthage, under the auspices of Dr. Davis.² Dr. Davis had been attracted by the story of the "unfortunate lady," whose silent attitude, under a domestic affliction, associated with her happily suggestive name, inspired the punning rhyme on the Latin gerunds, which represents the queen of Carthage as *Di do dum(b)*. Visiting the site of Dido's city in after years, studying the Punic language and the Carthaginian history, Dr. Davis came to entertain the conviction that relics of the former greatness of Carthage were yet to be discovered under the gradually accumulating deposit of earth. To resuscitate a portion of these relics now be-

² "Carthage and her Remains." By Dr. N. Davis, F.R.G.S., &c. London: Richard Bentley.

came his vehement desire. After a long delay he succeeded in obtaining permission to commence the process of excavation, received the encouragement of Lord Clarendon, then (1856?) at the head of the Foreign Office, and had ample means placed at his disposal. Thus supported, Dr. Davis commenced his labours, and continued them with considerable success, till he received an intimation from Lord Malmesbury to stop the excavations, as the Government, while acknowledging the value of his services, "did not feel justified in authorizing any further expenditure for that purpose." For three months Dr. Davis, aided by some forty to fifty men, had toiled assiduously, but fruitlessly, till happening one day to ride over the site of the Roman temple of Coelestis, (Astarte), a piece of wall attracted his attention, and he dismounted to examine it. The result of this examination was the discovery, first of a magnificent pavement, about fifteen feet by nine, with chaste and elegant designs, a colossal female bust, and two priestesses; and secondly, of a magnificent head of Ceres. The heads of the two priestesses were rather damaged. The pavement was gorgeous; and when washed, the colours stood out as fresh and bright as if the artist's hand had only just been removed. The antiquity of these mosaics appears to be a subject of dispute. Dr. Davis maintains their Punic origin; M. Beulé pronounces them Roman and Byzantine; and Mr. Franks, of the British Museum, refers them to the Roman era. M. Beulé, however, according to our author, never saw the mosaics which he extemporaneously characterizes as Roman or Byzantine. Leaving the question of origin undecided, we note only that two distinct pavements were cut through, of which the uppermost was undoubtedly Roman, before the lowermost was reached. We regret that we cannot give any account of the excavations within and near the precincts of the Byrsa, or of the Punic inscriptions and constructions, or of the extra-mural diggings and catacombs, which Dr. Davis describes. His researches have considerable value, nor is his story without interest. Of his literary powers, or of his scholarship, or of his philosophical cultivation, we cannot speak highly. He refers us to the *Æneid* for proof that "Carthage contained, in the days of Dido, sumptuous edifices, replete with the works of art of the best masters of the day;" he quotes Plutarch, who tells us of the surprise of Sertorius, when breaking open the sepulchre of the giant Antæus, he found a body sixty cubits long,—to justify or excuse his own credulity, when he went in search of a colossal skeleton and found only the drumstick of a fowl and the jaw-bone of an ass! The book, however, with all its faults and superfluities, is entertaining. It requires to be carefully revised and abridged, and in a second edition an index should not be omitted.

We call the attention of historical students to several important works, of archæological and national interest, published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. Taking them in order of time, we notice first "*Annales Cambriæ*," perhaps the oldest chronicle of Welsh affairs that we possess.³ A portion of this work was printed some

³ "*Annales Cambriæ*." Edited by the Rev. John Williams Ab Ithel, M. A., &c. Published by the Authority of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, under the Direction of the Master of the Rolls. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1860.

years ago, under the able editorship of the late Henry Petrie, Esq. A complete edition of it, prepared by the Rev. John Williams Ab Ithel, M.A., is now issued, forming a portion of the *Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages*. In addition to the Latin text it contains a elucidatory preface, a glossary, and index.

Mr. Frank Scott Haydon, B.A., is the editor of a work belonging to the same series as the preceding, entitled "*Eulogium Historiarum sive Temporis*," &c. Commencing with the Creation, the "*Eulogium*" proper brings us down to the year A.D. 1366. The first volume, which we have not seen, probably contains three books; the second,⁴ which is now before us, contains the fourth and the first half of the fifth book, terminating with the conclusion of the account of the British kings; the text [Latin] of the third volume will consist of the second half of the fifth book, the continuation of the "*Eulogium*" to A.D. 1415, and some other connected documents. Mr. Haydon considers that there is internal evidence to show that the latter part of the chronicle of the reign of Edward III. was actually written in that reign, and most probably while the events which are narrated were taking place.

The works of Giraldus de Barri, called from his native country Cambrensis, come next in our catalogue, edited by Mr. J. S. Brewer, Professor of English Literature, King's College, London, whose admirable prefatory review gives an additional value to this publication. The first volume⁵ contains 1. *De rebus a se gestis, libri iii.*; 2. *Invectionum libelli, v. and vi.*; 3. *Symbolum Electorum*: the letters and poems of Giraldus: 4. Other letters and poems. Giraldus, the youngest son of William de Barri, by his second wife Angareth, daughter of Nesta, the "Helen of South Wales," was born at the castle of Manorbeer, in Pembrokeshire, in the year 1147. He gives us a picturesque description of his natal spot; describes real and fabulous physical phenomena; and drops incidental edicts of the Court of Rome and its famous pontiff, Innocent III., in his tiara and scarlet shoes; courteous, affable, witty, unreserved, but never off his guard; "piercing at a glance the characters of those who approached him, our poor bishop elect in articular." The text of course is Latin.

The "*Liber Custumarum*,"⁶ compiled in the early part of the fourteenth century, belongs to the mediæval series of the Record Office publications, and is edited by Henry Thomas Riley, M.A., the translator of the "*Liber Albus*," noticed in our last number. It contains the sketch of mediæval life, commenced in that valuable document; among its topics comprising the London Building Assize of A.D. 1212;

⁴ "*Eulogium Historiarum sive Temporis*," &c. Edited by Frank Scott Haydon, B.A. Published by the Authority, &c. Vol. II. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1860.

⁵ "*Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*." Edited by J. S. Brewer, &c. Published by Authority, &c. Vol. VII. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1861.

⁶ "*Monumenta Gildhalle Londoniensis. II. Liber Custumarum. Parts I. and II.*" Edited by Henry Thomas Riley, M.A. Published by the Authority, &c. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1860.

Foreign merchants in England; the Festival of the Pui; the London Iter 14th Edward II.; the Congress of A.D. 1280; the trades of London; London localities and the City precincts of the Thames in the fourteenth century. Besides the usual explanatory preface, it contains a summary of contents, a glossary of Anglo-Norman, Saxon, and early English words; a second glossary of mediæval Latin; and an ample general index. In the present edition of the "Book of Customs," such portions are omitted as have been already printed in "Rymer's Fœdera," and other government publications. Selected passages, translated from the original, will be found in the second part.

In the foreign series of the "Calendar of State Papers" is included a volume which offers us an abstract of the official correspondence transmitted from abroad, for the information of the English Government, during the reign of Edward VI.⁷ The preface informs us that "the result of a lavish outlay and keen observation" is embodied in the pages before us. We are admitted, continues the annotator, into the secret history of nearly every court of Europe, and are told of events as they occurred, from day to day, by men who either were witnesses of what they report, or obtained it from trustworthy sources. The general index appears to be satisfactorily drawn up. The editor or compiler is Mr. William B. Turnbull, an accomplished gentleman holding the Catholic faith, who has recently been coerced into the resignation of an appointment, the duties of which he seems to have honourably and efficiently discharged: a resignation perhaps somewhat unnecessarily conceded to the godly howls of a Jones-Brown-and-Robinson Protestantism.

Mr. Noel Sainsbury is the editor of a volume of "State Papers" belonging to the colonial series. His "Calendar" commences with the year 1574, and ends with the year 1660; from Elizabeth to the restoration of Charles II.⁸ The two first documents relate to Sir Humphrey Gylbert's patent "to discover and take possession of all remote and barbarous lands unoccupied by any Christian Prince or people;" it illustrates the history of the Province of Virginia; it contains references to New England, South Carolina, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Canada, and the Bahamas, some of the Caribbee Islands, Bermudas, and the settlement of Jamaica. It has the characteristic preface and an index of references.

Mr. John Bruce is the editor of a volume of State Papers belonging to the domestic series.⁹ The documents calendared in it show the conclusion of the fruitless warfare of Charles I. with Spain: contain some interesting matter relating to "Oliver Cromwell of Huntingdon, Esq.;" Alexander Gill, schoolmaster of St. Paul's, and numbered

⁷ "Calendar of State Papers. Foreign Series of the Reign of Edward VI. 1547-1563, &c." Edited by William B. Turnbull, Esq. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1861.

⁸ "Calendar of State Papers. Colonial Series. 1574-1660, &c." Edited by G. W. Noel Sainsbury, Esq. London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts.

⁹ "Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series. Of the Reign of Charles I. 1629-1631." Edited by John Bruce, Esq. London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts. 1860.

among the earliest friends of Milton, Ben Jonson, Randolph, Herrick, Bishop Corbett, Herbert Thorndike, and the Lord Chief Baron Walter. The usual introductory essay and index here also aid inquiry and facilitate reference.

The last volume in the present category, that we have to mention, also ranges under the domestic series. It embraces but a short period of time, 1660-1661.¹⁰ Mrs. Everett Green observes in the preface that the State Papers belonging to the reign of Charles II., especially to its early period, possess a character which distinguishes them from those of any other period in English history. The return of the king was regarded as an era of reparation by all who had fought and suffered in the cause of royalty. Among the petitions which inundated the Court, is one from Edward Martin and Francis Yates; the former of whom lent the royal fugitive a shirt and the latter ten shillings after the battle of Worcester. Mr. Yates had an additional claim on the king, for his wife was the first who presented the hungry monarch "with any provision to eat after the fight, which meat his majesty ate in the wood upon a blanket. The truth of this is attested by Richard Pendrell." The most memorable, however, of all these applications is surely that forwarded by a lady implicated in a suspicion of detaining jewels and other property belonging to the late king, and superscribed, according to Secretary Nicholas's endorsement, "Old Mrs. Cromwell's, Noll's wife's petition." The general index of this volume is particularly copious. Our rapid survey of these valuable public records, which form a part, as it were, of a national library, will, imperfect as it is, serve to convince the public of their importance, and of the frequently interesting material which they preserve.

The reappearance of a curious tract, famous in its day, deserves a brief notification.¹¹ King Charles the First's Sunday "Book of Sports," a sort of recension of a proclamation issued by James I., with the unhappy monarch's own ratification prefixed, has been reprinted by Mr. Quaritch, on tinted paper, an exact imitation of the original by Whittingham. The book enjoins "that no lawful recreation [after Divine Service, such as dancing, archery, May-games] shall be debarred to our good people," and "that the bishop of that diocese [whatever it be] take the like straight order with all the Puritans and Precisians within the same, either constraining them to conform themselves, or to leave the country," &c. The new edition of this tract is likely to be speedily exhausted, 100 copies only having been printed.

The "History of Europe,"¹² in its transition from mediæval to

¹⁰ "Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series of the Reign of Charles II. 1660-1661." Edited by Mary Anne Everett Green. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1860.

¹¹ "King Charles the First's Declaration to his Subjects concerning Lawful Sports to be used on Sundays, 1633." Reprinted for Bernard Quaritch, 1860.

¹² "Geschichte Europa's im Uebergange vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit von Friedrich Kortüm und Karl Albert Freiherrn von Reichlin-Meldegg, ordentlichen-Professoren an der Universität Heidelberg." Erster Band. London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate. 1861.

modern times, which would seem from the title-page to be the joint-production of Kortüm, an author who died in 1858, and Reichlin-Meldegg, appears in reality to have been written by the former, and merely edited by the latter Professor, who now publishes it with a short introductory exposition. Recognising three periods in the evolution of humanity—antiquity, the Middle Ages, and modern times—and dating the commencement of the intermediate period from the death of Theoderich (526), and fixing its termination at the time of the Siege of Constantinople, the expositor regards antiquity as characterized by a religion which sought and found the god-like in nature, and the Middle Age as distinguished by a mental antagonism to nature, and a tendency in the human mind to separate itself from the material, and aspire to a union with the Divine. The power of faith, valour, and chivalrous heroism is, in his view, succeeded in modern times by that of reason, which, rejecting the one-sided spiritualism, and the equally one-sided naturalism of the two preceding periods, seeks, by a completing and reconciling process, to discover the ever-fresh and creative spirit in nature, and nature, its ever-true, beautiful, and good product, in spirit. Politically, antiquity was characterized by republicanism—a general law or collective will—either democratic or patrician; while in the Middle Ages a feudal sovereignty, limited by priests and nobles, prevailed, and individual worth began to be recognised. Monarchy, national independence, commerce, and intellectual or spiritual unity mark the more modern period. However sharply distinguished from each other, the three grand divisions of time which we have specified are all closely interconnected, so that every phase of development is at once cause and effect—cause in reference to a preceding, effect in reference to a succeeding, phase. The historical work of Herr Kortüm will, we believe, comprise two volumes, one of which only is before us. The present volume discusses the political transition of Europe in the first of the two books of which it consists, and the commercial and industrial transition in the second. The first book is subdivided into sections on the critical moments of transitional history. Those, for instance, of the fall of Burgundy, the foreign invasions of Italy from the time of Charles VIII., the war between Christendom and Islam, on the north-west coast of Africa, and the war between the Turks, on the one hand, and the Hungarians, Austrians, &c., on the other. The three epochal divisions of the second book relate to Spanish discovery and conquest; Peru and the Pizarros; the East Indies, Vasco de Gama, and his successors.

The story of the Spanish Conquest in America¹³ is completed in a fourth volume by Mr. Helps. It is written in his characteristically quiet and gentlemanly manner, with little rhetoric and no exaggeration. It relates the feud between the Pizarros and the Almagros; the rebellion of Gonzalo; the re-conquest of Peru by the President Gasca; and the circumstances that attended or followed the publication and

¹³ "The Spanish Conquest in America, and its Relations to the History of Slavery and to the Government of Colonies." By Arthur Helps. Vol. IV. London: Parker, Son, and Bourn. 1861.

enforcement of the "New Laws." To the influence of these New Laws Mr. Helps directly traces Gonzalo Pizarro's rebellion. The two minor rebellions which succeeded were also caused by the same ordinances. These laws formed a sort of protective code for the Indians; but while "too much praise can hardly be awarded to the humane intentions of those who promoted and framed it," "too much censure can hardly be given," continues Mr. Helps, "to their utter want of foresight and worldly wisdom." In a general survey of Spanish colonization in America, while regretting that the efforts of the Spanish monarchs and the other protectors of the Indians were not crowned with complete success; while lamenting that the conquest of the New World was not achieved without large destruction of the native people (perhaps from twelve to fifteen millions in about half a century after the discovery of America); while deploring the "introduction of a subject race from another continent whose enforced presence has since proved a dire obstacle to the maintenance of concord and to the growth of civilization," Mr. Helps points to the humane legislation which marked the spread of the Spanish sway in the Indies, "as evincing a provident humanity which great nations in later ages have often failed to imitate, and as displaying the peculiar characteristics of the Spanish race—piety, loyalty, and chivalry—in their noblest forms;" and suggests that in a diligent study of this legislation may yet be found "what remedy remains for this great evil." The new volume possesses a very copious index. In an appendix we find an amusing sketch of a Quichean cosmogony, in which the creation is gradual and tentative, taken from Dr. Scherzer's translation of the manuscript work of Francisco Ximenes. According to this cosmogony, "at first beasts and birds were created by the formative Gods. Then these creatures were bidden to speak out and praise their Makers, not to keep on saying 'yol, yol.' On their failure, men were created out of wood, without hearts or understandings, and therefore, we presume, equally incapable of praising their Maker. All the animals, and even sticks and stones, affronted and rebelled against them." Finally, "the Heart of Heaven was consulted, and a great deluge came;" the monkey, however, was allowed to remain "as a sign to men of the kind of man that was made of wood."

M. de Flaux has published a history of Sweden during the life and under the reign of Gustavus Vasa.¹⁴ The war of independence, the insurrection and pacification of Dalccarlia, the election of the Duke of Holstein to the throne of Denmark, the war with Russia, the career of Gustavus as soldier and reformer, are among the more interesting topics of his volume. The author denies to Gustavus the highest qualities of a hero. He describes him as violent, covetous, arbitrary, suspicious, astute, and even perfidious. On the other hand, he admits that he was nobly submissive to the laws of his country, that he was courageous, yet never rash, wise in the conception and swift in the execution of a project, laborious, patient, virtuous, affectionate, and

¹⁴ "La Suède au XVI^{ème} Siècle," &c. Par A. De Flaux. Paris: Firmin Didot. 1861.

patriotic. He commends him, too, for his profound knowledge of human nature, his intellectual clearness, his accurate judgment, and his retentive memory.

Henry IV.—the popular Henry of Navarre—is the subject of a still more panegyric appreciation from M. de Lacombe,¹⁵ who regards his hero's political wisdom as nearly perfect. The principles on which he governed are still available. A hereditary monarch, he employed his prerogative to secure all rights and develop all reforms. To earnest conviction he united a generous tolerance. The pre-eminence of France was his end and aim. Through him the royal power became the agent which introduced progress into France; while equally through him France became the agent which introduced progress into Europe. Thus, while France is especially bound to honour his memory, his glory is for all ages and all countries. M. de Lacombe believes Henry's conversion from Protestantism to Catholicism to have been sincere and genuine; and argues the question in one of the notes, placed at the end of the volume. Religion and government are the topics, treated in detail, of the first and second books of his elaborate essay, forming the opening division of *Politique Intérieure*; while religious pacification, French influence, and the *Grand Dessein*—with its six hereditary and five elective monarchies, and its four sovereign republics, its Amphictyonic Council, expulsion of the Turks, and its dream of perpetual peace—are the subjects of the three books included under the general heading of *Politique Extérieure*. In the composition of his volume our author has consulted official records, the correspondence of Henry with his ambassadors, letters and instructions written or dictated by him. He notes as particularly valuable the *Récueil des lettres, missives de Henri IV.*, published by M. Berger de Xivrey, seven volumes of which have already appeared.

Protestantism had not long been established in England when Henry of Navarre relapsed into Catholicism.¹⁶ The history of our Reformation has been recently re-written by Dr. Vaughan, and occupies the second volume of his "Revolutions in English History." The work is, we are bound to say, very fairly done, conceived, that is, as a history of the English Reformation. Philosophical treatment, indeed, of the important subject announced we do not find; but an eloquent, and quasi-impartial narrative of the religious Revolution under the Tudor dynasty we *do* find. Necessarily we have the whole story of the English Henry—his divorce, his marriage with Anne Boleyn, that hapless woman's trial, condemnation, and execution, and the Fisher and More transaction. With regard to the divorce, Dr. Vaughan believes in the reality of the king's religious conviction and conscientious scruples. (Ranke does the same). Vaughan, however, while seeing in Henry's five years' forbearance and self-control an indication that his "great purpose must have been something much higher than

¹⁵ "Henri IV. et sa Politique." Par Charles Mercier de Lacombe. Paris: Didier et C^{ie}. 1860.

¹⁶ "Revolutions in English History." By Robert Vaughan, D.D. Vol. II. "Revolutions in Religion." London: Parker, Son, and Bourn. 1861.

the selfish and sensuous desire by which he has been supposed to have been wholly governed," regards his passion for Anne Boleyn as a guilty passion, seemingly agreeing with the City magistrates, who *saw no evidence against her*, only it appeared *they were resolved to get rid of her*. To those interested in the subject we recommend Dr. Vaughan's remarks on Government influence at executions, and on the value of jury verdicts. With regard to Fisher and More, Dr. Vaughan admits that, according to the bad laws then existing, there *was* treason in the simple refusal to take the prescribed oath; but he adds, More and Fisher "were condemned on the ground of alleged treasonable words," and "it is not easy to imagine a more shameless proceeding." Regarding the religious revolution as official and *national* on the one hand, and spontaneous and Protestant on the other, he attributes to Nationalism the conquest of ecclesiastical independence and the inauguration of a purified Catholicism; while he looks on *real* Protestantism as a self-renovating work, emanating from the people. The present volume of Dr. Vaughan's "Revolutions" is divided into six books--- "Nationalists and Romanists;" "Protestants and Nationalists;" "Romanists and Protestants;" "Anglicans and Romanists;" "Anglicans and Puritans;" and "England under Elizabeth." There is much that is instructive and attractive in the pictures of social life that it contains. The feudal system, criminal justice, the condition of labourers, price-legislation, corporate monopolies, and various other topics, are all discussed or illustrated. On some of these points Dr. Vaughan differs widely from Mr. Froude. Occasionally, however, we find him in near accordance with that historian, as in his judgment of Cardinal Pole; but while acknowledging the value of Mr. Froude's services, and professing a partial agreement with him, he declares that on the points which are most material he has not been able to see evidence as the champion of the second Tudor has seen it.

Mr. Froude, at the same moment, publishes, in confirmation of his view of that evidence, an edition of "The Pilgrim; a Dialogue on the Life and Actions of King Henry the Eighth."¹⁷ "The Pilgrim" is a little work written by William Thomas, Clerk of the Council to Edward VI., and was unknown to Mr. Froude when he wrote the early volumes of his "History of England." Briefly mentioned by Strype, it has since been discovered, in duplicate, by the editor; one copy being accidentally encountered among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, and a second copy among the Lansdowne MSS. The book, also, it seems, was printed in the last century. Its author was a Welshman, brought up at Oxford, and compelled to leave England, "perhaps for his religious opinions, towards the close of Henry's reign." Returning in the year of Edward's accession, "he was appointed Clerk of the Council, and became a sort of political instructor of the young king." After Edward's death, he attached himself to the Protestant party,

¹⁷ "The Pilgrim. A Dialogue on the Life and Actions of King Henry the Eighth." By William Thomas, Clerk of the Council to Edward VI." Edited, with Notes from the Archives of Paris and Brussels, by J. A. Froude, &c. London: Parker, Son, and Bourn. 1861.

took part in Wyatt's conspiracy, and died in May, 1554, at Tyburn. The conversation recorded in "The Pilgrim" took place, if we may trust to internal evidence, in the month of February, 1546. It discussed "the estate of our king's majesty Henry VIII., who then nearly was departed out of this present life." The dialogue was a vindication, under real or imaginary circumstances, of the bluff reforming monarch. It is written in the ardent and somewhat abusive style of the old controversialists, and must, we think, be accepted as containing the genuine convictions of the author on Henry's conduct and character. This singular document, though not exempt from inaccuracies, is entitled, on the one hand, to grave examination as the work of a contemporary likely to be generally well informed about passing events, and capable of reporting popular impressions with proximate correctness. On the other hand, the purity of the evidence is, to us, impaired by the intemperate and over-laudatory spirit of the apologist. Mr. Thomas, indeed, sometimes allows his feelings to run away with him. The king never loved Anne of Cleves out of measure for "her personage, her beauty, her gesture." Mr. Thomas's eulogy of the Lady Mary, who was so virtuous that her shadow made him tremble, and of Prince Edward, the beautifullest creature that lived under the sun, and so dignified, that although he was only ten years of age he seemed already a father, is mere rhetorical exaggeration, possibly the offspring of Welsh fervour and Tudor-royal-family worship. Yet we are far from thinking that William Thomas was insincere in this poetical expression of admiration. It has been objected that, as Clerk of the Council, he was amenable to Government influence; but here we take Mr. Froude's part against his critic. Thomas wrote his dialogue, if internal evidence is to go for anything, *before* his appointment, and his editor is therefore justified in calling him "an ordinary unofficial Englishman." Another critic fancies that he has caught Mr. Froude tripping, and corrects his statement that the conversation took place *after* the king's death into *before* the king's death, apparently misled by the old chronology; February, 1546, being really equivalent to February, 1547, in our revised computation of time. The critic's error may have arisen in part also from an obscure expression in the third page of the dialogue, which speaks of Henry VIII. as then *nearly* departed out of this life, where *nearly* is either equivalent to *just*, or is a misprint for *newly*. (Compare p. 4).

The notes attached to this little volume have great value. Wishing to see Henry in his least favourable aspect, Mr. Froude spent some part of last summer among the Archives of Paris and Brussels. Extracts from the despatches of the French and Imperial Ambassadors resident at the English Court—from D'Inteville, Chastillon, Marillac, Mendoza, and Eustace Chappuys—men who were not likely to throw a "pleasant veil over a series of scandals and crimes," illustrate contemporaneous events, and record the immediate and genuine impressions of the writers. In a letter to Francis I., Marillac (p. 152) testifies to the iniquitous administration of the criminal law of England; in another (p. 115) to the accredited misdemeanours and alleged treachery of Thomas Cromwell; in another addressed to the Constable

(p. 149), to the king's diminution of regard towards the queen and disposition towards another woman. Eustace Chappuys (p. 158) mentions Jane Howard's confession of her intrigue; (p. 162) he reports Henry's and Cromwell's assertion of Lord Exeter's treason; and (p. 167) he speaks of the copies of letters which the king and his minister *pretended* to have found in a casket. An anonymous letter (p. 116) describes the execution of "the wicked queen Anne Boleyn;" while (p. 117) the Regent Mary, who had evidently no affection for "that damsel, who was so good a French woman," pronounces her a worthless person, but remarks, that "some people think he [Henry] invented the charge to get rid of her." Of the illustrative value of these extracts there is no doubt. Of their evidentiary value, and how far they confirm or oppose Mr. Froude's view of Henry's character, we shall not hastily record our opinion.

It is a satisfaction to find that Lord Bacon's¹⁸ fair fame has an able and determined champion in Mr. Hepworth Dixon. Welden, Chamberlain, D'Ewes, Pope, Lord Macaulay, and Lord Campbell are the chief accusers, not to say defamers, of this eminent Englishman. "The instinct, strong as virtue, to reject the spume of satire and falsehood, has sprung at the voice of Mr. Spedding into lusty life," and "to aid the good work of obtaining from men of letters and science a reconsideration of the evidence on which new judgment will have to run, the new facts, the new letters, the new documentary illustrations," as comprised in Mr. Dixon's "Personal History of Lord Bacon," are now given to the world. The unpublished papers, on which this vindication has been based, have been furnished by the State Paper Office, the Lambeth and Wells Libraries, and the MSS. of Sir John Pakington and the Duke of Manchester. The narrative itself is extremely interesting. The composition is rapid, vivid, and picturesque. We cannot, it is true, entirely approve of Mr. Dixon's style. The present tense is ostentatiously and mechanically employed, reminding us of the *Eternal Now* of some theologians. Occasionally, too, we have to complain of something very like tinsel; and though Mr. Dixon has too much good sense and too much ability to condescend to direct imitation, yet in more than one passage we have detected a trace of what has been called Carlylese. His book, however, is one in which we are bound to say that the interest never flags. It abounds in valuable statement, in spirited description, in graphic representation. As the first complete biography of the great Lord Keeper, it has a special recommendation. As a chivalrous and if Mr. Dixon has not inadvertently misreported or unintentionally misconstrued the documents which he has consulted—a successful vindication of his hero, the work which he has written is entitled to a cordial and universal welcome. The principal object which Mr. Dixon proposed to himself in writing the book was to reverse the verdict of Bacon's self-empowered jury. We are inclined to think that he has shown reason for rescinding its sentence; but though our prepossessions in Bacon's

¹⁸ "Personal History of Lord Bacon, from Unpublished Papers." By William Hepworth Dixon, of the Inner Temple. London: John Murray. 1861.

favour are very strong, our opinion must not be considered as unqualified. The Peacham charge included, there are five principal accusations adduced against the father of Inductive Philosophy :—1. He was ungrateful to Essex. 2. He contracted a mercenary marriage. 3. He was servile in the House of Commons. 4. He was corrupt on the judicial bench. 5. He behaved very ill in the case of Peacham. In answer to the first accusation, Mr. Dixon tells us that Lord Essex retained Francis and Anthony Bacon in his service as lawyer and secretary. As a reward for their daily and nightly labours, Essex foolishly pledged himself to make Bacon's fortune. In pursuance of his promise, he besieged the queen to confer the solicitorship on Francis till she completely lost patience. Bacon's claim was well supported by Burleigh, Egerton, Cecil, and others; but Essex, in his selfish importunity, undid all, or, to use Sir Robert Cecil's words, cut the throat of Bacon's present access. Lord Campbell's assertion that Essex atoned to Bacon for his failure by a gift of Twickenham Park is quite unfounded. It was not his to give. Granted nearly twenty years before to Edward Bacon, the reversion of Twickenham Park was secured to Bacon by the queen, on the very day that Fleming got his commission as solicitor-general. In compensation for four years' services, Essex offered Bacon a patch of land, which was eventually sold for 1800*l.*—less than a-third of one year's income from the solicitor-general's place. These were Bacon's sole obligations to Essex. Somewhat more than five years after Fleming's appointment occurred the Essex plot, with its formidable expression, the famous street fight. Previously separating himself from Bacon and the good cause, Essex allowed himself to be surrounded with gangs of Popish conspirators, whose object was to dethrone the queen. Tutored by his evil genius, Blount, Essex next rode to London, intending to surprise Elizabeth, oust her counsellors, and put his own friends in power. Failing in this enterprise, from the queen's presence he passed into custody. Bacon believing him to be innocent, employed wit, eloquence, and persuasion of the rarest power to obtain his pardon. Essex was liberated; but in the secrecy of his own house, in open breach of loyalty and honour, renewed the league with Rome. The most guilty associates of the Powder Plot were received into his counsels. Under cover of a design to free the queen from enemies who held her in thrall, they advanced towards their true goal, intending to sweep Essex to the throne by a street fight and an act of assassination. Defeat ensued, and trial followed defeat. Never, says Mr. Dixon, had criminal fairer trial than the earl. Bacon spoke twice; we cannot consider his speeches intemperate; and if Essex was guilty, and Bacon believed him to be guilty, we cannot admit that he ought to have refused to take his part "in this great act of justice." There are higher duties than those of private friendship; and if Bacon's conduct was not amiable, it was patriotic and magnanimous. So far from falling in public estimation, Bacon rose in the esteem of his countrymen. He was not only re-elected for Ipswich, but he was returned by a second constituency for St. Albans.

2. We pass rapidly over the next charge—that of Bacon's contracting a marriage from mercenary motive with Alice Barnham. Alice's annual

income amounted to 220*l*. She was entitled to an additional 140*l*. on her mother's death, but as Lady Pakington outlived Bacon, that increase never came into his hands. On the other hand, Bacon settled on her 500*l*. a year from his own estate. "Now, in what sense," asks Mr. Dixon, "can a marriage in which there seems to be a great deal of love, and in which there certainly is no great flush of money, be called on Bacon's side a mercenary marriage?"

3. The third charge is that of servility in the House of Commons. Mr. Dixon, in combating it, points out how, at twenty-five, Bacon won the ear of that fastidious assembly, and how he was universally trusted and esteemed, as a churchman who sought reform of the church, a lawyer eager to amend the law, a friend of the Crown who pleads against feudal privileges and unpopular powers. Bacon, he avers, struck against corruption, usurpation, and unjust prerogative. He fought for reform of the law, for increase of tillage, for union with the Scots, for plantations in Ulster, for free Parliaments, and for ample grants, because he saw that increase, union, freedom, and a rich executive are each and all essential to the growth and grandeur of the realm.

4. The fourth accusation is corruption on the judicial bench. Such a charge was easy to frame in days when there was no Civil List, and officials had to make their fortune out of fees and gifts. The King, the Archbishop, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Admiral, all took them. They were wages, not bribes. In 1620, a plot was matured against Bacon in the ante-room of Villiers, in which Williams, Cranfield, and Coke were the principals. In February, 1621, Coke, the champion of every fanatical cry, suggested that inquiry should be made into the abuses of the courts of law. In the end, the instances of corruption alleged against Bacon proved to be twenty-two in number, of which thirteen were of daily occurrence in every court, being common fees paid in the usual way; while of the remaining cases not one fee can by any fair construction be called a bribe. Bacon, weary of greatness, brought low by sickness, and deceived by the king, was induced to abandon his defence and submit himself to the peers. A sacrifice to a false cry for reform, he yet feels that the *court* is corrupt though the *judge* is pure. In a few brave words, continues Mr. Dixon, he states his case:—"I was the justest judge that was in England these fifty years; but it was the justest censure that was in Parliament these two hundred years." Rarely have nobler words been spoken.

5. That Edward Peacham "is in some sort a Puritan martyr is an aberration of the modern biographical mind. He was a scandalous libeller, a liar, a seditious subject, and a perfidious friend. But so far from Bacon alone being responsible for his prosecution, he was not responsible for it at all." "The prosecution was ordered by the Privy Council, of which he was not a member," and "was conducted by Winwood, the Puritan Secretary of State."

Such in an abridged form is Mr. Dixon's defence of Bacon. If competent inquirers, verifying our author's statements and accepting his conclusions, pronounce this vindication as satisfactory, as we are inclined to think it, Mr. Dixon will ere long enjoy the enviable dis-

tion of having rescued from historial infamy the greatest philosophical genius that England has yet produced.

In Bulstrode Whitelocke we have another candidate for "rehabilitation." Calumniated and misrepresented ever since the restoration of the Royal Family, he now, through his biographer, and we presume descendant, R. H. Whitelocke, demands a reversal of the act of moral attainder under which he has so long suffered. The author of his "Memoirs,"¹⁹ has preferred his claims to be regarded as a right-minded and steadfast patriot, and a prudent, humane, and temperate statesman. Bulstrode Whitelocke, the only son of Judge Whitelocke and Elizabeth Bulstrode, was born in London, 6th of August, 1605. He was educated at Merchant Tailors' School. He studied at Oxford under the supervision of Laud, and in a later day refused to serve in committee in drawing up the charge against his old academic benefactor. We find him subsequently joining in the remonstrance against tonnage and poundage; acting in the capacity of a master of the revels; serving, after the confirmed insanity of his wife, with the French army in Picardy; representing Great Marlowe in the Long Parliament; acting as chairman of the select committee for preparing articles of impeachment against Strafford, whom he pitied, admired, and, as a lawyer, considered not guilty; nearly falling into a trap laid by Charles I., who violated "his word as crowned king and his honour as a gentleman;" defending Cromwell against the machinations of the Earl of Manchester and the Scotch commissioners; at one time advising Cromwell to treat with Charles II., and, under a change of conviction, urging the Lord Protector to assume the title of king. Solicited by Cromwell to act as his ambassador at the Court of Queen Christina, he sailed for Sweden in the *Phœnix* frigate in 1653. Refusing to comply with what he considered an arbitrary and illegal interference with the court over which he and Widdington presided, he resigned his appointment as First Commissioner of the Great Seal. His biographer contends, in opposition, we believe, to Lord Campbell, that no parallel can be made out between Whitelocke's proposed and Monk's accomplished project. Whitelocke suggested that the crown should be openly and formally offered to Charles II. upon satisfactory terms; Monk, with professed dissimulation and on his sole authority, overthrew the existing order, and made an unconditional surrender of the sovereign power. Mr. R. H. Whitelocke's vindication of his ancestor is written, for the most part, with great temper. Our author is not an extreme man, and he is a candid man. His narrative is derived in part from printed sources, and in part from unpublished MSS. There are passages in it which are very agreeably written, and the abstracts of conversations, in which Charles I., Cromwell, Strafford, and others, were interlocutors, are very characteristic. Mr. Whitelocke implies a doubt of the genuineness of the famous paper adduced by Vane in evidence against Strafford; a doubt that we should like to have confirmed or refuted. Whitelocke's

¹⁹ "Memoirs, Biographical and Historical, of Bulstrode Whitelocke, &c." By R. H. Whitelocke, Professor Royal of Wurtemberg. London: Routledge, Warne, and Routledge. 1860.

public career closed with the Restoration. His pardon was obtained at a heavy price. Retiring to Chilton Park or Lodge, near Hungerford, in Wiltshire, Whitelocke died in the year 1675. During his retirement he wrote, at Charles's suggestion, a treatise on Parliaments, published under the title of "*King's Vrit*." He also composed various religious tracts and his famous Annals. Of these Annals a considerable portion was suppressed both in the first and second editions of the "*Memorials of English Affairs*," and has, surmises his biographer been lost in some inexplicable way. The probability is, he thinks, that one of his descendants has mislaid them.

The Restoration was, ere long, succeeded by the Revolution. With this epoch Mr. Chambers' additional volume of the "*Domestic Annals of Scotland*" commences.²⁰ It closes with the Rebellion of 1745. The intervening period was one of transition from harsh and despotic sway to constitutional government. The compiler's object, in this, as in the preceding volumes (from the Reformation to the Revolution), has been to trace the moral and economic progress of Scotland through the medium of domestic incidents --allowing the tale in every case to be told as much as possible in contemporary language. The author is thus, as Mr. Chambers truly observes, necessarily subordinated to his subject; and the reader has to form his own judgment and draw his own conclusions from the "*self-painting words*" of dead and gone generations. The value of such literary labour lies in the material accumulated. Mr. Chambers provides us, as it were, with specimens of the religious, political, and social life of Scotland. It is a sort of State Paper history which is thus produced. Read as such, it cannot fail to instruct and entertain; but it supplies no philosophical exposition, and it exhibits no brilliant historical panorama. At the revolutionary epoch freedom of conscience was an aristocratic privilege in Scotland: vice and immorality were punished by the magistrate (everybody being exceedingly anxious, says Mr. Chambers, that everybody else should be virtuous), and the national exchequer was in a state of extreme exhaustion, not to say atrophy. These and other social phenomena are illustrated in Mr. Chambers' new volume. It contains also curious passages relating to Rob Roy. Allan Ramsay, Lord and Lady Rollo, Lord Lovat, and Whitfield are also mentioned in its pages. It commemorates, too, the witchcraft jurisprudence and witchcraft proceedings of the age, and immortalizes alike the metal cooperage worn by the ladies of 1719, and the animadversions of Robert Kerr, some self-appointed censor, on these "*monstrous protruberances*," causing, like our own abominable crinoline, "*confusions and cumbrances*" both in churches and coaches, so that the indignant reformer of costume calls for alterations in stair-cases and additional windows in dark entries, "*to save men from unchauncy collisions with the fairer part of creation.*"

The division of Poland²¹ has usually in England been regarded as a

²⁰ "*Domestic Annals of Scotland from the Revolution to the Rebellion of 1745.*" By Robert Chambers. Edinburgh and London: W. and R. Chambers. 1861.

²¹ "*Frederic II. Catherine et le partage de la Pologne. D'après des documens authentiques.*" Par Frédéric de Smitt. Paris: 1861.

great political crime. M. de Smitt, however, does not so regard it. The first partition (he thinks) was really a benefaction to Poland, because it stimulated its lethargic population to new action, while, for the neighbouring nations, it was a political necessity. Poland, however, did not profit by the lesson read it. She fell the victim of her own moral, intellectual, and political degradation. When a nation perishes, it has only herself to accuse. De Smitt's work was written in 1852. The then Emperor of Russia, Nicholas, sanctioned his historical researches on the history of Suwarrow and Poland, and under sanction M. de Smitt examined and turned to account the imperial archives of Moscow. One object of the work before us is to show that Frederic was the first—"pinch of thrift compelling"--to conceive the grand idea of the Polish dismemberment. The occupation of Zips by Kaünitz; the suggestion of a division by Prince Henry, who did but follow out his instructions; the formal and urgent proposition of Frederic; its support by the Tzernyschow party at St. Petersburg; the Czar's extorted consent; and finally the negotiation between Russia and Prussia, and after the tergiversation of Kaünitz, with Austria, were the various steps which led to the famous or infamous partition of Poland. To vindicate Russia, to show that the proposal did not emanate from her, is the final aim of De Smitt's literary exertions. His treatise consists of four parts, entitled—1. The Partition of Poland; Present State of the Question; 2. Frederic II., or the Solution; the Treaty concluded between the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia (8 June, 1762); a Collection of papers relating to the division of Poland, and a Supplement, reviewing briefly the cognate works by Hermann and Kurd de Schlözer (of which last "Friedrich der Grosse und Catherina die Zweite" he speaks very disparagingly) and containing his own corrections, may be regarded as constituting the two remaining portions of his inquiry. The work seems to us—considered as a documentary elaboration—unquestionably valuable.

The third and concluding volume of "Burke's Life," by Mr. Thomas Macknight,²² treats of a very important period, both in that great man's biography and in general European history. Burke approved of neither the first nor the second partition of Poland, and was the first of English statesmen (in 1791) to hail the grant of a free constitution to the Poles under Stanislaus Augustus. Burke was always a philosophic Whig; he was an enlightened free-trader; he was a constitutional statesman; he was a sound practical moralist; he was an acute and clear thinker; true-hearted, affectionate, and wise. Notwithstanding, however, Mr. Macknight's reclamations, we are more inclined to accept the verdict of Carlyle, which he sets aside, than his own. We are not sure that Burke was a deep or by any means an exhaustive thinker; but "a resplendent and *far-seeing* rhetorician" he certainly was. Yet while he predicted the immediate consequences of the French Revolution, he neither saw *into* nor *over* that tremendous social explosion, which, while it probably retarded reform in England, was a

²² "History of the Life and Times of Edmund Burke." By Thomas Macknight. Vol. III. London: Chapman and Hall. 1860.

direct antecedent of a new order both for France and for Europe. The part that Burke took in the contemplated restoration of the old régime was not that of a deep-thinking man; the French aristocracy had no intention of making any concession, abolishing any abuse, introducing any improvement. In this last volume of Mr. Macknight's valuable work, his hero appears as at any rate an acquiescent in the coalition; as paymaster for the second time; as the accuser of Hastings; as the antagonist of the principles of the French Revolution; and as the thoughtful, amiable, benevolent, and high-minded recluse. Burke's extraordinary animosity to the erring but splendid Governor-General of India, is very explicable from his intense sympathy with those whom he considered oppressed; but a calmer, a more judicial and generously appreciative attitude would, we think, have been more suitable to the occasion and more worthy of himself. After reading Mr. Macknight's remarks on the subject, we can by no means subscribe to the opinion that, in any exact sense of the word, this illustrious man was insane; but we assuredly think that he was overwrought, intensely high-strung, and morbidly excitable. The version of the dagger scene, the vindication of Burke from the charge of pecuniary malpractices, and his retirement from public life, are important passages in this concluding volume of Mr. Macknight's biographical work.

Among the contemporaries of Burke was Mr. Abbot, fifteen years Speaker of the House of Commons (1802-1817).²³ Born at Abingdon, in Berkshire, 11th October, 1757, he was educated at Westminster, under Dr. Markham, and afterwards at Christchurch, Oxford, where he obtained some literary distinction. From Oxford he went to Switzerland, where he studied the civil law. In Easter Term, 1783, he was called to the bar. He commenced practice in the Court of King's Bench. About ten years after this, he accepted the office of Clerk of the Rules in that Court. In 1795 he represented the borough of Helston, in Cornwall. In 1796 he married Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Sir Philip Gibbs. In February, 1801, he accepted the appointment of Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and in the following year he succeeded Sir John Mitford as Speaker of the House of Commons. Towards the close of his Speakership, his unremitting exertions seriously affected his health, and on the 28th May, 1817, he tendered his resignation. As a compensation for his eminent services, the barony of Colchester, and a pension of 4000*l.* a-year for himself, and 3000*l.* a-year to his successor in the title, were conferred on the retiring Speaker. During the years immediately following his retirement, Lord Colchester resided on the Continent. On his return to England he became a constant attendant in the House of Lords, serving on committees, or occupying himself in facilitating the general business of the House. On 16th February, 1829, he presented a petition and spoke against the Roman Catholic claims. This was the last time that he addressed the Lords. He died on 8th May, of the

²³ "The Diary and Correspondence of Charles Abbot, Lord Colchester." Edited by his Son, Charles, Lord Colchester. In Three Volumes, &c. London: John Murray. 1861.

same year, aged 72. Lord Colchester was thoroughly and inveterately conservative; but he was a man of business-like habits; of punctual, persevering, and acute intellect. He showed true insight into facts, when he maintained that the "*emancipation* required by Ireland was from poverty, the *grant*, a means to work and find that industry was profitable." Neither was he without liberal compliances, as when he concurred in the removal of the Sacramental Act by which Dissenters were excluded from office. To him, too, we are indebted for some useful minor reforms. We should define the three volumes of this "Diary and Correspondence" to be, in one word, contemporary skeleton history. They are not precisely amusing, but they contain amusing anecdotes; they are not exactly informing, but they supply occasional information. They register facts, record dates, jot down notices of men, manners, inventions, as well as contain papers relating to China, Maynooth, and Emmett's conspiracy, together with some learned historical letters from Lord Redesdale. There are some good stories, too, in the 1822 pages of which the work consists. As an illustration of the profound knowledge of English life and titular distinction possessed by the French of forty years since, no less than by the French of our own time, we may instance the question put to the Duke of Bedford, the Lord John of that day, at a ball, by an unusually well-informed countryman of the witty Voltaire: "Are you of the same family as the celebrated Tom John?" (alluding to Fielding's "Tom Jones"). The entries in the 'Diary' are arranged almost necessarily in chronological order. Each volume contains an analytical table of contents, and at the end of the third volume will be found a useful index of references to the entire work.

The "Private Diary" of Sir Robert Wilson²⁴ is very superior in power, originality, and literary composition to that of Lord Colchester. General Wilson's intelligence, observation, uncompromising truthfulness, his military genius, his culture, and sympathy with what is great, good, and free, are very apparent in this diary. It is well-written, and abounds in valuable contemporaneous fact. Traversing the period of the "Invasion," it extends beyond it, through the campaigns of Germany, and the operations of the allied army in Italy, after Sir Robert Wilson had joined Marshal Bellegarde at Vicenza, January, 1814, down to the occupation of Paris, in the summer of the same year. In its several appendices are inserted papers on the site of Troy, and the topography of Mount Ida; a series of despatches to Lord Cathcart, letters from the Duke of Gloucester, Prince Metternich, Prince C. Zartoryski, Lord Aberdeen, &c. Associated as he was with kings, ministers, commanders—in fact, with almost every man of note, military or diplomatic, on the continent of Europe, during the period indicated—Wilson had special opportunities for seeing and hearing,

²⁴ "Private Diary of Travels, Personal Services, and Public Events, during Mission and Employment with the European Armies in the Campaigns of 1812, 1813, 1814. From the Invasion of Russia to the Capture of Paris." By Gen. Sir Robert Wilson, C.M.T., &c. Edited by his Nephew and Son-in-Law, the Rev. Herbert Randolph, M.A. In 2 Vols. London: John Murray. 1861.

opportunities of which it need hardly be said that he made excellent use.

We glance rapidly at this, as at some of the remaining works claiming reviewal. A memoir of George Wilson, the scientific chemist,²⁵ the author of a work on "Colour Blindness," of the essays on "The Electric Telegraph," "The Five Gateways of Knowledge," and of various papers on chemistry, natural theology, and a partially completed Life of Edward Forbes—is written in a pleasant and unaffected manner, by an affectionate and admiring sister.

A "Life of Andrew Jackson," by Mr. Parton,²⁶ abounds in strange, uncouth experiences of American civilization, and relates very minutely the incidents in the career of General Jackson, whom his biographer pronounces a fighting man, and little more than a fighting man, and whose elevation to power, notwithstanding the good which Jackson did during his presidency, he regards as a mistake on the part of the United States. "The Life," which comprises three volumes, or upwards of two thousand pages, is written in a vigorous, lively, decisive style, is undoubtedly entertaining, professedly instructive, and fatally diffuse. We make room for Mr. Parton's illustration of the almost impossible ignorance of his hero. "Mr. Trist remembers hearing a member of the General's family say that General Jackson did not believe the world was round."

"Arminius,"²⁷ a History of the German People, and of their Legal and Constitutional Ceremonies, from the Days of Julius Cæsar, to the Time of Charlemagne, by the late Thomas Smith, author of "Essays on Geoffrey de Villehardouin," "The Voluspa," &c., is a work which evinces considerable research, and which may be consulted with profit by most historical students, as well as read with pleasure by all who sympathize with the remote past of Europe, or admire the prowess of one whom Tacitus characterizes as the "liberator *haud dubiæ Germaniæ*," of one whom we certainly know to have been transformed under the influence of song and fable (*caniturque adhuc barbaras apud gentes*) from a historical into a mythological hero. In the lapse of ages Armin came to be regarded as a divinity. "Celestial attributes were not wanting to his glory. The Irmin-waggon was watched in the heavens by his worshippers with select awe, as it wheeled round in its eternal course. The Irminstrasse was, in their eyes, the symbol of the brightness of his earthly path. The Saxon Recken swore by Irmin God." In the year 772 the Irminsül, or statue of Armin, was destroyed by the Franks, who regarded it as a stronghold of the arch enemy: and from that time till the year 1514, when a manuscript of the first five books of Tacitus' Annals, was discovered by Angelo Arcomboldo, in the Abbey of Corbei, on the Weser, the his-

²⁵ "Memoir of George Wilson, Regius Professor of Technology in the University of Edinburgh." By his Sister, Jessie Aitken Wilson. Edinburgh: Edmonton and Douglas. London and Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. 1860.

²⁶ "Life of Andrew Jackson." In 3 vols. By James Parton, author of "Life of Aaron Burr." New York: Mason, Brothers. London: S. Low and Son. 1860.

²⁷ "Arminius," a History, &c. By the late Thomas Smith, Esq., F.S.A., &c. Edited by his Son, the Rev. Francis Smith. London: James Blackwood. 1861.

torical existence of Armin was not known, nor perhaps even imagined, by the people of the land whose liberties he had restored.

The "Annals of the Wars of the Eighteenth Century"²⁸ is, so far as we can judge, a generally well-executed and serviceable compilation. The narrative is broken up into sections, each of which has its appropriate heading. Every one of the five pocket-volumes which compose the work has a chronologically arranged table of contents. The concluding volume is furnished with a copious index; and several illustrative maps, inserted in four out of the five volumes, impart additional value to this important series of military chronicles.

BELLES LETTRES.

ALL who remember the Art of Putting Things in the first series of the "Recreations of a Country Parson," know exactly the sound common sense and practical wisdom which characterize the second series of the lay sermons by its author.¹ In his essay in the present volume on Scylla and Charybdis, with some Thoughts on the Swing of the Pendulum, he acknowledges his obligations to the Archbishop of Dublin for suggestions, which, after all, were peculiarly judicious from being addressed to himself. The constant balancing of mind which marks every page of his book is so much a habit of his own, that his adviser did but spur the willing horse. In spite of undoubted good sense, and much practical knowledge and acuteness of observation, the author pendulates somewhat too much; the middle way is doubtless as good as it has always been represented, but we doubt much whether any great and self-relying character were ever produced by such minute and constant weighing and balancing of feelings and motives. There is an educative power in these revulsions of feeling and thought which a more calm and judicious walk is often deficient in. Excessive views have their justification in the enthusiasm they evoke and in the impulse they give to the somewhat sluggish movement of what is often admired in a well-regulated mind.

We are inclined to think that the publication of his "Essays on the Conduct of Life,"² by Emerson, will add but little to his reputation, and may, perhaps, lead to a reconsideration of the grounds on which that reputation rests, with results far from favourable to its maintenance. We cannot remember any author who has written so much on moral questions whose name is so completely unassociated with any definite doctrine; his name does not even suggest any great subject fully

²⁸ "Annals of the Eighteenth Century" compiled from the most authentic Histories of the Period. By the Hon. Sir Edward Cust, D.C.L., Major-General in the British Army.

¹ "The Recreations of a Country Parson." Second Series. London: Parker, Son, and Bourn. 1861.

² "The Conduct of Life." By R. W. Emerson. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1861.

treated, but stands for a certain manner and rhetorical way of putting things in general, and even on the topics he treats of we meet in his books no independent and original thoughts, but mere desultory musings; he has been called suggestive, but this is only true in the sense that all incompleteness is suggestive; a suggestive writer must have something of his own; extravagant dressing up of other men's thoughts is not suggestive; the extravagance attracts notice, but the more attention you pay to such writings, the less satisfactory the result; the fair and attractive exterior is as delusive as Dead Sea apples. The sum of all his vehement exhortations is mostly some ordinary truism, or some string of antithetical opinions, without an attempt at solution; the vestiges of patient inquiry are rare indeed, the colours of good and evil are laid on with an equal hand, and seldom more than the colours. Extravagant imagery and out-of-the-way illustration keep the reader in a constant state of surprise, but on laying down the book after the perusal of each essay, it is difficult to say to what result the author has arrived at all proportionate to the fire and energy of the language.

The mode, too, in which he treats his topics is as characteristic as the language; the strange disjointed heaps of sentences might often be read backwards with as much effect as in the sequence in which they are offered to the reader; there is no progress of thought, but loose remarks are accumulated round some arbitrary point which cannot be called a centre. These features, which characterize all Emerson's works, are more marked and salient in this last one; the mannerism which attracted when a novelty becomes oppressive in proportion to our familiarity with it; it has been said of style that it is the man; but style pre-supposes labour and thought, and is a source of endless enjoyment. It is with authors as it is with painters, those who have a style are immortal, but a mannerist, however popular he may be for a season, is soon forgotten, and after a time it becomes a matter of wonder that he was ever an object of popular admiration.

Mr. Emerson has much in common with the mocking bird of his own woods; of old he used to echo Fichte and Jean Paul, in the present volume he is evidently dominated by that disreputable countryman of his, Walt Whitman; many a page might be transferred to the notorious "Leaves of Grass," of course to the cleanest and most decent of that strange production, which he christened the first-fruit of American poetry.

That a student should admire the thews and sinews of a vigorous lumberer is very natural, but that his studies should not have lifted him above all sympathy with the animal excesses of the healthy, physical organization he envies, is to be deplored. The new influence shows itself in such passages as the following:—

"As long as our people quote English standards, they will miss the sovereignty of power; but let those rough riders—legislators in shirt sleeves—Hoosier, Sucker, Wolverine, Badger,—or whatever hard head Arkansas, Oregon, or Utah sends, half orator, half assassin, to represent its wrath or cupidity at Washington—let these drive as they may; and the disposition of territories and public lands, the necessity of balancing and keeping at bay the

snarling majorities of German, Irish, and native millions, will bestow promptness, address, and reason, at last, on our native buffalo hunter, and authority and majesty of manners. The instinct of the people is right—Those who have most of this coarse energy—the “Bruisers” who have run the gauntlet of caucus and tavern thro’ the county or the state, have their own vices, but they have the good nature of strength and courage. Fierce and unscrupulous, they are usually frank and direct, and above falsehood. Our politics fall into bad hands, and churchmen and men of refinement, it seems agreed, are not fit persons to send to Congress. Men in power have no opinions, but may be had cheap for any opinion, for any purpose—and if it be only a question between the most civil and the most forcible, I lean to the last.”

This is a melancholy confession of faith, or rather of the absence of it, and is only possible in the mouth of a moral dilettante, a sad *caput mortuum* of superficial inquiry. To this complexion has the high soaring Icarus Emerson come at last. Can any man of principle or earnest conviction thus stand aside and let the unruly powers of nature take this course?

America is nobler than this account of her, and has things far more excellent to rely upon than the untamed strength of her backwoodsmen. If the world emerged from chaos by the agencies of volcanic fire and cataclysmal deluge, it was fitted for human life by much milder forces; to long for the first throes of nature, because of the mere magnitude of their effects, is to desire a sterile and uninhabitable earth that the whole progress of civilization may be commenced anew; to wish to cut the human mind adrift from every tradition, because some of them are evil and effete, is a sign of radical irreverence of mind for which no wordy homage to some great names of old can atone. The recognition and manly support of what is good among men, the uncritical allegiance to some conviction that can be made the basis of practical action is infinitely more worthy than such criticism as this. This ready appeal to the lowest depths of man’s nature is a practical denial of all faith in his past culture, and a complete disruption of that gradual progress on which alone the hopes of mankind are securely based.

All who remember “Headlong Hall” and “Crotchet Castle” will expect to find in “Gryll Grange”³ a caustic criticism of the follies of the age, and they will not be disappointed. The plot, as usual, is nought; the author has never piqued himself on dramatic incident, he hardly even aims at probability, but relies with well-founded confidence on the wit and humour of his dialogue. His *dramatis personæ* exist only as vehicles for the discussion of the prevalent doctrines and popular theories of the day; they have themselves no individuality, but are arbitrary lay figures, who are introduced ready labelled, and are moved about by the author for the purpose of his satire; the only exception to this peculiarity is to be found in the portraiture of the epicurean divine, but he is repeated so often, and with such identical tastes and accomplishments, that the individuality which he once possessed is lost

³ “Gryll Grange.” By the Author of “Headlong Hall.” London: Parker, Son, and Bourn 1861.

in the multitude of his cognominations. This picture of cultivated self-indulgence is the most original of all the author's creations, and it is, perhaps, a good sign of the times that such learning and good nature are, after all, insufficient to render it a popular one. There is unquestionably much frothiness and superficiality in the intellectual movement of the present day, but it is equally unquestionable that it is both wider and deeper than in the times which produced such scholars and clergymen as Drs. Folliott and Opinian. Such protests as this, however, do not lessen the value of such criticism as Mr. Peacock's; the last generation has been too much hustled and set aside by the present one to endure such treatment with perfect patience, and it is well when it finds so able a mouthpiece as the author of "*Headlong Hall*" to give vent to its grievances. The following extract is in the true tone of the deteriorationist who amused everyone so much thirty years since:—

"News! not much, my Lord. Tables turn as usual, and the ghost trade appears to be thriving; for, instead of being merely audible, the ghosts are becoming tangible, and shake hands under the tables with living wiseacres, who solemnly attest the fact. Civilized men ill-use their wives, the wives revenge themselves in their own way, and the Divorce Court has business enough on its hands to employ it twenty years, at its present rate of progression. Commercial bubbles burst, and high-pressure boilers blow up, mountebanks of all descriptions flourish on public credulity. Everywhere there are wars and rumours of wars. The Peace Society has wound up its affairs in the Insolvent Court of Prophecy. A great tribulation is coming on the earth, and Apollyon, in person, is to be perpetual dictator of all the nations. There is, to be sure, one piece of news in your line, but it will be no news to you. There is a meeting of the Pantopragmatic Society, under the presidency of Lord Facing-bothways, who has opened it with a long speech, philanthropically designed as an elaborate exercise in fallacies, for the benefit of young rhetoricians. The society has divided its work into departments, which are to meddle with everything, from the highest to the lowest—from a voice in legislation to a finger in Jack Horner's Pie."

On the whole, the present volume is inferior to "*Crochet Castle*;" the author flies at lower game, or, if not so, avoids those definite allusions which gave liveliness, if not additional vigour, to his earlier works. We have no doubt that he would excuse himself by the assertion that prominent individuals and original theories are even less numerous than of old, when his practice was to prove that there was nothing new under the sun, unless it were a fresh variety of abuse. The argument, however, will not hold good; many great reputations have been made, and many truly earnest social movements have commenced, since "*Crochet Castle*" passed English politics and speculation under its caustic review. The humour, however, of "*Gryll Grange*," if frosty, is yet kindly, and will be welcomed by all who relish intellectual conversation for itself alone. The fastidious in old wine are apt to think that truth, too, should be some time in bottle before it is set before a *discerning* public, and that few things are worthy of credence that have not enjoyed it for a couple of thousand years.

Miss Strickland's second series of *Sketches of East Anglian Man-*

ners and Customs⁴ contains some very amusing pictures of Suffolk peculiarities. The Molecatcher and Hannah Pearson are really characteristic stories, and preserve a vein of local humour that has a very racy flavour; this, however, is not the case with all the tales, for the one called "Marianne Moore" has no local peculiarities, and the same may be said of some others. An amusing contrast between the homely subjects and somewhat lofty style of the authoress runs through many of the tales—the historic Muse finds considerable difficulty in condescending to men of low estate, and does so with some awkwardness and as if from a sense of duty.

We strongly recommend our readers to make themselves acquainted with Nehemiah Dowton, the parish clerk of Woodfield. A more truly original figure is seldom met with: his consideration for gentlefolk, and his professional criticisms on Robin Raven, the parish clerk of Borough, are in the highest degree amusing. Miss Strickland thinks that the racy peculiarities and Saxon phraseology of the inhabitants of Norfolk and Suffolk are fast disappearing before the innovation of railroads and luxury. If this be really the case, these tales have not too soon preserved many features both of the one and the other, and it would be well if other counties were as fortunate in collectors of their provincialisms as what she calls her "odd angle of the Isle."

In his Second Series of Scottish Traditions,⁵ Mr. Leighton's personal peculiarities completely get the upper hand of the national characteristics they profess to chronicle; the tales are much slighter than the former ones and the disquisitions in which they are set much more extravagant and prolix.

In his preface the author disclaims any acquaintance with the works of E. A. Poe, whom he has been said to resemble in his manner of treating his subjects; the resemblance indeed consists only in the skilful manner in which they both prolong the feeling of suspense in the development of their plots; the means, however, by which this effect is produced are very different. In Poe's stories it arises from the gradual unfolding of a mystery set up as a starting-point. In Mr. Leighton's, it is rather the effect of an artful withholding of the next steps of the narrative, while the reader is detained by discussions which run wild in the luxuriance of their own illustrations. Every image is fondled and turned about, set in new lights, and enriched with fresh similes, until the starting-point is utterly lost sight of, and often when the human interest of the story must be resumed, the descent to actualities has an almost ludicrous effect.

If a resemblance must be found for a decidedly original writer who can very well afford to have it said of him that another has adopted a similar manner, a much greater likeness will be found between Mr. Leighton and the author of the "House with Seven Gables." They both affect moral and psychological problems, and are fond of ransack-

⁴ "Old Friends and New Acquaintances." By Agnes Strickland. Second Series. London: Simpkin and Marshall. 1861.

⁵ "A Second Series of Curious Storied Traditions of Scottish Life." By Alexander Leighton. Edinburgh: W. P. Nimmo. 1861.

ing the corners and folds of the secret and more hidden emotions of men's hearts; they are predominantly reflective, and have a tendency to mysticism. Poe is the very reverse of all this, he is not so much reflective as acute, and in no instance do his tales turn upon the secret moving of men's hearts, but always on the strange external complications of their fortunes.

The best of the present collection is in our opinion the tale called the "House in Bell's Wynd;" the adventure of George Gourlay on the night when he discovered the dread mystery connected with it, is in Mr. Leighton's best manner; the gravity of the incident supports the elevation of the illustrative musings: far otherwise is it with the "College Porter of St. Andrew's," where a mad frolic of a set of collegians is surrounded with a metaphysical setting that has a very incongruous effect. It is a part of Mr. Leighton's humour to affect grotesquely learned expressions. This peculiarity gives a decidedly national character to his style, but has often a degree of uncouthness which more than compensates that advantage. Although we do not consider this second series so good as the former one, it is of the same vintage, and will be highly enjoyed by all who appreciated the original and racy flavour of its predecessor.

In a series of tales called the "Tragedy of Human Life,"⁶ Mr. Brenten avails himself of the device first rendered popular by the author of "The Diary of a late Physician," but restricts himself to such tragedies as might fall under the notice of a practitioner who had devoted himself to the treatment of insane patients. It may be questioned whether more is not lost by the contrivance than is compensated by the facilities it affords the author; it is an excuse for a fragmentary mode of narration which relieves the writer from the labour involved in a well constructed plot: a story and a series of events he must of course invent; but the more difficult tasks of natural sequence and gradual development of incident are avoided; the primary supposition that the narrator comes only into occasional connexion with the person or persons whose history he relates, gives a natural excuse for arbitrary transitions and for the introduction of motive powers and influences which the author in his assumed character rather discusses than develops. Another disadvantage attending this form of composition is the extreme difficulty of simulating with any consistency and verisimilitude the professional character which is assumed for the purpose of binding together the separate studies which form the body of the fictions. Mr. Brenten has drawn from the works of the principal authors on mental alienation certain definite schemes of the origin and progress of the various forms of madness and lunacy; but few would, we think, be led to suppose that they had before them in these volumes the record of real cases or the direct observations of a professional man. The first of these tales, by far the longest and much the best, which illustrates madness from degeneracy produced by intermarriage between blood relations, is a remarkably able tale; a little disproportioned

⁶ "The Tragedy of Life, being Records of some Remarkable Phases of Lunacy kept by a Physician." By J. H. Brenten. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1861.

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it may be, in the undue prominence given to the introductory parts, and labouring under one great defect in that it gives no account of the motives of one of the chief actors in the tragedy; but yet the whole is well conceived; and abounds in acute remarks and happy criticisms on manners and life, and keeps the imaginary physician in due subordination to the original observer and accomplished narrator. We cannot say we think so highly of the smaller stories which occupy the second volume; the medical details are too prominent, and do not lend themselves to the purposes of art. It is well that scientific observers should be minute in their diagnosis of the fleeting symptoms of a disease still mysterious; but minute particularity in this respect should be avoided by a novelist, for in proportion to his success in dwelling on characteristic features of disease must he depart from the first purpose of his work, that of giving pleasure and agreeable excitement. A hopeless maniac is a hopeless subject in every respect, and cannot be made attractive by the highest art. The sad circumstances which have brought him or her to that pass may contain the elements of a moving tale, but the painful catastrophe will not bear handling; our sympathies may be worked upon to any extent, but not our compassion; this feeling becomes, beyond a certain point, so painful that nothing remains but repulsion. The human interest in the shorter of these tales is, in fact, so subordinate, that they leave the reader in an unsatisfied state of mind; there is no doubt that they are much more like the memoranda of a professional man, but for that very reason they are much less successful as interesting tales. The author, indeed, adds another proof to many others that the endeavour to give unity to a series of tales, by assuming some point of view common to them all, is not favourable to artistic production; his success is apt to be in inverse proportion to the completeness of his assumption of the chosen character. Mr. Brenten's powers are so manifestly above the need of any such adventitious supports, that we hope ere long to meet him again in a tale as good as "Mad or not Mad," and with a much better title.

"Lavinia,"⁷ by the author of "Don Antonio," is a very interesting love story; the troubles and perplexities of the hero and heroine are, up to the turning point of the tale, very well conceived; but it is impossible to say the same of the solution of their difficulties, which is somewhat forced and arbitrary. There is a kind of mechanical propriety in bringing the lovers together at last, each with something to forget and to forgive, and the more so as there seems no adequate reason why the hero should have been dragged through the questionable passages of his life at Paris. The first part of the novel, which gives an account of the parents of Paolo Mancini, is very full of local colour, and is one more testimony to the demoralizing effects of the governmental system of the Roman States. A descendant of a degenerate race of nobles, he is, by the influence of the memory of an heroic mother, maintained in a purity and simplicity of character

⁷ "Lavinia." By the Author of "Lorenzo Benoni," &c. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1861.

which gives, in his person, a new nobility to the degenerate race. While pursuing his studies as a painter, the heroine, the niece of an English visitor to Rome, forces him by overwhelming compliments to renew for her his disused practice of tuition. The contrast between the gay and imperious beauty, who flirts with the painter until she finds herself smitten by the passion she had aroused in the mind of her simple instructor, is well sustained. They become engaged, but are constantly misunderstanding each other, until at last, after following her to Paris, the painter breaks down under the disappointments which the conflict between his violent passion and the conventional manners and habits of his mistress naturally produce. He is found by some charitable people delirious in the streets of Paris, and is long before he recovers himself sufficiently to give any trace of his friends. Lavinia thus loses sight of him, and is forced to return to London in ignorance of his fate, where she is soon exposed to a series of trials which only add to the poignancy of her regrets. Her aunt dies, and her uncle, who has hitherto appeared as a merely vulgar *nouveau riche*, soon displays faults of a much deeper colour, so that she is obliged to fly from his house, and is for a long time destitute and helpless, vainly endeavouring to support herself. Some old friends answer to her appeal, and she proceeds with one of them to the Crimea (a *deus ex machinâ* very popular just now among novelists), in the train of Miss Nightingale, where she meets Paolo again, who, after his recovery at Paris, had, by the death of his uncle, a cardinal, inherited a considerable fortune. In his desolate condition he falls into the snares of a Parisian courtesan, who had worked upon his feelings that she might win a wager by her success, and who then laughs at and leaves him; he attempts to drown his regrets in further dissipation until an old comrade discovers him and persuades him to shake himself loose from her entanglements. He visits the Italian patriot Manin, a refugee in Paris, and is advised by him to enlist in the Sardinian service; he does so, and proceeds to the seat of war, where, wounded before Sebastopol, he meets with his old beloved as his nurse; when, after mutual regrets, they come to the consummation of all third volumes. There is a secondary plot, in the history of an English friend of Paolo's, who has been separated from his mistress by similar misunderstandings, and who loses his reason under the false impression that he recognised her in the dead body of a suicide he had seen in the Morgue at Paris; he is as fortunate as his friend, and in quite as fortuitous a restoration to the object of his affections. The close resemblance in their history and character gives too great a prominence to the moral of the book, if moral it is intended to have, viz., that lovers should not be too exacting. The Italian parts of the tale are by far the best; shortcomings in seizing English peculiarities betray themselves in the other parts of the tale, and an endeavour has been made, not with much success, to give them reality by allusions to, and adaptations of circumstances which have been brought before our police courts, but which are yet unnatural from the setting they receive. The chief fault, however, of this tale is that its interest expires before it comes to a conclusion; the last volume progresses at a very languid rate, and the conclusion is

both foreseen and unsatisfactory. The author's command of our language is something wonderful in a foreigner.

"*The Shadow in the House*"⁸ is a very clever novel, a little spoilt by over-fine writing in parts, but very well conceived and carried out. The shadow is a jealous and disappointed woman, who poisons her successful rival. The whole domestic interior which is the scene of her crime is very beautifully drawn, and the ground tone of the book is skilfully repeated in the subordinate characters. The author's peculiar view is to show the manner in which crime and guilty thoughts revenge themselves on those who allow them a place in their minds and hearts. The revengeful woman breaks down in the process of her poisonings, and dies of despair that she cannot undo the work of which she has too late repented. The general doctrine of a law of goodness in things evil is well reproduced in the underplots, the best of which is the courtship of a country saddler by the cook; the manifest imitation of Mrs. Poyser the great, which is betrayed in the treatment of this character, does not interfere with a very hearty appreciation of the originality and ingenuity of its details; the humour of these kitchen scenes is first-rate, and gives a full satisfaction which the more ambitious parts of the tale hardly reach. The murdered wife is a charming picture of a fine uncultivated nature, overflowing with natural feeling and goodness of heart. The mustard-seed of error and weakness, from which all the horrors of the tale are made to arise, is a very natural and true view of life, and gives a high but not obtrusive moral purpose to the tale which adds greatly to its other excellences.

There are few things more difficult to invent than a new fairy tale, and few persons have so nearly overcome them as Holme Lee in her "*Legends from Fairyland*."⁹ The adventures of Princess Trill and Prince Glee will amuse many little people like themselves, and the numberless new acquaintances they will make in reading their adventures will justify them in supposing that Holme Lee must at least have been godmother to half the tribe. Wink, Trip, Try-for-it, Frolic, Finick, and Fun are little boy fairies, if ever names described such; while Satin, Sleek, Sly, Flip, Arch, and Dot are their indubitable sisters. The adventures of the great Tuflongbo on his journey to the country of the Applepivi must appeal to the tenderest feelings of a juvenile circle. The whole conspiracy of Spite and Mischief, with its discovery and defeat, would perhaps be too like a sermon were it not for the frisky proceedings of these well-named fairies. The cheerfulness, vivacity, and exuberant fancy of this little volume make it an excellent present for children, who, we dare say, will not be annoyed by an occasional irony addressed to their elders, or by those asides in which the author satirizes faults and weaknesses beyond their juvenile comprehensions.

"*The Adventures of the Gooroo Simple and his Five Disciples*,"¹⁰ is a

⁸ "*The Shadow in the House.*" By John Saunders. London: Lockwood and Co. 1860.

⁹ "*Legends from Fairyland.*" By Holme Lee. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1861.

¹⁰ "*Strange and Surprising Adventures of the Gooroo Simple and his five dis-*

series of Hindoo satires collected by Father Beschi, a Jesuit missionary who resided at the court of Chunda Sahib of Trichinopoly, about the middle of the last century. They have been thought by some to be partly his own invention, with a view to discredit the pedantic pretensions of the native priesthood, but they have, for the most part, a too completely native character for this to be the case—the smallness of the majority of these jokes is quite beyond the reach of the most persevering European. The East, the native country of apologue, is but poorly represented in this collection, which, however, it should not be forgotten, is after all but a gleanings where all the best had long since been appropriated by Western fabulists. The volume is profusely illustrated by Alfred Crowquill, who has but little feeling for Oriental peculiarities. The graphic jokes with which he accompanies the text, rather vulgarize than illustrate it; they have no relation to the stories except in the extreme tenuity of their humour.

Before the recent publication of the Rev. C. W. King's work," there was no department of art the study of which was so surrounded with difficulties as that of gem engraving; it may now be said that there is none which can boast of so complete and satisfactory a manual. Nothing but long practice will produce a correct judgment in this difficult branch of connoisseurship, but every aid that long study and research can give the eye is afforded by the author of this very exhaustive treatise. After sketching the history of the art, Mr. King gives a full account of all the materials made use of in it by the ancients, with their characteristic qualities, and in particular those points in which the really ancient gems differ from their modern counterfeits. In this respect the book will be of the greatest possible service to collectors, and will often be the means of protecting them from forgeries which are amongst the most difficult of detection. The facility with which a modern work may be made to assume the appearance of age, and the remarkable skill of many engravers of the past century, have filled many cabinets with worthless imitations, and have left very few entirely free from their presence. The author does all that can be done to give his readers that costly experience which most collectors have so dearly bought. The amount of information accumulated in this volume is really surprising,—nothing in any way connected with the subject escapes Mr. King's enthusiastic research. On the obscure subject of gnostic symbols, so often found on rude ancient gems, as well as on the capricious fashion of Grylli, with which they have sometimes been confounded, much light is thrown.

The astrological attributes and the prophylactic virtues with which ancient gems and the various precious stones were credited during the middle ages, are treated of with the most comprehensive knowledge.

ciples, Noodle, Doodle, Wiscacre, Zany, and Foozle," adorned with Fifty Illustrations on Wood by A. Crowquill. London: Trübner & Co. 1861.

¹¹ "Antique Gems, their Origin, Uses, and Value as interpreters of Ancient History and as illustrative of Ancient Art, with Hints to Gem Collectors." By the Rev. C. W. King, M.A., Fellow of Trinity Coll., Camb. London: J. Murray. 1861.

The superstitions which have arranged themselves round engraved gems and their materials, offer a curious subject of study ; the extravagant and fanciful analogies on which they are founded are well shown by the author in his account of ecclesiastical rings. The extraordinary fondness of the ancients for this style of ornament does not seem to have degenerated in this direction ; the feeling of art and their usefulness as signets appear to have been, together with a desire of ostentation, the sole ground of their vogue ; from the last of these motives they were frequently set round drinking cups and bowls, in this respect anticipating the splendid extravagance of the Countess Granville, who wore an entire *parure* of the costly Devonshire gems at the coronation of the present Emperor of Russia : her comb, bandeau, stomacher, necklace, diadem, coronet, and bracelets being formed of the most rare antiques, set in enamel and enriched with brilliants, a triumph of art over material wealth. It is very rarely that an antiquarian work is found interesting to any but the small circle to which it is addressed, but this history of gems will be found so full of illustrative anecdote that we are sure it will be a favourite book with many who make no pretence to antiquarian knowledge ; it is not more remarkable for the number of its curious and interesting facts, than it is for the skill and facility with which they are recounted. Every country contributes something to this museum, and every artist of ancient and modern times is noticed, and where possible, fully criticised ; the methods employed by them at different periods are insisted on, and practical rules for collectors deduced from their mode of working. An excellent index completes the usefulness of the volume, which may be confidently declared to be the *cyclopaedia glyptographica par excellence* ; all that can be found in Marriette, Millin, Winckelmann, and Lessing, is here brought together in a concentrated shape, enriched with the large additions made to the knowledge of the subject by the indefatigable author. It is to be regretted that the illustrations, at least the copper-plate ones, are not equal to the excellence of the book itself. The complaint is perhaps an unreasonable *exigence*, for adequate engravings would have most enormously increased the bulk and cost of this costly volume.

Mr. Falkener's sumptuous volume on ancient sculpture¹² is a learned disquisition on the principles which guided, and gave their peculiar greatness to the works of the Greeks. The first part is devoted to a discussion of the question, whether the roof of the Parthenon was arched or flat ? The author brings forward many arguments, from the dimensions of the statue of the Goddess which stood in the centre of the cella, and from representations of the temple and sanctuary on ancient coins, which give great support to his novel assertion that it was arched, and of timber. The question is very interesting, and deserves a full investigation. Many of Mr. Falkener's arguments seem not easily disposed of.

¹² "Dædalus, or the Causes and Principles of the Excellence of Greek Sculpture." By E. Falkener, Member of the Academy of Bologna, and of the Archæological Institutes of Rome and Berlin. London : Longman & Co. 1860.

In laying down his general principles of beauty, the author avails himself of numerous illustrations in photography from the finest statues of antiquity. It is perhaps one of the greatest gains to art, that positive reproductions of this kind have now become so accessible. The other plates seem poor and unsatisfactory beside them, though a few years since they would have been greatly admired. Without any striking originality, these essays are judicious and well-informed, and are set before the reader with a beauty of type, illustration, and binding that makes "*Dædalus*" one of the handsomest table books that has for a long time been published.

Mr. Wise's "*Handbook for the Neighbourhood of Stratford-on-Avon*,"¹³ is a most elegant volume. Artist, printer, and author have vied with each other in its production. All the well-known spots are taken from their most favourable points of view, and engraved with a skill for which Mr. Linton's name is a sufficient guarantee. Mr. Wise is peculiarly fitted for his task, already well known for the beauty of his descriptions of natural scenery in his novel, the "*Cousins' Courtship*." He revels in painting the beauties of his native county with an enthusiastic admiration, in which he makes Shakspeare share by the readiness with which he localizes descriptions in the poet's works that would have no such home-like effect on an ordinary reader. He does this, too, without any arbitrary forcing, and gives a new grace to the character of the universally-beloved poet, by connecting him with hitherto unobserved ties with the home of his youth. Mr. Wise's uncompromising love will not allow him to receive those rumours of a darker London experience which many have extracted from expressions in his sonnets. Shakspeare needs not such defence. We know he overcame those sorrows, and, if we may take his own word, that he really experienced them.

Let no one be deluded by the title, "*Berlin, an autumn tale, by Henry Heine*."¹⁴ Few people read prefaces; but those who detain themselves by so doing will, in this instance, save themselves no little time and disappointment. The editor freely confesses that the book is not by Heine, but only made up by some one else from some poetical memoranda left unpublished by the poet, and which have fallen—he does not say how—into his hands. The publication is a mercantile enterprise of the lowest order. If the poet's remains were—what he confessedly did not consider them—worthy of his reputation, they should have been printed as he left them, for the lovers of his works to complete as suited them. But that any fragments of a deceased author should be dressed up by an anonymous poetaster and published as a posthumous work, is unscrupulous as regards the poet, and dishonest as regards the public. The fullest information as to the mode in which such misused memoranda fell into the hands of the editor, is due to the reader. An insolent challenge to critics to gather Heine's

¹³ "*Shakspeare, his Birthplace and its Neighbourhood*." By J. R. Wise. Illustrated by W. J. Linton. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1861.

¹⁴ "*Berlin Herbstmahnen in 27 Capiteln*." Von Heinrich Heine. Amsterdam: Gebrüder Binger. 1861.

needles out of such a bottle of hay, displays only that false valour which goes before defeat. An honest man descends to the construction of no such pitfalls.

Nothing is more easy than a coarse copy of Heine, and nothing so difficult as an imitation that shall deceive even the most careless of his admirers. His highly marked and artificial manner may be reproduced by any one; but his humour and felicitous expressions are approachable by no one. Of this, Herr Steinmann gives the fullest proof. Heine's caprices are here extravagantly parodied, his equivocal jokes become unadulterated filth, while the general structure of the versification rises not above the abilities of the most mediocre copyist. The volume has been repudiated in Germany by the poet's brother and wife. Of its recognition by native critical journals, we know as yet nothing; but we shall be much surprised if shortcomings so palpable as to strike a foreign eye and ear are not made the basis of a more complete exposure, when they are brought before that natural and much more competent tribunal.

Madame Kinkel, already well known from the volume of tales published by her and her husband in 1819, left behind her, at the time of her sad death, the manuscript of a novel illustrating the life of German refugees in London, which has just been published at Stuttgart by J. G. Cotta.¹⁵ The story opens with the settlement of the fugitives in London, and with very minute descriptions of the features of English life which must appear strange to a foreigner, and, as many of the points dwelt upon are of a trivial character, they have an almost equally strange effect upon an English reader. The difficulties and confusion attendant upon settling in a foreign country are very well drawn, and the picture of the perplexities in which their necessary ignorance of everyday routine involves the hero and his family is amusing, both in the details themselves and from a certain tone of injury with which they are chronicled.

After some chapters devoted in this manner to accounts of troubles with tradesmen and servants, the more immediate adventures of the family begin to unfold themselves. The father, Hans Ibeles, has been musical director at a small court in Germany, and is represented as a composer of some renown in his native land; his first effort is directed towards the acquisition of a similar post in England, and of course in vain. After calling, with his wife, upon every one to whom they had introductions—and these various visits are described with great fulness and no little temper that they did not at once lead to the result desired—the hopelessness of attaining to any public appointment at last makes itself felt, and with much repugnance and a deep feeling of derogation, the composer resolves to give lessons in music. From this time their material position is secured, but many a bitter lament is indulged in on the sad lot of the genteel proletariat; these complaints, though irrational, are very natural, and certainly to be excused in those who have occupied the painful and uncertain position of the author. Up

¹⁵ "Hans Ibeles in London, ein Familienbild aus dem Flüchtlingsleben." Von Johanna Kinkel, aus ihrem Nachlass. Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta. 1860.

to this point the novel is more interesting to a German public than to an English one, but as soon as the family has arrived at an assured position in England, the novel forsakes the portraiture of English manners and customs for the description of the different classes among the German democratic refugees, and it must be confessed that the party has very little to thank the author for. The whole revolutionary excitement of 1848 acquires, in her description of those who participated in it, a pettiness of character that is by no means edifying; a more unsatisfactory picture of vanity and confusion of mind, and a more complete absence of definite purpose than that displayed by the hero and his friends could hardly have been drawn by the most thoroughgoing reactionist. The emigre, for a participation in which Ibeles was obliged to fly, does not rise beyond the dignity of a street row, and from his antecedents it is difficult to say what business he had there. The refugees are in the habit of meeting in the saloon of a certain Polish Countess Blafoska, a very questionable entertainer of very questionable company. In this circle the hero becomes involved in most melodramatic adventures, so that the story glows with very different colours as it approaches its conclusion; he is, however, extricated from his entanglements by his wife, who is a full-length picture of a German Hausmutter. Among the subsidiary characters is a German governess, Meta Braun, who gives an account of her experiences in English families which must make every one smile. Full of a sense of injury and persecution, she yet betrays herself to be an utterly impracticable person, and confesses that she was without the slightest educational talents. This episode strikes us as so lifelike that we cannot but suppose it to be a real personal history, and that the epigraph, "A Manuscript," with which the author heads the chapter devoted to it, is a simple truth.

On the whole, this novel is well worth reading; the author had great talents, but had them too little under control; there is a want of harmony between the treatment of detail and the selection of incidents that gives it an unfinished appearance, though we doubt much if any amount of further labour could have given it a proper unity. It is to be regretted that some of the English interiors and persons described are too thinly disguised by strange names to escape a recognition which can hardly be pleasant, even where the notice, which is far from being always the case, is of a complimentary character.

The "Rebels of Lubeck,"¹⁶ an historical novel by Adolf Buckheim, is founded on the revolt of the democratic party in the Hanse Towns, which, aggravated by the oppressions to which the Lutherans had been for some time subjected, broke out in Lubeck in 1530. The author follows the outline of the conflict given by Menzel in his history of Germany, but fills it up with such incongruous features that the whole acquires an almost ridiculous disharmony. The secondary plot round which the personal interest of the novel is made to turn, consists of the adventures of a corsair named Clemens, who introduces into the

¹⁶ "Die Rebellen von Lubeck, Historische See Roman aus den Zeiten der Hansa." Von A. Buckheim. Gebrüder Katz, Dessau. 1860. London: Williams & Norgate.

manners of the sixteenth century the sentimental graces of a Byronian hero, joined to the bloodthirsty ruthlessness of a Paul Jones; this, however, does not prevent the hero, Jurgens Wullenweber, while wielding all the powers of the revolutionized Hansa, from betrothing to him his daughter Matilda. The figure of this freebooter of the Northern Seas is altogether extravagant, and betrays an utter absence of all historical feeling. In the same manner, the disputes of the present day, whether turning on German aspirations to the conquest of the Danish provinces, or on the social theories of the extreme liberal party, are provided with advocates who antedate the discussions of the nineteenth century in the freest manner. Though crowded with characters, the novel can hardly be said to contain one that is well and strikingly drawn; in all there is some incompleteness or inconsistency, while the general interest of the tale is far from being sufficiently lively to carry the reader away from the consideration of such defects of detail.

NOTE TO ART. VII.—THE COTTON MANUFACTURE.

At page 456 we have inadvertently made a statement calculated to mislead our readers, and the article had gone to press before it could be corrected: it is a standing trick of trade adopted by the American planters to underrate their crops; this deception is exposed as the season advances; but before the truth has been discovered they have been enabled to part with a large portion of their produce at an unduly advanced price. For the last five years the estimated, and actual crops have been as follows, showing the former to be generally below the latter:—

ESTIMATES.				Actual figures	
Current, September to December.				in August.	
1855—56	From	3,300,000	to 3,500,000	--	3,527,000
1856—57	3,000,000	.	.	--	2,939,000
1857—58	3,000,000	.	.	—	3,113,000
1858—59	From	3,300,000	to 3,600,000	—	3,851,000
1859—60	„	4,000,000	„ 4,250,000	--	4,675,000

These facts strengthen us in the opinion that the incoming American crop will be more plentiful than is now anticipated.

